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# GENESIS

CRITICALLY AND EXEGETICALLY EXPOUNDED

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# GENESIS

CRITICALLY AND EXEGETICALLY  
EXPOUNDED

BY

DR. A. DILLMANN

LATE PROFESSOR OF THEOLOGY IN BERLIN

Translated from the last Edition

BY

WM. B. STEVENSON, B.D.

ASSISTANT TO THE PROFESSOR OF HEBREW, ETC.  
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## CORRIGENDA.



Page 91, line 5, *for השקים read השקיף.*  
„ 273, „ 23, *for xxxi. read xxxiii.*

### III. THE HISTORY OF ABRAHAM, XII.-XXV. 18.

1. ALTHOUGH the Israelites did not dispute the fact that it was only at a much later period that they became a nation, they derived the beginnings of their distinctive nationality and of their spiritual religion from ancestors who were immigrants from Mesopotamia long resident in Canaan. They regarded themselves as the last to emerge of a number of petty peoples who sprang from these immigrants, and, in fact, as what remained of the common stock after the others had branched off. They were also the purest of these peoples, that which contained least admixture of foreign blood, and preserved most faithfully the moral and religious characteristics of the common ancestry. The gradual separation of these genuine descendants of the original stock was completed in three stages, which connect themselves with the three names Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. Everything contained in the Israelite legends of the patriarchs circles round these three names.

It is self-evident to us moderns that all these stories regarding the patriarchs belong to the realm of legend, not to that of strict history. To begin with, there is no nation on earth whose descent from an individual ancestor is capable of historical proof. A people does not grow as a family does, it arises from a combination of the most diverse elements, and in the case of Israel there is even yet historical proof that it, also, originated in this way. Again, according to the Book of Genesis, both Israel and the other Hebrew peoples are divided into twelve tribes. But the very fact that the division is not confined to Israel, is a plain indica-



tion that it is not to be explained by actual descent from twelve brethren. The division is artificial, and is an expression of geographical, political, and religious relationships. Equally, it is to be assumed that the personification of peoples, tribes, districts, and historical periods, universally acknowledged to exist in the narratives of Genesis as far as ch. xi., will not all at once cease to be found in chs. xii. ff., but will recur in the further course of the narrative. Again, it is undeniable that we frequently find mirrored in these patriarchal legends the events and circumstances of the later national history, and the likes and dislikes of the period of their authors. Lastly, now that we are able to survey the poetic legends of the most widely differing peoples, it no longer requires to be proved that the vividness of these narratives is not in itself any proof of their historicity, but is, on the contrary, a characteristic peculiarity of all legend.

But it may still be asked whether this criticism requires us to deny all historical foundation to the patriarchal legends of the Israelites. It has been even doubted or denied that the ancestors of Israel were ever in Canaan,<sup>1</sup> and the stories about them have been explained as fictitious tendency-writings belonging to the period of the Israelite monarchy.<sup>2</sup> But when we acknowledge the presence of a substratum of historical fact in the epics of other peoples, why should we pronounce a less favourable judgment on the tribal legends of the very people which passed earliest out of its mythological period? It is true that the reflected image of later persons, times, and circumstances is thrown back on the legendary figures of early times, so that the latter became types of the former; but there must surely be a background to begin with, on to which the reflection may be cast. The least concession we can make is, it may be

<sup>1</sup> Nöldeke, *Im neuen Reich*, 1871, i. 497-511; Stade, *Geschichte*, i. 127 f.

<sup>2</sup> A. Bernstein, *Ursprung der Sagen von Abr. Is. und Jac.*, Berlin, 1871.

maintained, that the background of fact in the family histories of the patriarchal legend consists of dim memories regarding certain movements of peoples which started from Mesopotamia, made their way through Canaan and the desert to Egypt, and led to the formation in these regions of new, Hebrew, national and tribal units. The temporary residence of the patriarchs in Canaan cannot be explained as a baseless fabrication, meant to justify the later occupation of the land or the incorporation of Canaanite sanctuaries in the religion of Israel. Such objects were capable of attainment in other and more effective ways, and, besides, in the legend as a whole and in its separate parts, we still find much of a historical character which stands in no relation to the supposed objects of the narrative.

The acknowledgment that there exists in the patriarchal legends a background of historical fact, at once determines how we are to conceive of the leading characters in the legend. The bounds of possibility in the way of confounding things totally dissimilar, were reached by those few<sup>1</sup> who had the boldness to transform the patriarchs into powers of nature and their history into nature myths. But neither is there sufficient reason for conjecturing that they were originally tribal gods,<sup>2</sup> or the spirits of ancestors worshipped as divine.<sup>3</sup> It may perhaps be true that tribal communities were accustomed to name themselves from the god whose worship was their bond of unity. But the names of the patriarchal legends are in general not those of gods, but of earthly personages and peoples, and in the whole legend there is not even the slightest trace that these personages were once venerated as gods. Isaac and Jacob are quite usual designations for the people of Israel in later times. As

<sup>1</sup> E.g. Goldziher, *Mythos bei den Hebräern*, 1876, pp. 109 f., 154 [*Mythology among the Hebrews*, London, 1877]; J. Popper, *Ursprung des Monotheismus*, 1879, p. 147 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Dozy, *Israéliten zu Mekka*, 1864, p. 21 ff.; Nöldeke, *Im neuen Reich*, p. 508 ff.; *ZDMG.* xlii. 484.

<sup>3</sup> Stade, *Geschichte*,<sup>1</sup> i. 406 ff.

for names such as those of Lot, Ishmael, Esau, and their sons, it is sufficient to regard them as those of ideal persons taken from the names applicable to groups within the limits of the nation, or to the whole at various stages in its development. Recently, in the list of 118 names of towns and tribes conquered by Thutmosis III. during his campaign against the Upper Rutena, No. 102, *Y'h'ar*, and No. 78, *Y'sp'r*, have been rendered<sup>1</sup> Yaḳobel and Yosefel. If this conjecture be supposed correct, we are supplied with an external proof that the name Jacob, centuries before the time of Moses, was that of a tribe or locality in Canaan. It is otherwise with the case of Abraham. The name was never that of a tribe or people. But neither was it originally the name of a deity,<sup>2</sup> and it is not the case that Abraham is the latest figure to appear on the patriarchal scene, being a mere duplication of Isaac, a saint of Hebron and of Calebite origin<sup>3</sup> who only by degrees advanced to be the principal character. The silence of the older prophets regarding him proves nothing whatsoever against the agreement of all the Pentateuch writers. In *B* as much as in *A*, *C*, and *D*, Abraham, whether considered as a national or as a religious hero, is the most important personage in the whole patriarchal history. He is the head and leader of the Hebrews in their migration from the land by the Euphrates, and in the mental and spiritual sphere also has left a special impress upon them. When Israel became a nation it was upon him that they rested their divine election.<sup>4</sup> It is undeniably possible that in Abraham there may be preserved the memory of some important personage who took part in the Hebrew migration.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> E. Meyer in *ZATW.* vi. 1 ff., viii. 42 ff.; contemporaneously W. Groff in the *Revue Egyptologique*, iv. 95 ff. See also *JA.* viii. 12, p. 104 f.

<sup>2</sup> See notes on ch. xvii. 4 f.

<sup>3</sup> Wellhausen, *Geschichte*, p. 338 [Prolegomena, 1885, p. 320]; E. Meyer, and others.

<sup>4</sup> Chs. xviii. 18 f., xxvi. 5, 24, xii. 2 f., xv. 6; Josh. xxiv. 2 f.

<sup>5</sup> Ewald, Kittel, *Geschichte der Hebräer*, i. 155 ff. [*History of the Hebrews*, vol. i. p. 172 ff.].

But there is, of course, no proof of this, especially if Gen. ch. xiv. be regarded as fiction, for the statements regarding Abraham as king of Damascus<sup>1</sup> have no historical value, not any more than the alleged witness of Berosus.<sup>2</sup> But even if he also is only an ideal personage, a personification of the yet undivided body of Hebrew emigrants, it is certain that all the narrators trace to him the origin or foundation of the development of the people of Israel and of its religious peculiarity. The picture which they draw of him corresponds to this special significance of his.

2. To particularise, Abraham in the biblical narratives may still indeed be recognised as leader of a Hebrew migration which started from Haran, and as the meeting-point of a number of peoples who branched off from him. Here and there also, especially in *B*, we have glimpses of the attitude of these Hebrew immigrants in their relations with the inhabitants of the land. We read something of alliances and contracts, and even of deeds of war. But, in general, Abraham appears as an individual nomad chief, possessing great wealth in cattle and many dependants, who by occupation or purchase consecrates or acquires a few isolated spots in the country, and in religious matters goes his own way. In particular, he is represented to us as the head of a family who, through his children, becomes the ancestor of new peoples, and also as a highly favoured man of God and friend of God, who is the beginner of a new life of faith among men. What is related of him are chiefly domestic and personal incidents, in which he establishes his worth more and more securely, and on his part makes possible the providential growth of Israel in its beginnings, and therewith the salvation of the world. Undoubtedly the legend had already tended to take this direction in the popular mouth. But the ideal elaboration of the picture and the collection

<sup>1</sup> Josephus, *Antiquities*, i. 7. 2; Justin, xxxvi. 2. 3.

<sup>2</sup> Josephus, *Antiquities*, i. 7; Ewald, *Geschichte*,<sup>3</sup> i. 481 [*History of Israel*, vol. i. p. 335].



and arrangement of those materials in the legend which had reference to Abraham, can be due only to those who committed it to writing. The three principal sources of the Book of Genesis have all taken a share in this work.

To *A* belongs the external, in the main chronological, framework, the brief account of the Ishmaelite Arabs descended from Abraham, and in especial the principal narrative regarding the divine covenant, together with the law of circumcision which belongs to it (ch. xvii.), and the narrative of the purchase of a family burying-place (ch. xxiii.). In general he has briefly and drily narrated the chief incidents in Abraham's life. Only where he came to speak of things so important for the Israel of later times as were the covenant, the birth of the son who was to inherit the promises, and the first acquisition of soil in the country, did he work out more detailed descriptions. Abraham is represented by him as a man of noble character, profoundly God fearing, and of exemplary life. But God's special revelation to the patriarch does not take place till he is well advanced in middle life, and the divine promises to him refer to a numerous posterity and the future possession of the land. His residence is in Mamre, or in the district round about Hebron.

From *B* there are still preserved some passages which relate incidents in Abraham's life. They depict him in his intercourse with native chiefs, or as he ruled in his own household.<sup>1</sup> They make prominent his dignity as a man of God and a prophet (xx. 7), his obedience to God and his virtues, the divine protection and blessing, also, which he everywhere enjoyed, and the esteem with which men regarded him. Frequently the account contains relatively precise statements of place, time, and circumstance, also names wanting elsewhere, and remarkable particulars of a geographical and historical character, as well as very ancient linguistic expressions. The passages are valuable contribu-

<sup>1</sup> As in chs. xx., xxi. 6 ff., xxii. 1-13.



tions to a completed picture of the man, and of these ancient times. In them Gerar and Beersheba are his usual places of residence.

The passages taken from *C* are not characterised by such fulness of historical detail, but, we may say, by their didactic clearness of style which remains consistent with the picturesque vividness of the narrative. They present us, on the one hand, with charmingly artistic pictures of particular events which are quite ideal,<sup>1</sup> and, on the other, with a full record of the never resting divine agency which calls, educates, and blesses Abraham, and thereby moulds him into the perfect man of faith, who trustfully holds fast the word of promise, and becomes thereby worthy also to be a source of blessing to those about him and to future generations.<sup>2</sup>

It is, then, just those thoughts of *C*'s which *R* has taken and made his ruling ideas. Guided by them, he has taken the narratives of the three narrators and united them or worked them over with the following result. (1) Abraham's call and his migration to Canaan are taken as the starting-point, and the first division of the history consists of certain narratives which, while describing how various of the most ancient sacred spots in the centre of the country were consecrated by him, make clear more especially the character of the man and the divine protection and blessing which followed him (chs. xii.—xiv.). (2) He is next described in the prime of his life, when by many tests and trials he is made worthy to be the first recipient of the covenant, and the subject of the most exalted promises (chs. xv.—xxii. 19). (3) This is followed by the narratives regarding himself, his house, and Isaac's marriage, which belong to the last period of his life (chs. xxii. 20—xxv. 18). *A*'s distinction between Abram and Sarai as they were before the covenant, and Abraham and Sarah as they were after (ch. xvii. 5 and 15), has been at the same time consistently introduced by *R* into all the narratives.

<sup>1</sup> Chs. xviii. f., xxiv.

<sup>2</sup> Chs. xii., xiii., xv.

## A. THE INTRODUCTORY NARRATIVES.

1. THE CALL OF ABRAM AND HIS MIGRATION INTO CANAAN,  
CH. XII. 1-9; ACCORDING TO *C* (AND *A*).

The absence of a heading in the form **אלה תולדה אברם** is surprising. There are headings to the histories of Isaac<sup>1</sup> and of Jacob,<sup>2</sup> and the history of Abram in *A* must have been similarly introduced. We cannot say<sup>3</sup> that it was omitted by *A* either because Terah was still alive at the time of Abram's immigration, for Abram also, for example, was still alive at the time fixed in ch. xxv. 20; or because the history could not begin straightway with an account regarding the birth of his sons, for the history of Jacob commences in ch. xxxvii. 2 after the time has passed for recording the birth of his sons at all. Still less can we imagine<sup>4</sup> that the author regarded Abram's history as part of that of Terah. The latter has received its formal conclusion in ch. xi. 32, and how can we suppose that Abram, the chief personage in the patriarchal history, is to be disposed of in a section of the history of Terah? The only correct view is that *R* omitted the heading,<sup>5</sup> because he wished to replace the whole of *A*'s introduction to the history by another taken from *C*. The real cause of the migration accordingly, as *A* stated it, is no longer apparent.<sup>6</sup> In the whole passage we recognise with certainty only vv. 4*b* and 5 as from *A*.<sup>7</sup> The proof in their case is the mention of Abram's age, the repetition in 5*a* as compared with 4*a*, and the expressions **ארץ כנען**, **נפש רכוש**, and **ויקה**.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Ch. xxv. 19.<sup>2</sup> Ch. xxxvii. 2.<sup>3</sup> Hupfeld.<sup>4</sup> Delitzsch, Keil.<sup>5</sup> Ewald, Knobel, Wellhausen, Bruston, and others.<sup>6</sup> Conjectures are given in Ewald, *Geschichte*,<sup>3</sup> i. 463 [*History of Israel*, i. p. 322 f.].<sup>7</sup> Knobel, Hupfeld, Nöldeke, Schrader, Kayser, Wellhausen, and others.<sup>8</sup> Cf. chs. xi. 31, xxxvi. 6, xli. 6.

It cannot be proved that vv. 6, 8, as far as the second **מקום**, and 9 belong to *A*; <sup>1</sup> and it is improbable, for the reason that *A* nowhere shows any interest in proving that the patriarchs consecrated all the places in the country which were afterwards sacred. It is more likely that *B* is the original of vv. 6*a* and 8*a*,<sup>2</sup> but 6*b* and 8*b* cannot be separated from them and show that *C* had adopted these local names from *B*. The evidence for *C*'s authorship of this section is found both in its contents (the divine call, the practice of divine worship) and in its use of the expressions כל-יהוה, קלל, נברך ב, מיטפחות האדמה.

Vv. 1–3. The Call. According to *A* (xi. 31) even Terah when he set out with Abram had Canaan in view as the goal of the migration. Here the migration is represented as one willed by God and made known by Him to Abram. It was part of the divine plan of salvation to use more active remedies in face of the growing deterioration of mankind,<sup>3</sup> and in Abram to choose and prepare a man who should be the foundation-stone of a kingdom of God which was to be set up among men.

Ver. 1. God summons Abram to go forth from his home.

קִדְקִד—again in the Pentateuch in Gen. xxii. 2 (cf. Ex. xviii. 27); see Ewald, § 315*a*.

*From your country, and your kin, and your home*—the expressions are accumulated in order to point out that God made no small demand of him when He required him to sever his family ties and wander forth as a stranger into a land as yet unknown to him.<sup>4</sup> אֶרֶץ מוֹלָדָת and אֶרֶץ וּמִקְלָת are used almost synonymously,<sup>5</sup> so it was not unnatural to suppose that Ur Kasdim<sup>6</sup> was here intended;<sup>7</sup> it follows, however, from xxiv. 4 and 7 that *C* meant Haran, and against this

<sup>1</sup> Knobel.

<sup>2</sup> Schrader, Kittel, *Geschichte*, i. 123 [*History of the Hebrews*, i. p. 136].

<sup>3</sup> Ch. xi. 1–9.

<sup>4</sup> Tuch.

<sup>5</sup> *E.g.* xxiv. 4 and 7, xxxi. 3 and 13.

<sup>6</sup> Ch. xi. 28.

<sup>7</sup> Acts vii. 2; Mercerus, Bonfrère, Rosenmüller; Hupfeld, who appeals to xv. 7.

xv. 7 possesses no weight. See, further, the notes on ch. xi. 28. It is not Mesopotamia in general, to which both H̄arran and Ur Kasdim belonged, that is referred to.<sup>1</sup>

*Which I shall show you*—definite information regarding the goal of the journey is reserved to a later time.<sup>2</sup> This makes God's demand appear all the harder. It was therefore, the more necessary to intimate the purpose and object of the demand in the form of a promise, and this follows in ver. 2 f.

Ver. 2 f. לְנִי נָדוּל וְאֶעֱשֶׂךָ<sup>3</sup>—"the promise of numerous descendants is frequent in the history of the patriarchs."<sup>4</sup>

*Bless you*—i.e. prosper you.<sup>5</sup>

*Make your name great*—glorify it, make it honoured and praised; see ver. 3b.

*And be a blessing*—i.e. you shall be a blessing, an object of blessing, εὐλογημένος (Sept.),<sup>6</sup> a bearer of blessing, as it were blessing incarnated, on whom not only God has poured out His full blessing, but whom men also bless in that they use his name in their formulas of blessing;<sup>7</sup> one also who even becomes to others a source of blessing.<sup>8</sup>

Ver. 3. A continuation of ver. 26, as ! shows, not an explanatory clause.

*And I will bless those that bless you*—extend Abram's blessing to those also who adopt a friendly attitude to him. On the other hand, he will "lay on his enemies a curse which will evidence itself in their misfortunes. The curse calls other passages to mind."<sup>9</sup> As compared with the Septuagint, Samaritan, Peshitta, and Vulgate, which render בְּרִכָּתִי (cf. xxvii. 29), the Massoretic reading is finer; God will not anticipate that many will so far forget themselves as to revile him.

<sup>1</sup> Knobel.

<sup>2</sup> See ver. 7.

<sup>3</sup> Ex. xxxii. 10; Num. xiv. 12.

<sup>4</sup> Chs. xiii. 16, xv. 5, xvii. 2, 6, 16, xviii. 18, xxi. 13, xxii. 17, xxvi. 4, 24, xxxv. 11, xlvi. 3. Knobel.

<sup>5</sup> Chs. xxx. 27, xxxix. 5.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Ps. xxi. 7 [6] and Isa. xix. 24.

<sup>7</sup> Ver. 3 and Zech. viii. 13.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. ver. 3a and cases like xix. 29 and xxvi. 5.

<sup>9</sup> Chs. iii. 14, 17, iv. 11, v. 29, ix. 25, xxvii. 29. Knobel.



וּנְבָרְכוּ בךְ—the Septuagint rendering, καὶ ἐνευλογηθήσονται ἐν σοί, is representative of others.<sup>1</sup> It is the interpretation of all the ecclesiastical expositors, who have generally followed the lead of the New Testament,<sup>2</sup> and referred the words to the communication to the peoples of the salvation coming from Abram's seed. Now it is true that such a reference to the final goal of the old covenant would not in itself be surprising in the case of a prophetic writer like C, although there are nowhere else in Genesis<sup>3</sup> intimations of such a far-reaching character. The context is also well fitted to receive it as an intensification of what is said in ver. 3a. Even the possibility of construing the Niphal as a passive both here and in xviii. 18 and xxviii. 14, is to be acknowledged. But in chs. xxii. 18 and xxvi. 4 the equivalent reading is וְהִתְבָּרְכוּ בִּזְרַעְךָ כָּל גּוֹי הָאָרֶץ, which cannot be understood passively<sup>4</sup> but only reflexively, "all people will bless themselves with your seed," i.e.<sup>5</sup> desire for themselves good fortune like that of Israel, and in so doing use its name as a formula of blessing. There seems no good reason why less should be said of the seed of Abram than of Abram himself, especially as the formula in ch. xxviii. 14 is used, not merely of Abram, but also of his seed. Even were it true that chs. xxii. 18 and xxvi. 4 are from another hand than chs. xii. 3, xviii. 18, and xxviii. 14,<sup>6</sup> namely, from R, it does not on that account follow that there is a difference in the meaning of the formula. Hence most modern expositors<sup>7</sup> have decided for the reflexive force of the Niphal; Tuch gives both Hithpael and Niphal the meaning "*count one's self fortunate, feel one's self blessed in (2) another,*"—a meaning

<sup>1</sup> (Ecclus. xlv. 21 ; Acts iii. 25 ; Gal. iii. 8) ; Targums, Vulgate, Kimchi, Ibn Ezra.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. besides the passages in the preceding note, Rom. iv. 13 and 16 also.

<sup>3</sup> Ch. ix. 26 included.

<sup>4</sup> Sept., Targums.

<sup>5</sup> In accordance with Gen. xlviii. 20 ; Jer. xxix. 22 ; Isa. lxxv. 15 f.

<sup>6</sup> G. Baur.

<sup>7</sup> After Rashi's example, e.g. Clericus, Vogel, De Wette, Gesenius, Ewald, § 133a ; Knobel, Delitzsch.



which appears in itself possible in view of passages like Ps. xlix. 19, but as a matter of fact can be proved from no other passage. Those who still hold by the passive sense<sup>1</sup> require to answer why, if the meaning "be blessed" were intended, the Pual, which is certainly passive, was not used in any one of the five passages. In passages also like Jer. iv. 2 and Ps. lxxii. 17, which return to and repeat these promises to the patriarchs, only the Hithpael is found; in Ps. lxxii. 17 *יִתְבָּרְכוּ בּוֹ* is even explained by *יִתְבָּרְכוּ*. It is incomprehensible why<sup>2</sup> in chs. xviii. 18, xxii. 18, and xxi. 4 the "Jehovist's" Hithpael should be intended to express a passive sense, while in chs. xii. 3 and xxviii. 14 the "Jahvist's" Niphal should be intended to express a reflexive sense. Accordingly we have to abide by the translation, *all the families of the earth will bless themselves in (or with) you*.

*כל־משפחות הארמה*—so in chs. xxviii. 14; in xviii. 18, xxii. 18, and xxvi. 4, *כל־נְפִישׁ הָאָרֶץ*. The intensification of expression, as compared with the parallel clause, lies in the statement that *all* families of the earth bless themselves with him, and indirectly, therefore, also bless and praise him in person, and acknowledge his greatness and importance. It is rather in vv. 2*b* and 3*a* that expression is given to the thought that blessing also really flows out from him on them.<sup>3</sup>

Ver. 4. Abram follows God's direction, and his very setting out is therefore in itself an act of faith in the promise, and of believing obedience to God. The statement of Abram's age is due to *A*. According to it, he set out while his father was still alive; cf. ch. xi. 26 and 32.

Ver. 5 repeats ver. 4*a*, but in *A*'s words. "In all probability Abram journeyed by way of Damascus; see ch. xv. 2."<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> As Hengstenberg, Hofmann, G. Baur, Keil, Kautzsch-Socin, *Die Genesis*<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> Wellhausen, *JBDTh.* xxi. 421, 413.

<sup>3</sup> For discussions of the whole passage see Hengstenberg, *Christologie des A.T.*<sup>2</sup> i. 50 ff.; Reinke, *Beiträge zur Erklärung des A.T.* iv. 111 ff.; G. Baur, *Geschichte des alttest. Weissagung*, p. 205 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Knobel.

רכוּשׁ—*movable property*; in Assyrian *rukûšu*, like רָכַשׁ, is said to mean “riding animal,” *jumentum*; <sup>1</sup> the word is common in *A*; <sup>2</sup> רָכַשׁ, a denominative from it, is only found in *A*.<sup>3</sup>

*And the souls that they had made*—“the persons they had acquired, viz. male and female slaves.”<sup>4</sup> For עֶשֶׂה in this sense comp. ch. xxxi. 1 and Deut. viii. 17. נָפִשׁ, like רָכַשׁ, is a favourite word of *A*’s.”<sup>5</sup>

*Land of Canaan*—see ch. xi. 31.

Ver. 6. Abram passes through the country *to the place* Shechem. מְקוֹם is not merely district, but a place where worship is offered, the seat of a cultus.<sup>6</sup>

*Shechem*—one of the best known towns of Central Canaan, situated on the hills of Ephraim between Mounts Ebal and Gerizim. After its destruction in the wars of Vespasian it was rebuilt under the name Flavia Neapolis. Its modern name is Nablûs.

*As far as the terebinth of the soothsayer (giver of guidance)*—“according to Deut. xi. 30 this was a terebinth grove, and it seems to be identical with the enchanters’ terebinth of Judg. ix. 37.” The giving of guidance “was the business of priests and seers,<sup>7</sup> who were also named teachers” or instructors (givers of guidance).<sup>8</sup> “Plainly we must here think of a sacred grove where soothsaying priests sat in ancient times and imparted information and instruction. The religious importance of the place is also evidenced by the fact that there Jacob buried the images and amulets<sup>9</sup> he brought with him,

<sup>1</sup> P. Haupt, *Hebraica*, iii. 1887, p. 110. [Streitthier of German text corrected into Reiththier.]

<sup>2</sup> Chs. xiii. 6, xxxi. 18, xxxvi. 7, xlvi. 6; Num. xvi. 32, xxxv. 3; it is also used in Gen. xiv. 11 f., 16, 21, and in xv. 14.

<sup>3</sup> Chs. xxxi. 18, xxxvi. 6, xlvi. 6.

<sup>4</sup> Lev. xxii. 11; Ezek. xxvii. 18; cf. אָדָם in Num. xvi. 32.

<sup>5</sup> Chs. xvii. 14, xxxvi. 6, xlvi. 15, 18, 22, 25 ff. etc.; but also in xiv. 21 and elsewhere. Knobel.

<sup>6</sup> Chs. xxii. 3 f., xxviii. 11; 1 Sam. vii. 16 in Sept.; Jer. vii. 12, and frequently.

<sup>7</sup> 2 Kings xvii. 28; 2 Chron. xv. 3; Isa. ix. 14; Hab. ii. 19.

<sup>8</sup> Isa. xxx. 20.

<sup>9</sup> Ch. xxxv. 4.

and there Joshua erected a stone after he had enjoined Israel to observe the law.<sup>1</sup> The latter incident perhaps explains the monument terebinth of Judg. ix. 6 beside which Abimelech was made king. The grove was variously named according to its various aspects."<sup>2</sup> According to the usual interpretation, מֹרֶה is the name of a man, like מִמְרֵה in ch. xiii. 18. The Septuagint and Vulgate even made it מְרֹהָה (ὑψηλός, *illustris*).

מֹרֶה—The Septuagint and Peshitta translate oak. But oak is certainly אֵלֶךְ,<sup>3</sup> and אֵיל and אֵלֶךְ are parallels to אֵלָה,<sup>4</sup> which is distinguished from אֵלֶךְ,<sup>5</sup> and means terebinth. Further, it is certain that terebinths, even in ancient times, were less common than oaks, and better suited to designate localities,<sup>6</sup> besides being readily esteemed more sacred because of the greater age they attain. It is therefore more probable<sup>7</sup> that אֵלֶךְ means terebinth in spite of the fact that the Septuagint always renders δρῦς, and that also the Massoretes vacillate in their punctuation.<sup>8</sup> At the same time, אֵיל and אֵלֶךְ (cf. Aram. אֵילֶךְ) may perhaps designate other large trees also.<sup>9</sup> When we take into consideration the Aramaic word, and such passages as Amos ii. 9, Isa. vi. 13, Zech. xi. 2, and Ezek. xxvii. 6, there is, after all, little probability that אֵלָה and אֵלֶךְ originally denoted sacred trees, and that the one is a *nomen unitatis* and the other an adjective from אֵל, God.<sup>10</sup> The Targums (and Jerome) have מִישְׂרָה, *plain*, for אֵלֶךְ, as in ch. xiv. 6 and elsewhere. By this they show that they understood the idolatrous signification of אֵלֶךְ, for they often translate בַּעַל in this same way.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Josh. xxiv. 26.

<sup>2</sup> Knobel, except that terebinth has been put where he had oak.

<sup>3</sup> Doubtless also אֵלָה, Josh. xxiv. 26.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Gen. xxxv. 4 with Judg. ix. 6.

<sup>5</sup> Hos. iv. 13; Isa. vi. 13.

<sup>6</sup> Regarding the present day, see *ZDPV*. xiii. 220 ff.

<sup>7</sup> Delitzsch, Ewald.

<sup>8</sup> *E.g.* Josh. xix. 33; Judg. iv. 11.

<sup>9</sup> See note on ch. xiv. 6, and Gesenius, *Thesaurus*, 51a.

<sup>10</sup> Stade, *Geschichte*,<sup>1</sup> i. 455.

<sup>11</sup> See treatise on ἡ Βάαλ by Dillmann in *MBAW*. 1881, p. 619.

The remark that *the Canaanite*, not to be taken in the narrower sense<sup>1</sup> of Num. xiii. 29 and xiv. 25, but in its widest signification as in ch. x. 18, *was then in the land*,<sup>2</sup> apparently unnecessary, has in view the promise of ver. 7; the land whose possession God promises to Abram's posterity was not at the time ownerless; on the contrary, those very Canaanites were already settled in it who, according to God's plan,<sup>3</sup> were afterwards to give place, and did give place, to Abram's seed. Comp. ch. xiii. 7, also xxiv. 3 and 37.

Ver. 7. At Shechem, in a theophany, Abram is given the assurance that God will bestow the possession of this land on his descendants. He is thus given the information, withheld in ver. 1, regarding what land is to be the goal of his wanderings, and the series of promises contained in ver. 2 f. is completed. The assurance is several times afterwards repeated in A<sup>4</sup> and the other writers.<sup>5</sup> The Septuagint, Samaritan, Peshitta, and Vulgate add לו to ראמר.

According to the belief of antiquity, the place where there has been a theophany is a sacred spot. So Abram erects an altar at Shechem, as Jacob<sup>6</sup> also did (a מצבה). The building of a sanctuary was a less simple form of the same practice. "In later times there was a sacred spot just beside Shechem;<sup>7</sup> it was necessarily consecrated as such by the patriarchs themselves, for they were regarded as patterns for a later time, and the author's opinion regarding the antiquity of the worship of Jahve allowed of it."<sup>8</sup> For other places of this kind see ver. 8, xiii. 18, xxi. 33, xxii. 1 ff., xxvi. 25.

הנראה אלי—as in ch. xxxv. 1.

Ver. 8. From Shechem, Abram moved on, southward, to the hill country east<sup>9</sup> of Bethel, and encamped in a place where Bethel lay *from the sea*, i.e. west of him, while Ai

<sup>1</sup> Knobel.

<sup>2</sup> Of Canaan, not Shechem, Halévy, *Recherches Bibliques*, x. 261.

<sup>3</sup> Ch. xv. 16 f.

<sup>4</sup> Chs. xvii. 8, xxxv. 12.

<sup>5</sup> Chs. xiii. 15 ff., xv. 18 ff., xxvi. 3, xxviii. 13.

<sup>6</sup> Ch. xxxiii. 20.

<sup>7</sup> Josh. xxiv. 1, 26.

<sup>8</sup> Ch. iv. 6. Knobel.

<sup>9</sup> Chs. ii. 8, iii. 24, xi. 2.



was to the east. Regarding the situations of Bethel and Ai, see commentary<sup>1</sup> on Josh. vii. 2 and the Bible dictionaries.

הַעֲתִיק—*move on* a journey; in this sense again only in xxvi. 22.

וַיֵּט אֶהֱלָה—again in chs. xxvi. 25, xxxiii. 19, xxxv. 21.

Abram consecrated this place also by an altar and the celebration of *divine service*.<sup>2</sup> Bethel was an Israelite place of public worship, and a very ancient holy place.<sup>3</sup> In the kingdom of the ten tribes it was the seat of a royal sanctuary.<sup>4</sup> Its consecration for Israel is ascribed to Jacob;<sup>5</sup> to Abram no more is attributed than the consecration of a place between Bethel and Ai. Regarding the relation of Bethel to Luz, see note on ch. xxviii. 19.

Ver. 9. Abram gradually, *i.e.* in nomadic stages, journeyed farther and farther south. The verse is not from *B* or *R*,<sup>6</sup> but was originally *C*'s introduction to ver. 10 ff. For וַיֵּסַע, see xi. 2; and for הַלֹךְ וְנִסְעוֹ, ch. viii. 3, 5, 7.

יָבֵב—properly *dryness, barren land*, with the article is the name “of the most southerly part of the land of the Hebrews, and borders in the north on the lowlands, the hill country, and the desert of Judah. It is pasture land, only in parts capable of cultivation, and is the transition from the cultivated land to the desert. To the south of it, as far as Sinai, there is only unmitigated desert.”<sup>7</sup> The use of the word in the sense of *south* is a purely Palestinian usage, like that of יָם for west.

## 2. THE MIGRATION TO EGYPT, AND SARAI'S PRESERVATION THERE, CH. XII. 10–20; ACCORDING TO *C*.

This section is in general ascribed to *C*. The expressions הַיְהוּדָה, הַיַּמִּינִי, נָא, הִנֵּה נָא, and בְּעֶבְרַיִם, בְּנִלְלָהּ, מִהֲרֹאֶת עֵשִׂית, exclude

<sup>1</sup> [Dillmann's.]

<sup>2</sup> See note on ch. iv. 26.

<sup>3</sup> Judg. xx. 18, 26 ff.; 1 Sam. x. 3.

<sup>4</sup> 1 Kings xii. 26 ff.; Amos vii. 10 ff.

<sup>5</sup> Chs. xxviii. 22, xxxv. 7 ff.

<sup>6</sup> Kittel, *Geschichte*, i. pp. 123, 135 [*History of the Hebrews*, vol. i. pp. 137, 149].

<sup>7</sup> See Josh. xv. 21 ff. Knobel.

*A* and betray the hand of *C*. According to Wellhausen,<sup>1</sup> the whole, with the inclusion of ver. 9, is from *B*, and was only afterwards inserted into *C*. He deduces this from the artificial bringing back of the narrative in ch. xiii. 1-4 to the point reached in ch. xii. 8, and from the absence of Lot in vv. 9-20, whereas he appears along with Abram in ch. xiii. The observations are correct, but not the conclusions. For vv. 10-20, at least, *B* is excluded by ch. xx., and the language is that of *C*. The fact that Abram journeys alone may be explained by *C*'s not having had the narrative till after the separation from Lot, perhaps in the same situation as *B*'s ch. xx. *R* placed the passage in an earlier context, partly because he wished to separate it as far as possible from its analogue in ch. xx., and partly because he thereby somewhat lessened its incompatibility with the chronological statements which were to be taken from *A*. But, on the other hand, it was an established part of the tradition, that the neighbourhood of Bethel was the scene of the separation of Abram and Lot. Accordingly, *R* has taken the narrative back to that point by means of ch. xiii. 1, 3 f. No conclusion can be deduced from ch. xxvi. 1 f.<sup>2</sup>

Sarai is carried off by the Egyptian king, but has to be restored to Abram as a result of God's interposition and punishment. The patriarch issues from the danger only the richer. The aspect of the story kept in view, in the present setting of it by *R*, is not so much that it is a trial of faith. It is viewed rather as a proof of how God, who has chosen Abram and given him the promises, now also watches over him and his wife, to the extent even of rescuing him from dangers which he has brought on himself by short-sighted policy, and thus gives him an actual proof of the Divine Providence, in which he will yet learn to believe more and more firmly. The actual contents of the narrative, *i.e.* the danger which met or threatened the patriarch's wife at the hands of a foreign prince, and her preservation by God's

<sup>1</sup> *JBDTh.* xxi. 413 f., 419.

<sup>2</sup> See note there.

interposition, was a favourite subject in the legend. What happened here in Egypt "is related to have befallen Abram and Sarai (ch. xx.), and Isaac and Rebecca (ch. xxviii.) at the court of Abimelekh in Gerar."<sup>1</sup> It has been rightly long assumed that these three narratives are variants of the same original story, and a special confirmation of this is that in all three the husband gives out that his wife is his sister.

Ver. 10. Famine is a cause of nomadic migration in ch. xxvi. 1 and xli. 54 f. also. Egypt, the granary of Canaan in times of famine,<sup>2</sup> was the point to which the nomad naturally gravitated in such a case. The stereotyped expression for a journey from the hilly land of Canaan to the Nile valley is ירד, and for the journey from Egypt to Canaan עלה.<sup>3</sup>

Ver. 11. הקריב לבוא, *he approached*.<sup>4</sup> יפת מראה, *of beautiful appearance*.<sup>5</sup> הנהגה, "elsewhere only in purely Jehovistic passages, *i.e.* in *C*."<sup>6</sup>

"According to another writer,<sup>7</sup> Abram had made the agreement with Sarai here mentioned before this time." It is to be observed that the statement about Sarai's beauty proves that this narrative was not originally written out in connection with the passages from *A*, inasmuch as, according to these,<sup>8</sup> Sarai was at the time sixty-five years old.

Ver. 12 f. "Abram requests Sarai to pass as his sister in Egypt, so that he may not be murdered. If she were supposed to be his wife, an Egyptian could only have her by accomplishing her husband's death; if she passed as his sister, there was a prospect of obtaining her from her brother in an honourable way.

אהתי את—*i.e.* you are my sister. יָּ may be omitted in *oratio obliqua*, as in ch. xli. 15.<sup>9</sup> The statement, at least

<sup>1</sup> Knobel.

<sup>2</sup> Ch. xlii. 1 ff.; Josephus, *Antiquities*, xv. 9. 2.

<sup>3</sup> *E.g.* ch. xlii. 23 f., xlii. 4. Knobel.

<sup>4</sup> Gesenius, *Grammatik*,<sup>25</sup> 120. 1.

<sup>5</sup> Gesenius,<sup>25</sup> 128. 3.

<sup>6</sup> Chs. xvi. 2, xviii. 27, 31, xix. 2, 8, 19b, xxvii. 2.

<sup>7</sup> Ch. xx. 13.

<sup>8</sup> Chs. xii. 4, xvii. 17.

<sup>9</sup> Gesenius,<sup>25</sup> 157.

according to *B*'s account, was not untrue,<sup>1</sup> but also not the whole truth.

*In order that it may go well with me on your account—in order that people may show a friendly interest in the brother for the sake of his beautiful sister, and I may prosper.*<sup>2</sup>

בְּנִי—*in chs. xxx. 27, xxxix. 5, and in Deuteronomy.*<sup>3</sup>

Ver. 14 f. Sarai's beauty is praised to the king by the royal officials, and she is brought to the palace to be thereafter one of the women of the royal household. Similar stories are told by modern travellers of Oriental kings who quite at their own pleasure introduce the beauties of their land into their harem.<sup>4</sup> An old Egyptian story of the same kind is given by Ebers.<sup>5</sup>

אֶל-פַּרְעֹה—they praised her *towards* Pharaoh, spoke in praise of her *to* him; cf. Judg. xi. 36.<sup>6</sup> *Pharaoh*, according to Josephus, means *the king*.<sup>7</sup> The hieroglyphic prototype has been shown by Stern to be *p-ur-ā*, *i.e.* great prince,<sup>8</sup> most mighty of princes. From the time of Shishak it became a usual designation of the Pharaohs, and passed into Koptic in the form π-οϣρο, π-εppο, the king.<sup>9</sup> Others,<sup>10</sup> basing on a statement of Horapollo, prefer the derivation from *per'o* (*per-aa per-ao*), *great house*, which was in use as a circumlocation for the sovereign, somewhat as we use "Sublime Porte."

וַיְהִלּוּ, see note on ch. ii. 23. בֵּית, accusative of place;<sup>11</sup> in the Samaritan בֵּיתָה.

Ver. 16. "For the sake of his supposed sister Abram receives from the king presents in men and cattle. The

<sup>1</sup> Ch. xx. 12.

<sup>2</sup> Ch. xl. 14.

<sup>3</sup> Knobel.

<sup>4</sup> Olearius, *Reisebeschreibung*, p. 664; Kämpfer, *Amoenitatum Exoticarum*, p. 203; Jaubert, [*Voyage*, 301], Germ. tr. p. 220 f.

<sup>5</sup> *Aegypten*, 262 f.

<sup>6</sup> Tuch.

<sup>7</sup> *Antiquities*, viii. 6. 2. See Gesenius, *Thesaurus*, p. 1129.

<sup>8</sup> *Grossfürst*.

<sup>9</sup> Peyron, *Lexicon Kopticum*, 150, 181.

<sup>10</sup> Lauth, de Rougé, Brugsch, Ebers, *Aegypten*, p. 263 ff.; Erman, *Aegypten*, p. 92.

<sup>11</sup> As in chs. xviii. 1, xxiv. 23, xxxviii. 11; Gesenius, *Grammatik*,<sup>25</sup> 118. 2.



animals here named appear elsewhere also, along with slaves, as the chief wealth of the nomadic patriarchs,<sup>1</sup> as also in the case of Job;<sup>2</sup> horses are never included. According to Burckhardt<sup>3</sup> and Robinson,<sup>4</sup> it is not every Beduin band which possesses horses. Strabo,<sup>5</sup> in his time, makes the same remark regarding the Nabateans."<sup>6</sup> Against the objections of von Bohlen, that sheep and asses were not among the Egyptian domestic animals, see the note on ch. xlv. 34.<sup>7</sup> But the horse was unknown to the ancient Egyptians, and does not appear on the monuments till the time of the New Empire, from the 18th dynasty onwards.<sup>8</sup> Nor is there any trace of the camel in inscriptions or pictures dating earlier than the Greek period.<sup>9</sup> Ex. ix. 3 also presupposes that it was found in Egypt; the rearing of it was never indigenous to Egypt proper; on the contrary, the ass was always the animal used by the Egyptians as a means of transport through the desert.

וַיְהִי־לֵו—*and there became to him*, he received.<sup>10</sup>

The mention of the male and female slaves between the mention of the he-asses and the she-asses is inexplicable; in chs. xxiv. 35 and xxx. 43 there is less difficulty. The words are either an ancient gloss, or have been misplaced by a transcriber;<sup>11</sup> yet perhaps וַאֲתָנָה וַחֲמִלִים have been tacked on to the list. "The author represents Abram in an unfavourable light, inasmuch as so far from making him protest against Pharaoh's action in ver. 15, he allows him to accept presents from the king. In the light of the high opinion he held of the piety of the patriarch, as elsewhere expressed,<sup>12</sup> he doubt-

<sup>1</sup> Chs. xxiv. 35, xxxii. 15 f.

<sup>2</sup> Job i. 3, xlii. 12.

<sup>3</sup> [*Notes on the Bedouins and Wahābys*, 1831, vol. ii. p. 50 ff.], Germ. tr. 343, 347.

<sup>4</sup> *Palestine*, i. 343.

<sup>5</sup> xvi. 4. 26.

<sup>6</sup> Knobel.

<sup>7</sup> Ebers, *Aegypten*, p. 265 ff.

<sup>8</sup> Erman, *Aegypten*, p. 649; E. Meyer, *Geschichte*, § 211.

<sup>9</sup> Ebers in Riehm's *Handwörterbuch*, p. 314; Erman, *Aegypten*, p. 652.

<sup>10</sup> Gesenius, *Grammatik*,<sup>25</sup> 145. 7.

<sup>11</sup> Olshausen.

<sup>12</sup> Chs. xv. 6, xxii. 12.

less assumed that Abram expected direct divine protection for Sarai if matters came to an extremity.”<sup>1</sup>

Ver. 17. “This was actually what happened. In order to punish the infringement of Abram’s right of property, to secure Sarai’s honour, and bring about her restoration to her husband, God *caused heavy blows to fall* on Pharaoh and his house, *i.e.* inflicted diseases upon them.<sup>2</sup> Derivatives from נגע and similar expressions are frequently used of disease, *e.g.* of leprosy and pestilence,<sup>3</sup> and such diseases are elsewhere recorded as the punishment for profanation of what was sacrosanct.”<sup>4</sup>

וַאֲחֵיבֵּיתָהּ—in spite of its position need not be an addition to the text;<sup>5</sup> see note ch. ii. 9.

Ver. 18 f. “The king summons Abram before him, reproves his conduct, and bids him depart. The plagues led to the conclusion that God was angry, and that sin had been committed; interrogation of Sarai, the recent arrival in the royal household, might lead to an explanation.<sup>6</sup> This is doubtless the course of events implied by the narrator.”<sup>7</sup> Josephus<sup>8</sup> represents the king as learning the cause of his afflictions from the priests.<sup>9</sup>

*And I took her to me to wife*—included her among my wives. Connection with Sarai was prevented by the illness of Pharaoh; see ch. xx. 4, 6.<sup>10</sup>

After הִנֵּה אִשְׁתְּךָ the Septuagint adds ἐναντί σου, לְפָנֶיךָ.

Ver. 20. Pharaoh summoned *over him*, *i.e.* on his account or for his protection, men to escort his journey home.<sup>11</sup> For שְׁלָח comp. chs. xxxi. 27 and xviii. 16, also προπέμπειν.<sup>12</sup> At the end of the verse the Samaritan and some MSS. of the Septuagint add וְלוֹט עִמּוֹ; see ch. xiii. 1.

<sup>1</sup> Knobel.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. ch. xx. 17.

<sup>3</sup> Ex. xi. 1; 1 Sam. vi. 9; 2 Kings xv. [5], 9; Job xix. 21.

<sup>4</sup> Num. xii. 10; 1 Sam. v. 12; 2 Chron. xxvi. 19. Knobel following Tuch.

<sup>5</sup> As Kautzsch-Socin<sup>2</sup> make it.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Jonah i. 7 ff.

<sup>7</sup> Knobel.

<sup>8</sup> *Antiquities*, i. 8. 1.

<sup>9</sup> Tuch.

<sup>10</sup> Knobel.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. Ezra viii. 22.

<sup>12</sup> Acts xv. 3, xxi. 5. Knobel.

### 3. ABRAM'S SEPARATION FROM LOT, CH. XIII.; FROM *R*, FOLLOWING *C* AND *A*.

Abram having returned from Egypt to the neighbourhood of Bethel (along with Lot), disposes of the disputes which had arisen between his herdsmen and those of Lot by proposing that Lot should leave him. Unselfishly enough he leaves to Lot the well-watered valley of the Jordan which he chose, and himself now remains alone in Canaan proper. Immediately after, the future possession of the land is anew promised to him.

By thus voluntarily quitting Canaan, Lot resigned his claim to it, and the later territorial relations of Moab—Ammon and Israel are determined in prototype.<sup>1</sup> At the same time, by the separation of this branch of the migration, Abram becomes the one central figure of the succeeding narrative. This historically important event is, further, narrated in such a way that new proof is given of Abram's spiritual greatness in his self-denying and peace-loving disposition, and at the same time of God's providential care for him.

Ch. xix. 29 is evidence that *A* also contained an account of Lot's separation from Abram. On examination vv. 6, 11*b*, and 12 are proved to be from *A* by the analogy of xxxvi. 7 f., by the expressions עֲרֵי הַכְּפָר, אֶרֶץ, בְּנֵעַן, יֵשֶׁב, נִשָּׂא, רְכוּשׁ, and by the divergences which they reveal from other statements in the passage.<sup>2</sup> Knobel felt himself obliged to assume, because of לְמַסְעֵי, that ver. 3*a*, and in that case also ver. 1 and xii. 9 f., was from *A*. If so, we should have so much the better an explanation of why *R* inserted the episode xii. 11–20 just in this place. At the same time, except for לְמַסְעֵי none of the special marks of *A*'s presence are found in these verses, and this solitary exception may have been adopted by *R* from *A*'s vocabulary. It is therefore safer to assume (p. 17) that *R* in ver. 1 (but without וְלוֹט עִמּוֹ) has

<sup>1</sup> Cf. ch. xxxvi. 6.

<sup>2</sup> Hupfeld, *Die Quellen der Genesis*, p. 21 ff.

retained *C*'s original conclusion of xii. 11-20, but in order to lead the narrative back to the point reached in xii. 8 has inserted ver. 3 f. and the words **וְלוֹט עִמּוֹ** in ver. 1. Vv. 2 and 5 may then have been the original continuation of ch. xii. 8. They and ver. 7 ff. (with the omission of 11b and 12) form a well-connected sequence, and contain sufficient evidence of their derivation from *C*, viz. the reference (ver. 10) to ch. ii. f., the anticipation (ver. 13) of ch. xix., the commands and promises of God in vv. 14-17 (cf. xxviii. 14), the expressions of ver. 9, and the frequent **אֵל**.<sup>1</sup> There are no valid reasons for assigning to *B* some isolated verses in the chapter. Just as little need we regard vv. 14-17 as a later addition.<sup>2</sup>

Ver. 1. Abram went up<sup>3</sup> from Egypt back<sup>4</sup> to the Negeb. The statement that Lot was with him is not contained in ch. xii. 10-20, and may be taken to be a redactional addition.

Ver. 2. Now he was *very heavy by reason of*, rich in, *cattle*,<sup>5</sup> silver, and gold. Silver and gold are mentioned again as patriarchal possessions only in chs. xxiv. 35 and xxii. 53 (from *C*);<sup>6</sup> but comp. ch. xx. 16. Regarding the generic article see Gesenius,<sup>7</sup> but the Massoretes may here have intended a reference to the possessions acquired in Egypt.

Ver. 3 f. **לְמַסְעֵי**—does not mean keeping to the stages by which he had previously journeyed,<sup>8</sup> but, *in accordance with his departures or marches*, by stages, and so by degrees, marching in stages such as suited a nomad and his cattle.<sup>9</sup>

Abram now journeyed **לְמַסְעֵי** from the Negeb on to Bethel, to the place he had formerly<sup>10</sup> occupied, and again celebrated divine service there. This rendering follows the present text,

<sup>1</sup> Vv. 8, 9, 14.

<sup>2</sup> Wellhausen, *JBDTh.* xxi. 414.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. xii. 10.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. xii. 9.

<sup>5</sup> See note ch. iv. 20.

<sup>6</sup> Knobel.

<sup>7</sup> *Grammatik*,<sup>25</sup> 126. 3b.

<sup>8</sup> Sept., Vulg.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. Ex. xvii. 1, xl. 36, 38; Num. x. 2, 6, 12, 28, xxxiii. 1 f., all in *A*; Knobel.

<sup>10</sup> Ch. xii. 8.



but perhaps אַבְרָם is a later interpolation, and ver. 4b was meant originally as a continuation of the relative sentence.

Ver. 5. Lot also, who *went with him*, accompanied him on his journeyings, like Abram (ver. 2), was rich in herds and in tents,<sup>1</sup> *i.e.* slaves and household goods as well.

Ver. 6. From *A*; and the land did not bear them so that they dwelt together, was incapable of sustaining them, seeing it had not sufficient pasture for so many cattle, and so did not permit of their remaining together. Comp. chs. xxxvi. 7 and xii. 5, both from *A*. יָשַׁב, too, is a favourite word of his,<sup>2</sup> though it is found in *B* (xx. 1) and in *C* (xviii. 18).—נִשְׂאָה, masculine, see Gesenius.<sup>3</sup>

Ver. 7. "For this reason there was strife between their herdsmen, *i.e.* regarding the pasture grounds and the wells,<sup>4</sup> which were all the less sufficient for their requirements, seeing that Abram and Lot were not the only occupants of this part of the country."<sup>5</sup>—Regarding פְּרוֹי see note on x. 17. It and כְּנַעֲנִי together describe the ancient population of the country in ch. xxxiv. 30 also; in ch. xii. 6 הַכְּנַעֲנִי is named alone.

Ver. 8 f. Abram feels it to be unseemly that there should be disputes between men who are brothers, *i.e.* relatives,<sup>6</sup> and so proposes a separation. He leaves Lot the choice of locality, though he himself is the older of the two and the leader; *the land is before you*, lies open to you.<sup>7</sup>

הַשְּׂמָאל, הימין—locatives, הַיְּמִינִי is to be supplied with them. הַיְּמִינִי and הַשְּׂמָאל are denominatives from them. To take the right side or the left means to go right or left; for the phrase comp. ch. xxiv. 49 (in *C*).

Ver. 10. Lot turns his eyes to the well-watered plain of the Jordan.

<sup>1</sup> אֲוָלִים, Gesenius,<sup>25</sup> 23. 3A, 2.

<sup>2</sup> Hupfeld, *Quellen*, p. 22. Comp. ver. 12, xxxvi. 7 f., and xxxvii. 1.

<sup>3</sup> *Grammatik*,<sup>25</sup> 145. 7a.

<sup>4</sup> Chs. xxi. 25, xxvi. 20 ff.; cf. xxix. 3, 8.

<sup>5</sup> Knobel.

<sup>6</sup> Chs. xiv. 16, xxix. 15, xxiv. 27.

<sup>7</sup> Similarly chs. xx. 15, xxxiv. 10, xlvii. 6.

כְּנֶרֶת הַיַּרְדֵּן<sup>1</sup>—more frequently simply הַכְּפָר,<sup>2</sup> *the Jordan district*,<sup>3</sup> is the land on both sides of the Jordan from Lake Tiberias to the Dead Sea, the modern el Ghôr, in Josephus<sup>4</sup> called τὸ μέγα πεδῖον. Elsewhere in the Old Testament it is commonly named הָעֲרֻבָה, but that name also includes the 'Araba between the Dead Sea and the Gulf of Akaba.<sup>5</sup> The valley of Siddim,<sup>6</sup> *i.e.* the region at the south of the Dead Sea, was also included in the כְּפָר, and it is it which the author has here specially in mind. It was all, he tells us, מִטְּקָה *riguum, regio rigua*.<sup>7</sup>

The restrictive note of time, *before God destroyed Sodom and Gomorrah*,<sup>8</sup> is referred by the accents to the comparison with the garden of God, but is perhaps<sup>9</sup> an explanatory interpolation, although we do find once in C, in ch. xix. 13, הַיְּהוּדִים instead of הַיִּזְרְעֵלִים.

The inverted climax, *like the garden of God*,<sup>10</sup> *like the land of Egypt*, may be tolerated because the first comparison was pitched too high. It is not permissible to get rid of it by a linguistically impossible translation, *like a garden of God*,<sup>11</sup> which besides leaves the difficulty largely untouched, seeing that a garden planted by God Himself<sup>12</sup> would still be superior to Egypt. It is improbable that כְּאֶרֶץ מִצְרַיִם is due to a later hand.<sup>13</sup>

*In the direction of*<sup>14</sup> *So'ar*, on the south-east shore of the Dead Sea.<sup>15</sup> This determines the southern extremity of the region so resplendent in the beauty and wealth of its plant life, and therefore belongs to the whole sentence and not to

<sup>1</sup> Also in 1 Kings vii. 46 (cf. Matt. iii. 5).

<sup>2</sup> Ch. xix. 17, 25, 28 ; Deut. xxxiv. 3 ; 2 Sam. xviii. 23.

<sup>3</sup> Lit. circle or circuit, Kreis.

<sup>4</sup> *Wars of the Jews*, iv. 8. 2.

<sup>5</sup> Deut. i. 1, ii. 8.

<sup>6</sup> Ch. xiv. 3.

<sup>7</sup> Regarding the abundance of water due to the brooks which flow down from the hills, see Burekhardt, [*Travels in Syria*, p. 390], Germ. tr. p. 658 f.; Seetzen, *Reisen*, i. p. 417.

<sup>8</sup> Ch. xix. 24 ff.

<sup>9</sup> Olshausen.

<sup>10</sup> Ch. ii. 8 ff.

<sup>11</sup> Schumann, Delitzsch<sup>4</sup>.

<sup>12</sup> Num. xxiv. 6.

<sup>13</sup> Olshausen, Kautzsch-Socin<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>14</sup> Ch. x. 19, 30.

<sup>15</sup> See ch. xix. 22.

בארץ מצרים alone. The Peshitta renders the latter view, and helps itself out with the correction of צַעַר into צִעַן, *Egypt at the entering in of So'ar*. Ebers<sup>1</sup> actually adopts the reading of the Peshitta, and Trumbull wishes to make So'ar the name of the borderland of the north-east of Egypt.<sup>2</sup>

The assumption that from לַפְנֵי to נִירְיָהָ is a redactional addition, and that the remainder of the verse is from *A*,<sup>3</sup> is untenable, for *A* does not write כְּכַר הִירָן (see ver. 12).

Ver. 11 f. Lot chose this Jordan district and journeyed therefore eastwards.<sup>4</sup>

וַיִּפְּרֹדוּ—אָהֵי—coming after the first part of the verse these words are unnecessary, but they are the necessary pre-supposition of ver. 12. They and ver. 12 as far as הַכְּכַר are therefore to be assigned to *A*, who is pointed out by the expressions אֶרֶץ כְּנָעַן,<sup>5</sup> עֵרִי הַכְּכַר,<sup>6</sup> and יֵשֶׁב.<sup>7</sup> Similar reasoning proves that וַיֵּאָהֵל עַד־סֹדֶם is no longer his,<sup>8</sup> but originally followed לוֹט מִקְדָּם in ver. 11. It in turn is presupposed by the following verse, which is not from *A*.

אָהֵל—only here and in ver. 18, *to dwell in tents, lead the life of a tent-dweller*, doubtless not synonymous with נָסַע = *break up camp*, but in the sense *lead a wandering nomadic life*. In chs. xiv. 21 (? *B*) and xix. 1 (*C*), Lot is resident in Sodom. "The narrators all point out with interest how those only remain in Canaan from whom the Israelites were descended, while the other relatives of the patriarchs depart."<sup>9</sup>

Ver. 13. לִיהוָה—not against Jahve,<sup>10</sup> but rather, as the Massorettes take it, *to Jahve, i.e. in His eyes*; לָ as the לַפְנֵי of ch. vii. 1.

The author remarks that the inhabitants of Sodom were *wicked and sinful in the eyes of Jahve*, not merely in order to prepare us thus early for the judgment which comes upon

<sup>1</sup> *Aegypten*, p. 272 f.

<sup>2</sup> See *ZDPV*. viii. 325.

<sup>3</sup> Knobel.

<sup>4</sup> Chs. xi. 2, ii. 8, xii. 8.

<sup>5</sup> See ch. xii. 5.

<sup>6</sup> As in xix. 29 contrasted with כְּכַר הִירָן in ver. 10 f. Knobel.

<sup>7</sup> See ver. 6.

<sup>8</sup> Knobel.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. xxi. 14 ff., xxv. 6, 18, xxxvi. 6. Knobel.

<sup>10</sup> Ch. xx. 6, xxxix. 9. Delitzsch, Kautzsch-Socin<sup>2</sup>.

them (ch. xix.), but also in order to indicate the guiding hand of providence which by Lot's choice preserved Abram from association with such people.

Vv. 14-17. The form of expression וַיֵּאָמֶר יְהוָה for וַיֵּאָמֶר is occasioned by the preceding circumstantial clause in ver. 13, which does not belong to ver. 14. There is no sufficient reason for denying the verse to *C*.<sup>1</sup> The assertion that in *C* God speaks to Abram only in theophanies is refuted by ch. xii. 1 ff.; there is no obscurity in regard to the locality, which is the district of Bethel;<sup>2</sup> and it is a mere assumption that *C* brings Abram [from Mesopotamia] by the *direct* road to Hebron, over Shechem and Bethel, and leaves him there permanently.<sup>3</sup> There is a good connection between ver. 18 and ver. 17, whereas if it were directly attached to ver. 12 f. the word וַיֵּאָהֵל would be badly chosen.

Abram by his magnanimous conduct has made himself worthy of new favour from God. Now that he is in the land by himself God's plans regarding him may develop themselves further. So *God on His side* repeats to Abram in a new revelation the assurance that he will one day possess the land<sup>4</sup> and grow to be a great people,<sup>5</sup> and He encourages him to move freely about in the land where he will.

Ver. 14. "Abram is to look about him. Bethel lay pretty much in the centre of the country, and at the same time high up on the hills.<sup>6</sup> From its heights there appears to have been a wide outlook over the various parts of the country."<sup>7</sup> The four points of the compass are mentioned as in ch. xxviii. 14, which certainly belongs to *C*. The slight difference in the order of enumeration here<sup>8</sup> is no sufficient evidence against *C*.

Ver. 15. עַד-עוֹלָם, *for ever*, as a lasting possession, expresses

<sup>1</sup> Wellhausen.

<sup>2</sup> Ver. 4.

<sup>3</sup> See, on the contrary, ver. 18, וַיֵּאָהֵל אַבְרָם.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. ch. xii. 7.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. ch. xii. 2.

<sup>6</sup> Chs. xii. 8, xxxv. 1, 3; Judg. i. 22, iv. 5; 1 Sam. xiii. 2.

<sup>7</sup> Knobel.

<sup>8</sup> Wellhausen, *JBDTh.* xxi. 421.



something new as compared with what was contained in ch. xii. 7.

Ver. 16. God will also make his seed innumerable. The hyperbolical expression *dust of the earth* is also found in ch. xxviii. 14, which belongs to *C*. Other examples of the figure are "as the stars of the sky,"<sup>1</sup> and "as the sand of the seashore."<sup>2</sup> This promise is the third. It comprehends a part of the first (ch. xii. 2 f.) and of the second (ch. xii. 7).

אִשֵּׁר אֵם—*so that if anyone*.<sup>3</sup> This translation is preferable to *quem si*, which, instead of the mere pronominal suffix after לְמִנּוֹת, would have the full object אֶת־עַפְרַיִם הָאָרֶץ repeated.<sup>4</sup>

Ver. 17. Abram is to traverse the length and breadth of the land freely, and take his use of it in hope and as a sign of his future possession of it.<sup>5</sup> The Septuagint at the end of the verse has the additional words וְלֹאֲרַעַךְ עַד־עֵינָם, as in ver. 15.

Ver. 18. Abram now moved about the country<sup>6</sup> till he finally reached the Hebron district, where he fixed his permanent abode. There he erected an altar,<sup>7</sup> and thus Hebron, "where in later times there was a place of sacrifice,"<sup>8</sup> acquired its sanctity.

The verse as it stands is from *C*. *A* must somewhere, indeed, have related Abram's settlement in the neighbourhood of Hebron, the patriarch's place of residence in his narrative also. But *A* names the place מְמֶרֶה,<sup>9</sup> and not the "terebinths of Mamre."<sup>10</sup> According to ch. xiv. 13, 24, the grove had its name from the Amorite Mamre.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Chs. xv. 5, xxii. 17, xxvi. 4 (Deut. i. 10, x. 22, xxviii. 62).

<sup>2</sup> Chs. xxii. 17, xxxii. 13.

<sup>3</sup> As in chs. xi. 7, xxii. 14, xxiv. 3 (Gesenius,<sup>25</sup> 166. 2).

<sup>4</sup> As ch. i. 13; Jer. xxxi. 32 (Tuch, Ewald, § 331c).

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Isa. xxiii. 10. Knobel.

<sup>6</sup> See ver. 12.

<sup>7</sup> See note ch. xii. 7.

<sup>8</sup> 2 Sam. xv. 7. Knobel.

<sup>9</sup> Chs. xxiii. 17, 19, xxv. 9, xxxv. 27, xlix. 30, i. 13.

<sup>10</sup> As the narratives xiv. 13 and xviii. 1.

<sup>11</sup> See, further, the notes on xxiii. 2, 20.

4. ABRAM'S UNSELFISH EXPEDITION TO SAVE LOT, AND  
MELCHISEDEK'S BENEDICTION OF HIM, CH. XIV.; FROM  
*R*, FOLLOWING *B* (?).

1. In a war conducted by the four allied kings of Elam, Shinar, Ellasar, and Goyim, against the peoples of the Jordan valley and the southern desert, Lot also was captured in Sodom and carried off along with his property and other plunder taken from Sodom and Gomorrah. Abram received news of the event, and boldly started after the army of the victors, now on their way home. He had with him 318 of his own people and those of his confederates Eshkol and Aner. He defeated the enemy near Dan, and rescued from them Lot, the other captives, and the booty. He was met on his way back by the king of Sodom and by Melchisedek, king of Salem, in the valley of Shaweh. By the latter he was solemnly blessed for the deed he had performed, and he gave him a tenth of the spoil. Yet he proudly and generously refused the reward proffered him by the king of Sodom.

In this chapter Abram appears in a new light. We hear regarding his relations with the native princelings. He is in league with them for offensive and defensive purposes, and when combined with them is strong enough on an occasion to contend with success on behalf of the weaker party against warlike and conquering foreign princes. So far, however, as his character is concerned, he shows himself in these circumstances the same high-minded man. Bold and self-sacrificing, he does not hesitate a moment in the hour of need to enter the lists against a superior force on behalf of his relative Lot. He refuses to make external profit from his noble deed, but he obtains a higher reward in the shape of help from his God and esteem from the people of the country. This section, like the one immediately preceding, thus contributes to the complete picture of the man, and of the divine care exercised on his behalf.

But we have to observe that otherwise the account is strikingly peculiar. Otherwise than in the other narratives, Abram's deed is given a setting in a frame of international history. Almost the whole of the first half is a bit of secular history which describes the incidents of a war, and gives the date, the scene, and the names of the personages engaged in it. When Abram comes to be spoken of in ver. 13 he is introduced as "the Hebrew," and portrayed as a chief in alliance with other chiefs in the country. He is at the head of a not inconsiderable force, and can on occasion wage war also. Nor is this all. Melchisedek and his higher religious faith makes a singular impression. The name and description of the valley of Siddim<sup>1</sup> are quite without parallel elsewhere. From a linguistic point of view, there are idioms and expressions either not found at all elsewhere in the Old Testament,<sup>2</sup> or at least not in the Pentateuch.<sup>3</sup> These facts taken together force us, in the first place, to the supposition that the narrative comes from an independent and ancient source. But seeing it mentions Dan,<sup>4</sup> and contains numerous explanatory glosses,<sup>5</sup> it must have passed through the hands of a later redactor. There is nothing to lead us to the conclusion that *C* was this redactor,<sup>6</sup> for in ver. 22 יהוה is doubtless an interpolation, and the words והוא ישב בסדם (ver. 12) and באלני ממרא (ver. 13) only prove that the present text presupposes ch. xiii., not that it comes from the same source. There is, on the contrary, definite evidence against him in the use of the name עמק השירים<sup>7</sup> instead of בכר הירק,<sup>8</sup> and in the fact that ch. xviii. f. takes no account of the narrative. *A*, in turn,<sup>9</sup> is indeed suggested

<sup>1</sup> Vv. 3 and 10.

<sup>2</sup> As קנה שמים וארץ (xix. 22), בעל ברית (13), קָנִיךָ (14), הָרִיק with a personal object (14).

<sup>3</sup> As אל עליון (18-20, 22), כָּנִן (20), העשיר (22).

<sup>4</sup> Ver. 14.

<sup>5</sup> Vv. 2, 7 f., 14, 17.

<sup>6</sup> Hupfeld, Kayser, Delitzsch<sup>5</sup> [*New Comment. on Genesis*, vol. i. p. 393].

<sup>7</sup> Vv. 3, 8, 10.

<sup>8</sup> Ch. xiii. 10 f.

<sup>9</sup> Ilgen.

by the words רכוש<sup>1</sup> and נפש<sup>2</sup>, but the former is found also in ch. xv. 14, from *R*, and נפש as a word for individuals of both sexes, free and slave, could hardly be avoided. As for ילדי ביתו, it appears to be merely an explanatory gloss, and the use of אלני ממרא is evidence against him.<sup>3</sup> Besides, it is not characteristic of *A* to enter into such fulness of detail unless the subject has a ceremonial or legal interest, and the literary style is very different from his writing. On the other hand, much may be said for *B*'s authorship.<sup>4</sup> Elsewhere, also, his narratives are marked by the distinctive character of their contents and expressions. In ch. xxi. he tells of alliances with native princes, and in ch. xlviii. 22 mentions a warlike exploit of Jacob's against Shechem. It is not impossible that he had other incidents of this character which have been omitted by *R* as not serviceable for his purposes. In particular, while פליט<sup>5</sup> and מרר<sup>6</sup> are no evidence for him, the rare word בלערי<sup>7</sup> doubtless is, and certainly האמרי,<sup>8</sup> which *B*<sup>9</sup> writes for the usual כנעני. The mention also of Adma and Şebayim,<sup>10</sup> compared with ch. xix., where *C* speaks only of Sodom and Gomorrah, is most easily explained on the supposition of *B*'s authorship.<sup>11</sup> The enumeration of primitive peoples, contained in ver. 8 f., reminds us forcibly of Deut. ii. 10–12, 20, and these verses, we may suppose, were from one of *D*'s sources. It is no objection to *B*'s authorship that he elsewhere pictures Abram "as a Moslem and a prophet";<sup>12</sup> did not Mohammed, too, on occasion wage war? But it must be acknowledged that the passage in its present form cannot be attributed even to *B*, partly in view of the many explanatory additions, partly

<sup>1</sup> Vv. 11 f., 16, 21.<sup>2</sup> Ver. 21.<sup>3</sup> See ch. xiii. 18.<sup>4</sup> Ewald, Böhmer, Schrader, Kittel, *Geschichte*, vol. i. p. 124 [*History of the Hebrews*, vol. i. p. 137].<sup>5</sup> Ver. 13.<sup>6</sup> Knobel, Schrader.<sup>7</sup> Ver. 24; cf. ch. xli. 16.<sup>8</sup> Vv. 7, 13 (Num. xxi. 21; Josh. xxiv. 8, 12).<sup>9</sup> And *D* following him.<sup>10</sup> See vol. i. p. 313, note 5, regarding ch. x. 19.<sup>11</sup> Cf. Hos. xi. 8.<sup>12</sup> Wellhausen, *JBDTh.* xxi. 414.



because of vv. 17–20, which can only have been written by a Judean. Nor is it anywhere apparent that *B* knew of Abram's residence in Mamre. So the narrative must have been given its present shape by a later hand, by *R* or perhaps *I<sup>d</sup>*. But, unless the narrative is fiction from beginning to end, there is no occasion for declaring it to be one of the latest parts of the Old Testament, and a product of recent Midrash writing.<sup>1</sup>

2. The narrative, because assigned its place in the wider movement of international history, makes on the reader the impression that it is historical in a stricter sense than the other narratives regarding Abram. We have to ask whether and how far this impression remains on a more careful examination. The question has been very decidedly answered in the negative by many,<sup>2</sup> and the narrative declared to be an invention for the sake of Abram's glorification. We are told<sup>3</sup> that contests with the inhabitants of the land were not thought sufficiently imposing for a picture of Abram in the character of a mighty warrior, so the most far-fetched names were sought out and introduced into it. In every other particular, also, the endeavour was made to preserve the appearance of antiquity. As a matter of fact, it is true that the narrative contains far too many definite names and statements to be an unsophisticated popular legend. If not based on actual fact, it must be the artificial construction of a writer of romance who has made use of material of an antiquarian character.<sup>4</sup> E. Meyer,<sup>5</sup> who adopts this view, believes that the Jew who wrote the piece got detailed information about the ancient history of Canaan in Babylon. But it has not yet been proved that we have

<sup>1</sup> Kuenen, *Onderzoek*,<sup>2</sup> vol. i. p. 314; Wellhausen, *Composition des Hexateuchs*, p. 312; Vatke, *ZPTh.* xxviii. 157.

<sup>2</sup> Not only by von Bohlen, but by Hitzig, *Geschichte*, 44 f. and 20, by Nöldeke in especial, *Untersuchungen*, 156 ff., *ZWTh.* 1870, p. 213 ff.; also by Kuenen, *ThT.* v. 262 f., and Wellhausen, *Composition*, p. 310 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Nöldeke.

<sup>4</sup> So also Stade, *ZATW.* vi. 323, and E. Meyer.

<sup>5</sup> *Geschichte des Alterthums*, i. § 136.

here an account which is actually impossible. In the first place, the four kings from the east, nowhere else mentioned either separately or together, and their campaign against the west must have an historical foundation. Several of the royal names have recently been brought into the light of history by the cuneiform inscriptions. It was already to be conjectured from ch. x. 22 that Elam was once a sovereign power, in part before Babel, and this is now confirmed by the monuments.<sup>1</sup> We need no longer doubt that the Elamitic-Babylonian sphere of empire extended to Syria and as far as Egypt;<sup>2</sup> even already the conjecture is gaining ground that the Hyksos invasion of Egypt had its origin in the same quarter.<sup>3</sup> Equally, in later times, every power of any consequence in the district of the Euphrates-Tigris basin sought to extend itself to the west. It is clear from the narrative itself that the campaign of Gen. xiv., also, was not a mere plundering expedition, but was undertaken to maintain an overlordship previously established in the west. This makes it all the more credible that the memory of what occurred should be preserved in the west for a length of time. As late as about the year 1400 B.C. there were still, we know,<sup>4</sup> people in Canaan masters of the Babylonian language and its written character. In Num. xiii. 22, also, another fragment of ancient political history has been preserved (comp. also Judg. iii. 8). The exclusively religious purpose of the biblical writings explains why more of a similar character has not been preserved.

But although the setting of the narrative cannot be seriously called in question, when these facts are considered, it is not itself thereby guarded from all objection. Because of Abram's being introduced in ver. 13 as העברי, Ewald

<sup>1</sup> Regarding the Elamite invasion and dynasty in Babylon, see Meyer, § 135 ff.; Mürdter-Delitzsch, *Babyl.-Assyr. Geschichte*,<sup>2</sup> p. 82 f.

<sup>2</sup> Regarding Kudur-Mabug, ruler of the west, see note on בדרלעמר, ver. 1.

<sup>3</sup> Naville, *Bubastis*, London, 1891, pp. 16-29; Meyer, §§ 109, 137.

<sup>4</sup> From the Tell-Amarna letters.

regarded the whole narrative as taken from an ancient foreign source, and believed himself entitled to find in it a proof of Abram's actual historical existence.<sup>1</sup> But now it is because of this very mention of Abram and of the kings of the Pentapolis that the impugnors of the narrative regard the whole as a romance. In truth, it must be admitted to be possible that the original account spoke only of the successful part played by the Hebrews of the country in the contest with the eastern kings, and that everything else is due to an interweaving of new materials and amplification of the old on the part of the Israelite narrator or narrators. Proof one way or another is impossible. At the same time, the objections which have been advanced are little to the point. The course of the campaign as described in vv. 5-9 is not out of harmony with its intention, nor in itself absurd. There is no attempt to represent the battle in the valley of Siddim as a great international contest.<sup>2</sup> It is in no way surprising that the author is silent regarding operations against the Canaanites proper, for it was not part of his purpose to enter on their relations with the eastern kings. Nor is it even in itself incredible that Abram, having combined his forces and those of his allies, rescued a part of the captives and of the booty from the victorious army on its way home. It is nowhere said that he overcame in open battle the united army of the four kings, still less does the narrative display the intention of glorifying him as a great hero in war; in ver. 15 f. the successful exploit is recorded without a single word of ostentatious parade. On the contrary, the narrative has its whole point in Abram's self-sacrificing friendship for Lot and in the restoration of the captives, and not in an empty boast of warlike fame. The whole campaign is narrated, not for its own sake, but only

<sup>1</sup> Ewald, *Geschichte*,<sup>3</sup> i. pp. 80, 431 f., 440 ff. [*History of Israel*, vol. i. pp. 52, 301, 307 ff.]; similarly Kittel, *Geschichte*, i. 153 ff. [*History of the Hebrews*, vol. i. p. 175].

<sup>2</sup> "Völkerschlacht," Nöldeke.

in so far as it contributes to an understanding of Abram's deed of rescue, and there is no pretension of completeness about the story. Even if the four names of the kings of the cities in the plain of Siddim are an addition supplied by the fancy of later writers, the tradition of war between the eastern kings and those of the Pentapolis may yet be well based—assuming that we do not regard the existence of the cities themselves as also a fiction. Nor is it of importance if Mamre, Eshkol, and 'Aner were originally place names,<sup>1</sup> for it makes no difference whether Mamre or the lord of Mamre assisted Abram. The account regarding Melchisedek we may suppose to have been introduced only by the latest redactor, but, even then, only with the justification of tradition for this new "figure"; nothing compels us to assume that he is an independent invention of the redactor's own.

Literature on ch. xiv.: Krahmer in Illgen's *Zeitschrift für historische Theologie*, vii. 4, pp. 87–106; Tuch in *ZDMG.* i. 161–194; Nöldeke, *Untersuchungen zur Kritik des Alten Testaments* (Grotefend in *ZDMG.* viii. 800 ff.); Rösch in *St. Kr.* 1885, p. 321 ff.; Halévy, *Recherches Bibliques*, x. 247–263 (*REJ.* xv. 161 ff.).

Vv. 1–12. The war which resulted in Lot's captivity. Ver. 1 f. belong together, inasmuch as the principal sentence to which the temporal clause of ver. 1 is subordinate, comes only in ver. 2. **בִּימֵי** is not to be emended into **בִּימֵי אַבְרָם**,<sup>2</sup> nor are the first and second names alone,<sup>3</sup> for instance, to be subordinated to the construct, but the whole four. Still the subject of **עָשָׂו** is only to be found in the names of these four kings; comp. in ch. ix. 6 the subject of **עֵשָׂה**.<sup>4</sup>

**יִשְׁעָר**—see notes on x. 10 and xi. 2. For all the names of ver. 1 comp. also Schrader.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Nöldeke.

<sup>2</sup> Clericus, Ewald, *Composition der Genesis*, p. 220, Olshausen; against this Hitzig, *Begriff der Kritik*, p. 149.

<sup>3</sup> Sept.; see, on the other hand, vv. 5 and 9. <sup>4</sup> Ewald, *Syntax*, § 303b.

<sup>5</sup> *SBAW.* 1887, pp. 600–605, in which he corrects *KAT.*<sup>2</sup> 135 ff. [*Cuneiform Inscriptions*, vol. i. p. 120 ff.].



אַמֶּרֶץ—Sept. *Ἀμαρφάλ*, now identified by Schrader<sup>1</sup> with the great Babylonian king Hammurabi, *circa* 2100 B.C., it being assumed that the text is corrupted from an original אַמֶּרֶץ. Hammurabi reigned fifty-five years, put an end to the dominant power of Elam and of the various principedoms in Babylonia itself, and created the united kingdom with Babel as its capital,<sup>2</sup> though at first for a time obliged to tolerate the rival existence of Eriaku of Larsaw and others.

אַרְרָץ—is not the תְּלֶשֶׁר of Isa. xxxvii. 12,<sup>3</sup> still less Pontus;<sup>4</sup> nor is it Artemita, which was also called *Χαλάσαρ*,<sup>5</sup> and was situated in the south of Assyria<sup>6</sup> to the north of Babylonia,<sup>7</sup> for in Syriac that is written הוֹלֶסֶר;<sup>8</sup> just as little can it be the old imperial capital of Assyria, Asshur = 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 Shīrgat.<sup>9</sup> With more probability it is now identified<sup>10</sup> with the old Babylonian city of Larsam or Larsaw, south-east of Uruk, the ruins of which are found in the modern Senkereh.<sup>11</sup> The easing of pronunciation in the Hebrew combination of sounds, לֶסֶר from לָרֶס,<sup>12</sup> is explicable; Halévy<sup>13</sup> believes, besides, that he has discovered that the original form of La-arsa was Ella-arsa.

אַרְיֹךְ—known from Dan. ii. 14 as a personal name. It is now believed that the name Ariokh, and indeed the actual individual, has been found in the inscriptions<sup>14</sup> in the person

<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 603 ff. (Halévy, x. 254 f.).

<sup>2</sup> Tiele, *Geschichte*, p. 124 ff.; Mürdter-Delitzsch, *Gesch. Babylon. u. Assyr.* p. 85 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Jerusalem Targum.

<sup>4</sup> Symmachus, Vulgate.

<sup>5</sup> According to Isidorus Characenus (in *Geographi minores*, ed. Müller, p. 251).

<sup>6</sup> Ptolemy, vi. 1. 6; Strabo, xvi. 1. 17.

<sup>7</sup> Knobel.

<sup>8</sup> Nöldeke, *op. cit.* p. 160.

<sup>9</sup> Sayce, *SBAT.* ii. 1873, p. 244.

<sup>10</sup> H. Rawlinson, Norris, Lenormant, Schrader in Riehm's *Handwörterbuch*, p. 1495, and in *KAT.*<sup>2</sup> p. 135 f. [*Cuneiform Inscriptions*, i. p. 121]; Delitzsch, *Paradies*, p. 224.

<sup>11</sup> Loftus, *Travels*, p. 244 ff.

<sup>12</sup> Lenormant, *La langue primitive de la Chaldée*, p. 377 ff.

<sup>13</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 253.

<sup>14</sup> Lenormant, *op. cit.* p. 377 ff.; Oppert, *JA.* vii. 5, p. 277 f.; Schrader, *KAT.*<sup>2</sup> 135 [*Cuneiform Inscriptions*, vol. i. p. 120 f.]; Delitzsch, *Paradies*, p. 224.

of Eri-aku or Riw-aku, *i.e.* servant of the moon god, vassal king of Larsam under his father Kudur-Mabug, king of Elam, and himself the last king of Larsa. The objections of Tiele<sup>1</sup> and others to the accuracy of the reading Riw-aku, have been met<sup>2</sup> by the help of fresh discoveries.

עִלִּים—see note on ch. x. 22.

כְּדֻרְלִמְּךָ—Sept. *Χοδολλογομόρ*. From the cuneiform inscriptions we are now acquainted with several compound names of early Elamite kings in which *Kudur* is one element, and also with an Elamite deity Lagamar.<sup>3</sup> It is also related in the inscriptions of Asshurbanipal that he brought back from Susa to Babylon the statue of a god which had been carried off by the Elamite king Kudur-Nahundi 1635 years before his time; and in Mugheir, bricks have been found due to a king Kudur-Mabug who calls himself *adda-martu*, ruler of the west country, Canaan.<sup>4</sup>

תַּרְעֵךְ—Sept. *Θαργάλ*, as yet unknown.

גִּלְיָם—*ἔθνω*, meaningless as a *nomen appellativum* without further qualification, and not to be identified with Galilee<sup>5</sup> nor Pamphylia,<sup>6</sup> nor אֲזִי הַגִּלְיָם of Gen. x. 5;<sup>7</sup> it must be a proper name though the reading may be corrupt. It has been conjectured<sup>8</sup> that we here find the Gutî or Kutî, a powerful people often mentioned in the inscriptions.<sup>9</sup> They inhabited the country between the Zab and the Diyâla (Gyndes), were the northern neighbours of the Kossæans, and are perhaps the קִטִּי of Ezek. xxiii. 23.<sup>10</sup>

The principle followed in the arrangement of the names is not obvious, in ver. 9 it is different; Delitzsch supposes it

<sup>1</sup> *Geschichte*, p. 124.

<sup>2</sup> By Schrader, *op. cit.* p. 601 f.; Fried. Delitzsch in excursus to Delitzsch,<sup>5</sup> p. 539 ff. [not translated in *New Commentary*].

<sup>3</sup> A goddess according to Jensen, *WZKM.* vi. p. 64.

<sup>4</sup> Schrader in Riehm's *Handwörterbuch*, p. 819; *KAT.*<sup>2</sup> p. 136 f. [*Cuneiform Inscriptions*, vol. i. p. 121 f.].

<sup>5</sup> Josh. xii. 23; Matt. iv. 15 (Clericus, Rosenmüller).

<sup>6</sup> Symmachus.

<sup>7</sup> Gesenius, Nöldeke.

<sup>8</sup> H. Rawlinson.

<sup>9</sup> Schrader, *KGF.* pp. 258, 271, 294, 451, 473.

<sup>10</sup> Delitzsch, *Paradies*, p. 223 ff.

to be alphabetical. From what follows it is clear that Kedorlaomer was the leader in the group of kings. Comp. also passages like Josh. x. 3, 5, 23.<sup>1</sup>

Ver. 2. These kings waged war<sup>2</sup> with the kings of the five cities. The expedition, as we learn from ver. 5 ff., was not directed against them alone, but the war with them was to be the chief theme of the narrative, in accordance with the author's aims. "The five cities<sup>3</sup> seem to have formed a confederation. The first four<sup>4</sup> afterwards perished,<sup>5</sup> but not so Bela', *i.e.* Šo'ar. Those in the first rank were Sodom and Gomorrah, which are elsewhere always mentioned by themselves, as they are here in ver. 10 f. To judge from the situation of Šo'ar<sup>6</sup> and of Sodom,<sup>7</sup> the cities occupied the position of what is now the southern part of the Dead Sea. For further particulars see ch. xix. 22."<sup>8</sup> It may be noted that the inhabitants are nowhere called Canaanites, and that their territory is not reckoned part of the land of Canaan.<sup>9</sup> The position of affairs, in which each of those towns had its own king, is precisely as it is found later, in the time of Joshua.

De Saulcy<sup>10</sup> imagined that he had discovered ruins of the five cities still by the Dead Sea; others wish to recognise in the names כרם and עמרה a description of their fate,<sup>11</sup> and thus prove the names fictitious. Jewish humour<sup>12</sup> caught the sound of the words רע and רשע in the names of the first two kings; and seeing that פ is not elsewhere used in the formation of personal names, Tuch has conjectured a contraction from אָבִי, אָבִי רע (similarly Halévy<sup>13</sup> from אָבִי רע, בִּרְשָׁע, בִּרְרָע

<sup>1</sup> Knobel.<sup>2</sup> Josh. xi. 18.<sup>3</sup> Pentapolis, Wisd. x. 6.<sup>4</sup> Ch. x. 19.<sup>5</sup> Deut. xxix. 22, cf. Hos. xi. 8.<sup>6</sup> See ch. xix. 22.<sup>7</sup> See ch. xiii. 12.<sup>8</sup> Knobel.<sup>9</sup> According to ch. xiii. 12.<sup>10</sup> *Revue Archéologique*, nouv. série, xxx. 295 ff.<sup>11</sup> Gesenius, *Thesaurus*; Hitzig, *Geschichte*, p. 25, in all four, *submerged, overwhelmed, destroyed, swallowed by the earth*, with Arabic as the alleged authority.<sup>12</sup> Jerusalem Targum, Bereshith Rabba.<sup>13</sup> *REJ.* x. 1885, p. 3.

(רִשָּׁע). Hitzig gave his help to the cause by the discovery of the meanings "serpent-tooth" and "scorpion-venom" in the other two. But the Septuagint has *Βαλλα* (*Βαλακ*) for ברע and *Σενααρ* (Samaritan שִׁנְאֵר) for שִׁנְאֵב, and pronounces שִׁמְאֵב, *Συμβορ* (Peshitta ܫܡܒܪ). When the tradition is so uncertain an interpretation of the names from Hebrew roots is, to say the least, a doubtful proceeding. Conversely, the Samaritan reading שִׁמְאֵב for שִׁמְאֵב is evidence that the thirst for interpretation made early attempts on the names. See further regarding the first two names, *e.g.* Gesenius, *Thesaurus*.

בָּלַע — only here. The name of its king is entirely wanting, it can hardly have merely fallen out of the text.

Ver. 3. *All these, four, allied themselves, i.e. marched in confederacy against*<sup>1</sup> *the valley of Siddim, i.e. the valley of the level fields,*<sup>2</sup> *which is the Salt Sea, i.e. against the district where the enemies' towns lay, and where afterwards, it is supposed,*<sup>3</sup> *the Dead Sea (its southern part) came to be. Speaking generally, the valley of Siddim is here used to describe the same tract of country as that named כְּכַר or כְּכַר הַיִּרְדֵּן in ch. xiii.*

Ver. 4. "The cause of hostilities was that the kings of Siddim, who had paid tribute for twelve years, refused in the thirteenth year to do so any longer. This is the meaning given by the Hebrew."<sup>4</sup>

מָר—"only found elsewhere in the Hexateuch in Num. xiv. 9; Josh. xxii. 16, 18 f., 29."<sup>5</sup>

וּבְשֵׁלֶשׁ—see note on ch. xv. 16;<sup>6</sup> the Samaritan, more correctly,<sup>7</sup> has וּבְשֵׁלֶשׁ.

Ver. 5 ff. At once, in the year following, Kedorlaomer appeared with the other kings. They subdued, one after

<sup>1</sup> Ewald, *Syntax*, § 282c.

<sup>2</sup> Aquila, Onkelos, Samaritan, Saadia; but the Septuagint has τῆς φάραγγος τῆς ἀλυσῆς, and Hitzig parallels שְׁדִים with Arabic *šadhām*, salt.

<sup>3</sup> See note under ch. xix. 28.

<sup>4</sup> As in 2 Kings xviii. 7, xxiv. 1, 20, etc.

<sup>5</sup> Knobel.

<sup>6</sup> Ewald, *Syntax*, §§ 287k, 300a.

<sup>7</sup> Olshausen, Nöldeke.



another, the people dwelling in the country east of Jordan, in Se'ir, and in the desert, which fact makes it clear that the campaign was not directed against the Pentapolis alone. "They came, without doubt, by the usual road, up through the countries bordering on the Euphrates,<sup>1</sup> till they reached Syria. From this point, which was that to which they afterwards directed their backward march (ver. 14 f.), they moved southwards, and attacked the rebels as they came to them, first the Rephaim in Bashan, the north of the Trans-jordan country, and then the Zuzim and the Emim, who lived farther south."<sup>2</sup> These peoples, all three, belong to the primitive inhabitants of the country. Rephaim, or sons of Rapha, *i.e.* giants, men of the heroic age, was both the general name of the primitive giant population which occupied the land west<sup>3</sup> and east<sup>4</sup> of the Jordan, and the special name for the giants of Bashan.<sup>5</sup>

עֲשֵׂתָרוֹת קְרָנִים—only here. The Vatican Septuagint, however, has Ἀσταρὼθ καὶ Καρναῖν, which is perhaps the original.<sup>6</sup> In that case, 'Ashtaroth was one of the principal cities of Bashan, Og's royal residence,<sup>7</sup> and only six Roman miles,<sup>8</sup> over two hours, distant from Edrei.<sup>9</sup> The spot has been found, once more, in Tell 'Ashtere, two and a half hours from Nawâ, and almost between Nawâ and M'zârib; it lies on a hill in the midst of a plain rich in pasture ground, is well supplied with water, and has extensive ruins.<sup>10</sup> Contrary to this usual assumption,<sup>11</sup> Wetzstein<sup>12</sup> looked for it in Boşra, the capital of the Haurân,<sup>13</sup> but the view has been

<sup>1</sup> Strabo, xvi. 1. 27.

<sup>2</sup> Knobel.

<sup>3</sup> Josh. xvii. 15; 2 Sam. xxi. 16; Gen. xv. 20; Isa. xvii. 5.

<sup>4</sup> Deut. ii. 11, 20.

<sup>5</sup> Deut. iii. 11, 13; Josh. xiii. 12.

<sup>6</sup> Kuenen, Buhl in *ZDPV.* xiii. 42 f., and Kasteren, *ibid.* 213.

<sup>7</sup> Deut. i. 4; Josh. ix. 10, xii. 4, xiii. 12, 31.

<sup>8</sup> *Onomasticon.*

<sup>9</sup> See Com. Num. xxi. 33 [Dillm.].

<sup>10</sup> Ritter, *Erdkunde*, xv. 819 ff. (Knobel).

<sup>11</sup> Baedeker, *Palästina*,<sup>2</sup> p. 303.

<sup>12</sup> *Haurân*, p. 108 ff.

<sup>13</sup> So, too, Arnold in Herzog, *Real-Encyclopædie*, xiv. 728 f., and Mühlau in Riehm, *Handwörterbuch*, p. 115.

already refuted by Nöldeke.<sup>1</sup> Rabbath 'Ammon<sup>2</sup> has no claim at all.—*Ḳarnaim* by itself is not mentioned in the Old Testament, but, no doubt, in 1 Macc. v. 43 f.<sup>3</sup> We may think of it as being in the neighbourhood of 'Ashteroth, in such a way that 'Ashteroth *Ḳarnaim* might be conceived of as a double city, or as 'Ashteroth beside *Ḳarnaim*.

רַבְּבָתִּי—presumably the same as the giants in the land of 'Ammon of later date, named by the Ammonites אֲמֹנִיִּים.<sup>4</sup> "The name is recalled by *Ziḡa*,<sup>5</sup> a place which held a Roman garrison,<sup>6</sup> in the Middle Ages *Zizâ*, between Boşra and Lejûn,<sup>7</sup> one stage distant from 'Ammân,<sup>8</sup> and still<sup>9</sup> in existence."<sup>10</sup>

בְּהָם—by the versions for the most part vocalised בְּהָם, "among or with them"; better in *Ham*, a place otherwise unknown. It was perhaps the ancient name of the Ammonite capital, Rabbath 'Ammon.<sup>11</sup>

אֲרָמִיִּים—properly "the terrible ones," though it is to be remembered that the Septuagint here and in Deuteronomy has 'Ορμαῖοι, 'Ορμῖν. They were farther south, and their name is that of the original inhabitants of the land of Moab,<sup>12</sup> who before Moses' time extended also north of the Arnon.<sup>13</sup> It is there we have to look for *the plain* (שָׁרֵה),<sup>14</sup> only again in ver. 17) of *Ḳiryathaim*. The town, at one time Reubenite,<sup>15</sup> at another Moabite,<sup>16</sup> lay, according to the *Onomasticon* (*Καριαθαεῖμ*, *Καριάθα*), 10 Roman miles (south) west of Mêdaba. The modern name of the ruins is *Ḳarêyât*; <sup>17</sup> they lie somewhat south-west of Makaur (*Machærus*) and south of *Jebel 'Attârûs*.

<sup>1</sup> ZDMG. xxix. 431.<sup>2</sup> Schenkel, *Bibellexicon*, i. 279.<sup>3</sup> Cf. Carnea in Lagarde, *Onomastica Sacra*,<sup>1</sup> 108. 18, and Carneas in *Sylvæ peregrinatio*, ed. Gamurrini, p. 57.<sup>4</sup> Deut. ii. 20.<sup>5</sup> Ptolemy, v. 17. 6.<sup>6</sup> *Notitia dignitatum*, i. 81 f.<sup>7</sup> Ibn Batûta, i. 255; *Marâşid*, *Lex. geog.* (ed. Juynboll), i. 526.<sup>8</sup> Abulfida, *Tabula Syriæ*, ed. Köhler, p. 91.<sup>9</sup> Robinson, *Palästina*, iii. 923. [In Eng. map.] <sup>10</sup> Knobel.<sup>11</sup> Tuch.<sup>12</sup> Deut. ii. 10 f.<sup>13</sup> Num. xxi. 26.<sup>14</sup> Not pyramid, Hitzig, *Geschichte*, p. 36.<sup>15</sup> Num. xxxii. 37; Josh. xiii. 19. <sup>16</sup> Jer. xlviii. 23; Ezek. xxv. 9.<sup>17</sup> Seetzen, Burckhardt, Baedeker.

Against Knobel's identification of the city with et-Teim or et-Tuaime, half an hour west of Mêdaba, see Dietrich.<sup>1</sup>

Ver. 6. Advancing farther through the country south of Arnon they came on the Ḥorim, the primitive inhabitants of Edomitis,<sup>2</sup> the hill country between the Dead Sea and the Elanitic gulf, and defeated them upon this their *mountain land*<sup>3</sup> *Se'ir as far as El Paran, which is at* (the entrance to) *the desert, i.e.* as far as Elath or Aila on the east side of the desert of Paran,<sup>4</sup> at which point anyone approaching from the east reached that desert.

אֵיל—not *plain*,<sup>5</sup> but, like אֵלֶּה, a large tree or large trees (? palms, see ch. xii. 6). The word became the name of the well-known harbour situated on the Elanitic gulf. It is known in the Old Testament as אֵלֶּה,<sup>6</sup> אֵילֶּה,<sup>7</sup> and אֵילֹת;<sup>8</sup> the Septuagint in Deut. has further Αἰλῶν, which points to a form אֵילֹן; in the classical authors it is called Αἰλانا, Ἐλανα, Aelana, names which follow the Aramaic אֵילָנָה, tree. These shortened designations are, doubtless, later forms of the fuller name אֵיל-פַּאֲרָן. Ištachri<sup>9</sup> mentions palms in the neighbourhood of Aila, and the modern 'Akaba is surrounded by extensive woods of date palm.<sup>10</sup> At every period of history the place was counted of great importance, and the possession of it was much contested from the earliest times.<sup>11</sup>

Ver. 7. Here the kings ceased their march south, turning first to the west and then to the north. They thus reached 'Ain Mishpât, or Kadesh, which is the Kadesh mentioned in

<sup>1</sup> In Merx' *Archiv*, i. 337 f.

<sup>2</sup> Ch. xxxvi. 20 ff.; Deut. ii. 12, 22.

<sup>3</sup> Ewald, § 225b; but Samar. and Sept. have בְּהָרֵי.

<sup>4</sup> See Num. x. 12.

<sup>5</sup> Targums, Jerome, Samaritan, Luther, also in ch. xii. 6.

<sup>6</sup> Ch. xxxvi. 41.

<sup>7</sup> Deut. ii. 8; 2 Kings xiv. 22, xvi. 6.

<sup>8</sup> 1 Kings ix. 26; 2 Kings xvi. 6.

<sup>9</sup> Edit. Mordtmann, p. 19.

<sup>10</sup> Burckhardt [*Syria*, p. 509], Germ. tr. p. 828; Rüppell, *Nubien*, p. 248; Robinson [*Palestine*,<sup>3</sup> i. 171 f.], Germ. tr. i. 268 f.

<sup>11</sup> Tuch, Knobel.

chs. xvi. 14 and xx. 1, and frequently in the history of Moses, where it is also called *Ḳadesh Barnea*. It is here given the name *Well of decision*, so that it was a place with a spring of water, where decisions were given to those who sought advice or were at variance. It was, without doubt, the seat of an ancient oracle or sanctuary, of which the name *Ḳadesh* is also a confirmation, as well as being the point of meeting of important commercial highways. Its situation was long undetermined. Robinson's opinion, that it was to be looked for in 'Ain el Weibeh, near the 'Araba, about 30° 42' north latitude, may be regarded as now disposed of. *Ḳādûs* also, about eleven kilometres north of the hill of *Mâdara*, in the neighbourhood of the *Wadi el Yemen*, a day's journey from *Hebron*,<sup>1</sup> is too far north, and suits neither Gen. xvi. 14 nor the passages in the history of Moses. It is best looked for<sup>2</sup> on the western slope of the plateau of 'Azâzimeh (*Machra*), and identified with the modern 'Ain *Ḳudês*, the source of the *Wadi Ḳudês*, which, after a course of four hours, joins the *Wadi esh-Sherâif*. Trumbull,<sup>3</sup> after personal inspection, has given a full description of the spot.<sup>4</sup> Regarding *םך*, the name given in the Targums, see Tuch.<sup>5</sup>

*All the open country of 'Amalek*—the meaning is not the land of Amalek later so called,<sup>6</sup> as if the ancient people of the Amalekites was not then in existence,<sup>7</sup> but the Amalekites in the whole extent of the settlements then occupied by them,<sup>8</sup> in the Negeb and as far as Egypt.<sup>9</sup>

*Hasaṣon-Tamar*—according to 2 Chron. xx. 2, 'Aingedi

<sup>1</sup> Wetzstein in Delitzsch,<sup>4</sup> after el Mukaddasi (ed. Goeje, p. 192), Keil.

<sup>2</sup> Rawlinson, E. H. Palmer, *The Desert of the Exodus*, 1871, p. 517 (Germ. tr. p. 269); Palestine Explor. Fund, 1871, Jan., p. 20 ff.; Knobel on Josh. xv. 3.

<sup>3</sup> *Kadesh Barnea*, New York, 1884.

<sup>4</sup> See ZDPV. viii. 184 ff., 210 f., 326.

<sup>5</sup> ZDMG. i. 179; also Comm. on Num. xxxiv. 4 [Dillmann].

<sup>6</sup> Hengstenberg, *Beiträge*, ii. 305; Keil.

<sup>7</sup> See Gen. xxxvi. 12.

<sup>8</sup> Num. xiii. 29, xiv. 43, 45.

<sup>9</sup> 1 Sam. xxvii. 8 (cf. Ex. xvii. 8 ff.; Deut. xxv. 17 ff.).



on the west side of the Dead Sea, a place abounding in palms.<sup>1</sup> Knobel, on the other hand, on the ground that 'Aingedi lies too far north, would understand עֵיר הַתְּמָרִים<sup>2</sup> or תְּמָר on the south-eastern border of the Holy Land,<sup>3</sup> identical with Θαμαρώ, some distance south-west of the Dead Sea,<sup>4</sup> on the road from Hebron to Aila, and occupied by troops in Roman times,<sup>5</sup> the modern Kurnub.<sup>6</sup> He is correct in saying that the Amorites were found as far south as this place.<sup>7</sup>

Ver. 8 f. The kings of the Pentapolis now advanced to meet and engage the enemy. *Four kings with the five*, an incomplete sentence in which the subject is changed. The author intends to suggest that here the conquerors were met by a force which at least fairly matched their own. But it may originally have been merely a marginal note.

Ver. 10. The valley of Siddim, where the battle took place, was *wells, wells of bitumen*, i.e. full of them, and these proved the ruin of the fugitives, for they fell into them. For the construct repeated to denote distribution, see Ewald<sup>8</sup> and Gesenius.<sup>9</sup> According to the statement here, the mineral pitch still welled up from the ground in many parts of the valley, and that from cavities of considerable depth. "The account is confirmed by the quantity of bitumen found in the Dead Sea. According to the reports of the Arabs, it issues in especial from a steep wall of rock on the east side of the sea almost opposite to 'Aingedi, falls into the sea in a solidified state, and is thrown up by it on its western shore.<sup>10</sup> But there must also be considerable deposits at the bottom of the lake, which detach

<sup>1</sup> Pliny, v. § 73.

<sup>2</sup> Judg. i. 16.

<sup>3</sup> Ezek. xlvii. 19, xlviii. 29.

<sup>4</sup> Ptolemy, v. 16. 8; *Tabula Peutinger*, ix.

<sup>5</sup> *Onomasticon*, sub 'Ασσαν Θαμάρ.

<sup>6</sup> Robinson, *Palestine*,<sup>3</sup> vol. ii. p. 202; see also Wetzstein in Delitzsch,<sup>4</sup> p. 581 f.

<sup>7</sup> Deut. i. 44; Judg. i. 36.

<sup>8</sup> *Syntax*, §§ 313a, 289c.

<sup>9</sup> 130. 5.

<sup>10</sup> Burckhardt [*Syria*, p. 394], Germ. tr. p. 664; Seetzen, *Reisen*, ii. 218, 227; Robinson [*Palestine*, i. 517], Germ. tr. ii. 463; Russegger, *Reisen*, iii. 253.

themselves when an earthquake occurs,<sup>1</sup> and then float in lumps on the surface of the waves.<sup>2</sup> Ancient writers also report that the lake casts out quantities of bitumen.<sup>3</sup> It is found at different points on the shores, especially on its southern bank.<sup>4</sup> Masses of large size are found only after violent earthquakes, and then only in the southern portion of the lake,<sup>5</sup> and so in the situation which was occupied by the valley of Siddim. Readers may also be reminded of the expanse of black slime or salty morass at the south end of the lake, into which one may sink deeply,<sup>6</sup> and where at times many beasts of burden and cattle are lost.<sup>7</sup> See further on ch. xix. 28.”<sup>8</sup>

Both the leading kings took to flight, but must have saved themselves by so doing, at least the king of Sodom did so, as we see from ver. 17. Consequently, we have to understand as subject to ויפלו שמה, rather their people than themselves.—ועמרה is to be read עמרה ומלך, as by the Septuagint and Samaritan.

הָרֵה—to the mountains,<sup>9</sup> doubtless those of Moab,<sup>10</sup> seeing the enemy made their attack from the west.

Ver. 11 f. “The enemy plundered the conquered towns, carried off with them the provisions and property they contained, and, as we see from vv. 16 and 21, prisoners also, amongst them Lot from Sodom.”<sup>11</sup>

אֶבְרָם—Halévy<sup>12</sup> wishes to emend into אֶבְרָם. It is true, we miss any mention of the captives such as is found in vv. 16 and 21, but in vv. 10, 12, and 14 (cf. ver. 24), also, the narrative is not very precise in its statements.

<sup>1</sup> Robinson, vol. iii. p. 191 (Germ. iii. 168); Russegger, p. 254.

<sup>2</sup> Josephus, *Jewish Wars*, iv. 8. 4.

<sup>3</sup> Strabo, xvi. 2. 42; Diodorus Siculus, ii. 48, xix. 98; Pliny, vii. § 65.

<sup>4</sup> Seetzen, *Reisen*, i. 417; Lynch, *Expedition to the Dead Sea and the Jordan*, 1850, pp. 303, 306, 309, 319 (Germ. 183, 187, 191, 201).

<sup>5</sup> Robinson, *Palestine*, vol. i. p. 518, vol. ii. p. 189 (Germ. ii. 464 f., iii. 164).

<sup>6</sup> Robinson, *op. cit.* ii. pp. 112, 115 (Germ. iii. 30); Lynch, *op. cit.* p. 309 f.

<sup>7</sup> Roth in Petermann, *Geographische Mittheilungen*, 1858, p. 258.

<sup>8</sup> Knobel.

<sup>9</sup> Ewald, § 216c.

<sup>10</sup> Ch. xix. 20.

<sup>11</sup> Vv. 12, 13, ch. xix. 1. Knobel.

<sup>12</sup> *Recherches Bibliques*, x. 248.

בִּרְאֵי אַבְרָם—we expect these words rather after לוֹט, as in the Septuagint, but a consideration of ver. 13 shows that they are merely a gloss.<sup>1</sup>

וְהוּא וְ—*is also an awkward and halting addition.*

Vv. 13–24. Abram's deed of rescue, and the acknowledgment made to him.

Ver. 13. Abram, in the grove of Mamre,<sup>2</sup> received news of the disaster.

*The escaped one*, who always appears in such a case,<sup>3</sup> פְּלִיט also in Josh. viii. 22 and Num. xxi. 29.

הָעֵבְרִי—epithet applied to Abram, who is here mentioned for the first time in the chapter (see note on ver. 12). Elsewhere the Israelites are named Hebrews only by foreigners, or in antithesis to them.<sup>4</sup> For the conjectured reason of its use here, see p. 33 f. Regarding the word עֵבְרִי, see ch. xi. 16.

מִמְּרָא—in A the old name of Hebron, or of a part of it,<sup>5</sup> appears here as a chief or prince. אִשְׁבֵּל, too, occurs as the proper name of a place near Hebron in Num. xiii. 23. נַחַל אִשְׁבֵּל, “the brook of the vine clusters.” See further on ch. xxiii. 20. “The Amorites of this district<sup>6</sup> were *possessors*<sup>7</sup> of Abram's covenant, *i.e.* allied with him, and so bound to stand by him in case of need, as they actually did (ver. 24). The patriarchs had similar treaties with others.”<sup>8</sup>

עֵיִר—Septuagint *Avvar*, Samaritan עֵנִר, both here and in ver. 24. See Rosenmüller<sup>9</sup> regarding a mountain summit, Ne'ir, beside Hebron.

Ver. 14. Abram involved himself in the contest for the sake of his *brother*, *i.e.* relative, cousin,<sup>10</sup> and he *emptied out* his men, as arrows from the quiver or a sword from its

<sup>1</sup> Olshausen.

<sup>2</sup> Ch. xiii. 18.

<sup>3</sup> 2 Sam. xv. 13; Ezek. xxiv. 26 f.; Ewald, *Syntax*, § 277a; Gesenius,<sup>25</sup> 126. 4.

<sup>4</sup> *Eg.* 1 Sam. xiii. 3, 7, xiv. 21.

<sup>5</sup> See ch. xxiii. 2.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. ver. 7.

<sup>7</sup> Chs. xxxvii. 19, xlix. 23.

<sup>8</sup> Chs. xxi. 22 ff., xxvi. 28 ff., xxxviii. 12. Knobel.

<sup>9</sup> *ZDMG.* xii. 479.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. ver. 16 and ch. xiii. 8.

scabbard,<sup>1</sup> *i.e.* marched them out in haste and in force. The Samaritan, however, has וַיִּרֶק, and the Septuagint ἡρίθμισε, mustered.<sup>2</sup>

הַיִּנְכִּי—his *proved* or *tried* men, comp. Arabic *hanik*; others render less well, “his trained warriors.” The word is explained by *those born in his house*,<sup>3</sup> *i.e.* the slaves born and brought up in his household, contrasted with those who had been purchased; as such they were regarded as specially attached and trustworthy. The fact that 318 fighting men were immediately at his disposal, is proof that Abram was a chieftain of consequence; ver. 24, however, shows that he was assisted by his allies. Warlike exploits of the patriarchs are also recorded in chs. xxxiv. 25, xlix. 5 f., xlviii. 22.

*To Dan*—“to Laish on the north-eastern border of Canaan; it received the name Dan in the time of the Judges,<sup>4</sup> and is here so named proleptically.”<sup>5</sup>

Ver. 15 f. “*Abram divided himself against them by night*, *i.e.* divided his men into bands, which fell on the enemy by night from different directions. The same manoeuvre occurs in Job i. 17; 1 Sam. xi. 11. The captured men and property he recovered from the enemy and brought back.

הוֹבָה—to the *left*, *i.e.* north of Damascus. Eusebius and Jerome<sup>6</sup> mention a Hoba as a place where in their day Ebionites lived, and von Troilo<sup>7</sup> names a village of Hoba about a mile north of Damascus.”<sup>8</sup> But this is unsuitable, because too near Damascus; and Wetzstein<sup>9</sup> points to a more likely place, a Hoba twenty hours north of Damascus, west of Karyetain.<sup>10</sup>

Ver. 17. “The king of Sodom advanced to *the valley of Shaweh*, or *the king's valley*, to meet Abram on his return from

<sup>1</sup> Ex. xv. 9; Lev. xxvi. 33; Ps. xxxv. 3.

<sup>2</sup> See Gesenius, *Thesaurus*, 330.

<sup>3</sup> So chs. xvii. 12 f., xxiii. 27; Lev. xxii. 11, from A.

<sup>4</sup> Josh. xix. 47; Judg. xviii. 29.

<sup>5</sup> Knobel.

<sup>6</sup> In the *Onomasticon*. <sup>7</sup> *Reisebeschreibung*, p. 584.

<sup>8</sup> Knobel.

<sup>9</sup> In Delitzsch, *Genesis*,<sup>4</sup> p. 561 ff.

<sup>10</sup> For this place see Sachau, *Reisen*, p. 28 ff.



the encounter, to congratulate him and to receive from him the rescued captives. This valley of the king is mentioned again in 2 Sam. xviii. 18 as the place where the childless Absalom erected a monument.”<sup>1</sup> It follows that עֵמֶק יָשָׁה is not identical with the עֵמֶק קִרְיָתִים of ver. 5,<sup>2</sup> partly from the appended explanation, which implies that it is not already known from what precedes, and partly from ver. 18, which shows that Salem must have lain in its neighbourhood. The king’s valley (עֵמֶק), accordingly, being mentioned nowhere else, is usually assigned to the neighbourhood of Jerusalem, because of a statement of Josephus<sup>3</sup> that Absalom’s monument stood about two stadia from Jerusalem. We cannot, however, straightway take it to be the valley of the Kidron,<sup>4</sup> which was a נָחַל; it remains a matter of surprise that, if so near Jerusalem, it should be nowhere else mentioned, and we do not know on what authority Josephus made his statement. At the same time, there is little probability in the assertion that because Absalom’s personal estate was situated in Ba’al Ḥaṣor,<sup>5</sup> we should look for it there on his own property.<sup>6</sup>

Ver. 18. To this place Melchisedek, king of Salem, and at the same time priest of the Most High God, brought out provisions for Abram and his men.

שָׁלֵם—most ancient and modern expositors, beginning with Josephus,<sup>7</sup> understand this of Jerusalem; “others, however, of Σαλείμ, in the neighbourhood of which, according to John iii. 23, John baptized,<sup>8</sup> and which, according to Eusebius and Jerome,<sup>9</sup> lay eight Roman miles south of Skythopolis;<sup>10</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Knobel.

<sup>2</sup> Rödiger in Gesenius, *Thesaurus*; Hitzig.

<sup>3</sup> *Antiquities*, vii. 10. 3.

<sup>4</sup> Knobel, Thenius (on 2 Sam. xviii.), Delitzsch, Riehm, *Handwörterbuch*, p. 844.

<sup>5</sup> 2 Sam. xiii. 23.

<sup>6</sup> Tuch, Winer, Ewald.

<sup>7</sup> *Antiquities*, i. 10. 2. They include Knobel, Delitzsch, Keil; also the Targums (Jerome, *Quæstiones*), Ibn Ezra, Kimchi, etc.

<sup>8</sup> But see Riehm, *Handwörterbuch*, p. 32 f. [Dillmann].

<sup>9</sup> In the *Onomasticon*, sub Αἰνών.

<sup>10</sup> Jerome, *Epistolæ* lxxxiii. 7, *ad Evangel. presbyt.*; Reland, Robinson,

see now also the pilgrimage of Silvia.<sup>1</sup> No decision can be come to by the help of עֵמֶק שֵׁוָה, which is itself unknown, nor in view of the words אַחֲרֵי שִׁבוּ, which can only mean *after he had turned back*, and not *after he had returned* to Mamre, which translation would leave the words (אֶל-עֵמֶק שֵׁוָה) quite out of place. Jerome says, *Salem non, ut Josephus et nostri omnes arbitrantur, est Jerusalem, sed oppidum juxta Scythopolim, quæ usque hodie appellatur Salem et ostenditur ibi palatium Melchizedech*. This Salem, with the situation of which the αὐλὸν Σαλήμ of Judith iv. 4 would agree very well, need not be thought too far north, seeing that the king of Sodom could, after all, cover the much greater extent of ground involved, while Abram was leisurely returning laden with the booty. Nor would it be out of the natural line of march, seeing that the 'Araba had to be traversed, we must suppose, in the neighbourhood of Beth Sheân (Skythopolis). On the other side, it is no special recommendation in favour of Jerusalem that it is called Salem only in a (late) poem, Ps. lxxvi. 3, while elsewhere in the Old Testament, the passages being in prose, Yebûsi (Yebûs) always appears as the older name of Jerusalem. Still, as early as about 1400 B.C., the name Urusalim is attested by the Tell Amarna letters as the name of the city,<sup>2</sup> and other considerations tell in its favour. In Josh. x. 1 a king of Jerusalem has the name מְלִכִּי-צֶדֶק, which is a compound similar to אֶדְנִי-צֶדֶק. We are not, however, to lay any special stress on this fact, seeing it is now maintained that אֶדְנִי צֶדֶק is due to a late alteration of the Septuagint reading אֶדְנִי בֹק (cf. Judg. i. 5).<sup>3</sup> But the comparison between David and Melchisedek in Ps. cx. 4 appears to have more force if the latter were king in the same city as the former, and vv. 18–20 have surely quite clearly their

Bleek, Tuch, Ewald, *Geschichte*, i. 441, 470 [*History of Israel*, vol. i. pp. 307, 332]. Knobel.

<sup>1</sup> Gamurrini,<sup>1</sup> p. 58 ff.

<sup>2</sup> ZDPV. xiii. 138 f.

<sup>3</sup> Wellhausen, Budde, *Bücher Richter u. Samuel*, 1890, p. 63 ff.; on the other side, see Kittel, *Geschichte*, i. 277 f. [*History of the Hebrews*, vol. i. p. 307].

whole point in the effort to represent Jerusalem as a primitive seat of pure religion, and as a place to which Abram also paid tithes (as Jacob did to Bethel<sup>1</sup>). So we have, after all, to decide in favour of Jerusalem, with the assumption that the rare name שלם has been purposely chosen to secure a covert allusion; just as the name Moriah in ch. xxii. 2.

מלכי־צדק—perhaps “my king is Šidīk (name of a deity).”<sup>2</sup> He is designated priest of El ‘Elyon, whom Abram, as we see from ver. 22, could in a general way acknowledge as his god. This agrees very well with the findings of the history of religions. There is abundant evidence for the name El or Il as the oldest proper name of deity among the Babylonians, Assyrians, Phoenicians, and Sabeans. Seeing, however, that among foreign peoples he was early pushed into the background by younger gods who only expressed particular aspects of his being, it was necessary to declare more explicitly by means of descriptive epithets the conception which one associated with his name. As the patriarchs had their אֱלֹהֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל,<sup>3</sup> אֱלֹהֵי עֶזְרָא,<sup>4</sup> אֱלֹהֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל,<sup>5</sup> אֱלֹהֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל,<sup>6</sup> so the Canaanite here has his אֱלֹהֵי עֵלְיוֹן.<sup>7</sup> The subordinate deities, inferior in position or rank, might indeed be already differentiated from him, but Melchisedek in his worship still held fast to him as the old sovereign god, the ruler of the universe (ver. 19). It is to be observed that אֱלֹהֵי stands without the article, in accordance with the oldest idiom of the language, and that as an epithet of Jahve in the Old Testament it is still always so used.<sup>8</sup>

Ver. 19 f. This Melchisedek desires for Abram salvation and blessing from God because of his deed, and praises God

<sup>1</sup> Chs. xxviii. 22, xxxv. 1.

<sup>2</sup> See Baudissin, *Studien zur Semit. Religionsgeschichte*, i. 15.

<sup>3</sup> Ch. xvii. 1.

<sup>4</sup> Ch. xxi. 33.

<sup>5</sup> Ch. xxxiii. 20.

<sup>6</sup> Ch. xxxv. 7.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. the Phoenician Eliun in Eusebius, *Præparatio Evangelica*, i. 10. 11 ff.

<sup>8</sup> E.g. Ps. vii. 18 [17], lvii. 3 [2].

for its success. According to usage, the words of blessing are uttered in a more elevated rhythmical style.

אלהים—Deo = a Deo.<sup>1</sup> אלה, see ch. iv. 1; it means both creator (Sept. Vulg.) and possessor or lord (Targum).—אלה, found besides only in Hos. xi. 8; Prov. iv. 9.

Abram by accepting the gift and the blessing acknowledged Melchisedek as God's priest, and now on his part gave to the priest, and in his person to God, as a thanksgiving, *the tenth of all*, i.e. not of all he possessed,<sup>2</sup> but of all he had with him when the meeting took place, i.e. of the booty.<sup>3</sup> He thus became a pattern to the Israelites,<sup>4</sup> both in his receiving the blessing from the priest and in his payment of tithe to him (so Jacob in ch. xxviii. 22). There is little difficulty in seeing that this tithing of the spoil presents no insoluble contradiction to ver. 23 f.<sup>5</sup>

Regarding the conception of Melchisedek as a type of Christ, which is found in the Epistle to the Hebrews, and has been elicited by a combination with Ps. cx., see the commentaries on the Epistle. For the extraordinary ideas entertained regarding his person by the later Jews and Christians, see Winer and the other biblical encyclopædias.

Ver. 21. "The king of Sodom, encouraged by Abram's generosity, proposes to him that he should restore the *souls*, i.e. persons, that is, the rescued captives, while retaining the other rescued property."

Ver. 22 f. "But Abram raises his hand to God,<sup>6</sup> and thus swears that he will keep nothing of the king's property, although he has no obligations to the people of Sodom, and might keep the spoil he had taken in battle. The king of Sodom is not to have the opportunity of saying that he made Abram rich. Abram shows himself sensitive to the want

<sup>1</sup> Cf. chs. xxv. 21, xxxi. 15; Ex. xii. 16; Gesenius,<sup>25</sup> 121. 3.

<sup>2</sup> Wellhausen, *Composition*, p. 311.

<sup>3</sup> Heb. vii. 4.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Lev. xxvii. 30 ff.; Num. xxxi. 31 ff.; 2 Sam. viii. 11 f.; 1 Chron. xxvi. 27; Num. vi. 23 ff.; Lev. ix. 22 ff.

<sup>5</sup> Böhmer.

<sup>6</sup> Deut. xxxii. 40; Dan. xii. 7; also Ex. xvii. 16 [Dillmann].



of confidence that he will voluntarily restore the property which belonged to others."

אם—"used in oaths in which a negation is expressed."<sup>1</sup>

*From a thread to a shoe-latchet*—"i.e. nothing of his most worthless possessions, much less any of value. וער with a preceding מן used to express the total sum of things of a kind."<sup>2</sup>

Abram swears by the God whom Melchisedek worships; in this way ver. 21 ff. is linked to ver. 18 ff. The word יהוה is wanting in the Septuagint, Codex Alexandrinus, and in the Lucian text, also in the Peshitta. The Samaritan has האלהים. It accordingly appears to be a later insertion.<sup>3</sup> In any case, whether original<sup>4</sup> or an insertion, it is intended to suggest that the god of Abram is not quite identical with the god of Melchisedek.

Ver. 24. Abram asks something only for his companions in the fight.

בְּלִעְרִי—*not so far as me, i.e. "that be far from me," or "nothing for me."*<sup>5</sup> "The words which follow are in the absolute case (*nominativus pendens*), and the concluding words their necessary complement; *they may take their share, i.e. my servants may have what they consumed of the recaptured provisions (vv. 11, 16), and my confederates may receive the customary share of the spoil.*"<sup>6</sup>

Ver. 14 neglected to state that Abram's allies marched with him; for a similar instance of clumsy stylism, comp. ch. xx. 17 with ver. 3.

#### B.<sup>7</sup> THE TRIALS OF FAITH, THE COVENANT, AND THE PROOF.

In what has gone before, Abram has shown himself to be a man conspicuous for piety and virtue in various forms, and

<sup>1</sup> As chs. xxi. 23, xxvi. 29, xlii. 15; Gesenius,<sup>25</sup> 149.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Deut. xxix. 10; Judg. xv. 5; Isa. xxii. 24. Knobel.

<sup>3</sup> Ilgen. <sup>4</sup> Delitzsch, Halévy.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. ch. xli. 16.

<sup>6</sup> Num. xxxi. 26 ff.; 1 Sam. xxx. 26. Knobel.

<sup>7</sup> [See p. 8.]

he has experienced at God's hands so much favour in the shape of special providences, promises, and blessings, that every preparation required for the moment in which he could be installed as the head of a new divine covenant and receive the promised seed, the foundation of the covenant race, seems to have been made. But at this very point, before such eminence is attained, delays, hindrances, and disappointments set in like a storm. Their purpose was to allow Abram's faith to manifest its strength in overcoming them, and also to give visible evidence of the controlling power of divine grace. Even after the summit has been attained, Abram, in the midst of new dangers, must give yet higher proof of himself, until at last the perfected man of God and hero of faith, who is to serve as a pattern to all coming generations, stands fully developed before us. Viewed thus, the separate narratives in this section, in themselves of very dissimilar character, unite to present the continuous development of the central figure. The external subject, however, round which most of these trials and tests centre, is Abram's attainment and possession of a son of his own, who should be the first of the covenant race. The very first section introduces the theme.

1. THE PROMISE OF A SON AS HEIR, AND ITS CONFIRMATION BY THE CONCLUSION OF A SOLEMN COVENANT, CH. XV.; BY *R*, FOLLOWING *B* AND *C*.

A feeling of gloom comes over Abram at the thought that, being childless, he must bequeath to strangers all the divine blessings. Upon this, God in a vision promises him a son, and that this seed of his will greatly multiply (vv. 1-5). Then, seeing Abram accepts the promise in faith (ver. 6), the future possession of the land by his posterity is assured to him by the solemn conclusion of a covenant (vv. 7-21), and at the same time a glimpse is given him of the fortunes of his descendants up to that time (vv. 12-16).

In this way the hero is shown in outline the progress and provisional end of the whole development in order that he may hold fast to it in faith, and thus successfully pass through the trials that are to follow.

This section, which is ascribed by Ilgen and Böhmer to *B* in the main, but generally to *C*,<sup>1</sup> is not a self-consistent unity. In ver. 5 Abram is told to look at the stars, while in ver. 12 the sun is just setting, and only in ver. 17 actually set. There is nowhere any remark to the effect that the events of ver. 10 ff. belong to another day. It is also surprising that in ver. 6 Abram simply believes the promise, and then immediately after in ver. 8 asks confirmation of a further promise. The formula, too, with which God introduces Himself in ver. 7 is such as we expect at the beginning of a theophany, not in its middle.<sup>2</sup> It naturally suggests itself, in view of these facts, to analyse the chapter into two parts, vv. 1–6 and vv. 7–21.<sup>3</sup> Where this is done the first section is explained to belong to *E*, but to have undergone a Jehovistic redaction,<sup>4</sup> or it is said to be a compilation from *J* and *E*.<sup>5</sup> Vv. 7–21 are represented as an unadulterated *J* section, but transferred by *R* from another context,<sup>6</sup> or as a *J* section expanded by later hands in vv. 7 f., 13–16, and 19–21.<sup>7</sup> But if so, it is incomprehensible how *R* could simply attach the alien section ver. 7 ff. to that preceding it by the words וַיֹּאמֶר אֵלַי, not even writing וַיֹּסֶף אֵלַי לְרַבֵּר אֵלַי. As little can we understand what occasioned the numerous interpolations in vv. 7–21. Moreover, it is incredible that vv. 2*a*, 3*b*, 4, and 6 originally stood in *J* after ver. 18;<sup>8</sup> for if so, the promise of a son would stand *post festum*. In disagreement with the writers quoted,

<sup>1</sup> *E.g.* by Hupfeld, Kayser, Schrader; יְהוָה is the divine name used.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. chs. xlii. 3, xvii. 1, xxviii. 13.

<sup>3</sup> Wellhausen; Kautzsch-Socin, Kittel, *Geschichte*, i. 136 [*History of the Hebrews*, vol. i. p. 150]; B. Bacon, *Hebraica*, vii. 1, p. 75 f.

<sup>4</sup> Wellhausen.

<sup>5</sup> Kautzsch-Socin, Kittel, Bacon.

<sup>6</sup> Kittel.

<sup>7</sup> Wellhausen, Kautzsch-Socin, Bacon.

<sup>8</sup> Bacon

Budde,<sup>1</sup> after subtracting vv. 12-16 and 19-21, would assign the whole chapter to *J* (*C*), and only vv. 2*b*, 3*a*, 5 to *E* (*B*). Similarly Delitzsch<sup>5</sup>, who is of opinion that elements from *E* are still discernible in vv. 2 and 16. But this assumption does not take any account or give any explanation of the above distinguished discrepancies between vv. 1-6 and vv. 7-21. Everything considered, a different judgment must be passed on the chapter.

We may conclude as follows. As introducing ch. xvi., the promise of an heir, *i.e.* ver. 4, can hardly be dispensed with in *C*'s narrative, whereas the solemn pledge regarding the possession of the land, vv. 8-18, following ch. xii. 7 and xiii. 14 ff., is less necessary, although in view of ch. xxiv. 7<sup>2</sup> not impossibly his. In the next place, ver. 2 is certainly *B*'s, seeing that *C* in ch. xxiv. 2 ff. is not acquainted with any Eliezer.<sup>3</sup> Again, the writer of ver. 9 ff. cannot also be the author of ver. 5, *i.e.* ver. 9 ff. will belong to *C*, and ver. 5 to *B*. Finally, it is clear from אור כשרים (ver. 7), רכוש (ver. 14), and בשיבה טובה (ver. 15), that a redactor, acquainted with *A*, has made independent alterations in the chapter. It accordingly appears that vv. 1-6 are a compilation from *B* and *C*, in such a way that vv. 2 and 5 are from the text of *B*, ver. 3 from that of *C*, while ver. 1, originally *B*'s,<sup>4</sup> has undergone linguistic alteration (מִחֲזָה, יְהוּה) which assimilates it to *C*; ver. 4 in its essentials is common to the two narrators. But while *B* reached his conclusion in the confirmation of the promise of an heir given in ver. 5, in *C* the promise (ver. 4) seems to have been ratified by the formal conclusion of a covenant. *R*, however, instead of simply attaching the covenant narrative to *B*'s account, transformed it, with *A*'s parallel (ch. xvii.) in mind, into a solemnly assured promise of the future possession of the land (vv.

<sup>1</sup> *Biblische Urgeschichte*, pp. 416 f., 439.

<sup>2</sup> If the words וְאִשֶּׁר נִשְׁבַּע לוֹ are there original.

<sup>3</sup> Wellhausen.

<sup>4</sup> Visions by night are frequently introduced in his narrative, chs. xxi. 12, xxii. 1 xlv. 2, etc.



7-18). The same redactor is doubtless also responsible, not only for (ver. 6 ? and) ver. 7 f., but for the difference between נזרים in ver. 17 and בָּהֶר in ver. 10, as well as for the actual definition of boundaries in ver. 18b. At anyrate, he availed himself of the opportunity to insert, from himself, a forecast of coming events (vv. 13-15 (16)). It is uncertain whether ver. 16 and vv. 19-21 were inserted by him or by a still later hand. These two additions do not even properly harmonise with one another.<sup>1</sup>

Ver. 1. *After these things*—the words make a loose connection with what goes before;<sup>2</sup> they contain no hint of any special sequence of events, such as that Abram was granted Canaan because of his bold encounter with the enemies of the land.<sup>3</sup>

*The word of Jahve came to him*—a divine utterance,<sup>4</sup> such as has been recorded several times before. The expression is the usual one for prophetic revelation, but occurs in Genesis only here and in ver. 4. Its use is surprising, but perhaps least in the case of B, who goes so far as to call Abram אֲבִי־אֲבְרָם in ch. xx. 7.

*In a vision*—comp. C in Num. xxiv. 4, 16, and B במראות הלילה in Gen. xlvi. 2. Ver. 5 requires a vision by night, but ver. 8 ff.<sup>5</sup> a revelation by day; the view at least that all the occurrences related in ver. 10 and the following verses happened merely in a vision, can hardly be that of the author.

The promise connects itself with an anxious mood in which Abram was; *do not fear*, "in the midst of this strange and sinful<sup>6</sup> people. *Shield*, protection or protector."<sup>7</sup>

שָׂכָר—not a second predicate to אֲנֹכִי, thy very great reward,<sup>8</sup> for God is not Himself his reward,<sup>9</sup> and we should

<sup>1</sup> Böhmer.

<sup>2</sup> As in chs. xxii. 1, 20, xxxix. 7, xl. 1, xlviii. 1.

<sup>3</sup> Knobel, Böhmer, Halévy, *Recherches Bibliques*, x. 251.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. ver. 4.

<sup>5</sup> Vv. 12 and 17.

<sup>6</sup> Ver. 16.

<sup>7</sup> As Ps. iii. 4, xviii. 3, etc. Knobel.

<sup>8</sup> Luther, Knobel, Keil.

<sup>9</sup> Delitzsch.

expect a connecting  $\text{ל}$ . We must translate, *your reward* (will be) *very great*, the implication of the present text being something like, "because you remain obedient to my call"; in his answer in ver. 2 Abram presupposes, even, that God will give him something. For  $\text{הַרְבֵּה}$  as predicate, see Ewald.<sup>1</sup> The Samaritan has the lighter form  $\text{אַרְבֵּה}$ .<sup>2</sup>

Ver. 2. Now that Abram has received this promise, the thought that he is childless presses on him with special force.

$\text{אֲדַנִּי יְהוָה}$ —a combination found also in ver. 8, and elsewhere in the Pentateuch in Deut. iii. 24, ix. 26. In *B*, when God is addressed,  $\text{אֲדַנִּי}$  is used by itself (ch. xx. 4).

*What wilt Thou give to me*, what gain to me are rewards and possessions, *seeing I depart*, i.e. will die,<sup>3</sup> naked, i.e. deserted, childless,<sup>4</sup> and the son of possession<sup>5</sup> of my house, he who will one day take my house<sup>6</sup> in possession, inherit it, is *Damask of Eliezer*.<sup>7</sup>

$\text{דַּמְשֵׁק אֱלִיעֶזֶר}$ —there can be no hesitation in rejecting the rendering *Eliezer of Damask*;<sup>8</sup> but it is also unallowable to regard the words as in apposition, *Damask which is Eliezer*,<sup>9</sup> for no one would put a personal name after that of a city in explanation of it, and a double personal name (*Damask Eliezer*) is against usage. It is not impossible to call a city or its population  $\text{בֶּן-מִשְׁקָה}$ , with the meaning son of inheritance, heir. The rejection of the words  $\text{הוּא דַמְשֵׁק}$  as being a gloss<sup>10</sup> seems to have the merit of simplicity; but although ver. 3 betrays no knowledge of their presence, it does not profess to be a complete explanation of ver. 2, and the selection of the rare word  $\text{מִשְׁקָה}$ <sup>11</sup> is only comprehensible if a play on the

<sup>1</sup> *Syntax*, § 296d.

<sup>2</sup> Ilgen.

<sup>3</sup> Ch. xxv. 32; Ps. xxxix. 14 [13].

<sup>4</sup> Lev. xx. 20 f.; Jer. xxii. 30.

<sup>5</sup> Gesenius,<sup>25</sup> 128. 2A. 2c.

<sup>6</sup> Ch. xxxix. 4 f.; Ex. xx. 17.

<sup>7</sup> Ewald, *Syntax*, 286c.

<sup>8</sup> Gesenius, Knobel.

<sup>9</sup> Delitzsch, Keil.

<sup>10</sup> Hitzig, Tuch, Olshausen, Kautzsch-Socin.

<sup>11</sup> Cf.  $\text{מִשְׁקָה}$ , Zeph. ii. 9.

word רַמְזֵיֶךָ were intended. Apart from linguistic considerations, the sentence receives a satisfactory meaning if Eliezer both held a prominent position in Abram's house and also had some connection with Damascus, so that it was to be expected that in time, in the absence of another heir, Abram's property would fall to him, and in the case of his return to Damascus would be removed to that city, which would thus become Abram's ultimate heir. It is true that we read nothing elsewhere of such a family connection with Damascus on Eliezer's part; but the contents of these old legends are only imperfectly preserved to us,<sup>1</sup> and this is the only passage regarding Eliezer which has survived. As late as the Greek period the Damascenes boasted a connection with Abram himself,<sup>2</sup> and even later, under Moslem rule.<sup>3</sup>

Ver. 3 repeats the contents of ver. 2, but in a simpler manner; it may be an explanation of ver. 2 by *R*, more probably it is from *C*, and corresponded in his account to ver. 2 in *B*. The obscure expressions of ver. 2 are quite sufficiently ill-treated and torn to fragments by Budde (Kautzsch-Socin); he assigns 2*a* and 3*b* to *J*, and makes 2*b* and 3*a* an insertion from *E* by *R*. The less difficult language of this verse also makes it clear that בְּרֵמֶסֶק בֵּיתִי is not intended to mean "son of Masek my household slave" (Sept.), nor yet "son of my steward";<sup>4</sup> the principal thought contained in the words must be that of יָרֵשׁ אֹתִי.

For הֵן—וְהֵנָּה see chs. xxix. 2, xxxvii. 7; 2 Sam. i. 6; Isa. l. 9.—בְּרֵמֶסֶק בֵּיתִי, unlike יָרֵשׁ בֵּיתִי,<sup>5</sup> means "one of my household"; comp. אֲנֹשִׁי בֵּיתִי<sup>6</sup> and similar expressions.<sup>7</sup>

Lot is viewed as no longer of Abram's kin; and the natural legal heir, in the absence of other relatives, without

<sup>1</sup> *E.g.* ch. xi. 29.

<sup>2</sup> Nicolaus Damascenus in Josephus, *Antiquities*, i. 7. 2: Justin, xxxvi. 2, regarding a kingdom of Abram's in Damascus.

<sup>3</sup> D'Herbelot, *Bibliothèque Orientale*, sub Abraham, *ZDMG*. xvi. 701 f., xxii. 105; Ewald, *Geschichte*,<sup>3</sup> i. 446 [*History of Israel*, vol. i. p. 312].

<sup>4</sup> Theodotus, Jerome.

<sup>5</sup> Ch. xiv. 14.

<sup>6</sup> Chs. xvii. 27, xxxix. 14. Knobel. <sup>7</sup> Job xix. 15, xxxi. 31. Knobel.

any supposition of a definite choice on Abram's part, was the foremost member of his household, whom we have to find in the person of Eliezer.<sup>1</sup>

Ver. 4. In response to this complaint God promises Abram an heir of his own seed, a lineal heir. In the similar phrases<sup>2</sup> in *A*, מַעֲיָם is not used as here of the man. In *C*, in ch. xxv. 23 it is used of the woman, but in 2 Sam. vii. 12 and xvi. 11 of the man. The Septuagint has ματὴρ for ממעֵר.

Ver. 5. "In order to remind Abram of the divine power, and visibly represent to him the multitude of his descendants, and to awaken in him faith in the promise, God leads him out and points him to the sky and its countless stars."<sup>3</sup>

הַחֲצִצִּתָּה, chs. xix. 17, xxiv. 29, xxxix. 12 f., 15, 18, from *C*. The simile of the stars occurs elsewhere in *C*'s contexts<sup>4</sup> and in Deuteronomy.

Ver. 6. The author now breaks the course of his narrative to remark, *and he trusted in Jahve, and He reckoned it*,<sup>5</sup> i.e. the trust, *to him as righteousness*, and thereby gives prominent expression to the point of view he desires us mainly to occupy in our judgment of the history of Abram. In the case of Abram, to whom the law had not as yet been given, it was not his fulfilment of the law, as evidenced by his works,<sup>6</sup> which made him appear righteous in God's sight, but *his firm adherence to God*, his reliance on Him, his believing and trustful surrender of himself to Him.<sup>7</sup> This "right attitude of mind"<sup>8</sup> towards God, God reckoned to him as<sup>9</sup> righteousness. He evidenced this faith by his trustful acceptance of what was presented to him in promise, in spite of the doubts which appearances and circumstances so naturally suggested, and he steadfastly maintained this

<sup>1</sup> See ch. xxiv. 2.

<sup>2</sup> Chs. xxxv. 11, xlvi. 26; Ex. i. 5.

<sup>3</sup> Knobel.

<sup>4</sup> Chs. xxii. 17, xxvi. 4; Ex. xxxii. 13.

<sup>5</sup> For the fem. see xxiv. 14, xlvii. 26; Ex. x. 11; Isa. xxx. 8, etc.

<sup>6</sup> Deut. vi. 25, xxiv. 13.

<sup>7</sup> Ex. xiv. 31; Num. xiv. 11, xx. 12; Deut. i. 32.

<sup>8</sup> Knobel.

<sup>9</sup> Ps. cvi. 31.



attitude, both then and throughout his future life. The clearest expression is hereby given to the nature of the way of salvation as it was open to the patriarchs.

Ver. 7. Abram's request for an assurance of the further promise and his receiving of it, do not agree well with the simple faith which has just preceded. It would be different if God were now to conclude a covenant with him as the reward of his faith. This was perhaps once the sequence of events in *C*, but for the reason given on p. 55 the formal conclusion of a covenant was altered by the redactor to a promise of the possession of the land, confirmed by a solemn pledge on God's part; ver. 7 f. is to be attributed to the author of this alteration, and not to *C* himself.<sup>1</sup>

We find confirmation of this in the facts that *C*<sup>2</sup> speaks only of God's leading Abram out from Harraṇ, not from Ur Kasdim; <sup>3</sup> that ver. 7 f., where Abram himself is the יֵרֵשׁ, does not quite agree with ver. 18, where זֶרַע אַבְרָם is the heir; and that the whole phrase, לָתֵת לְךָ אֶת־הָאָרֶץ הַזֹּאת לְרִשְׁתָּהּ, is Deuteronomistic.

Ver. 8. אֲרֵנִי יְהוָה—see ver. 2.—בְּפֶה,<sup>4</sup> ב as in ch. xxiv. 14, xlii. 33; Ex. vii. 17, and frequently.—“Gideon and Hezekiah similarly ask for a sign.”<sup>5</sup>

Ver. 9. In order that God may give him the asked for pledge that the promise will be fulfilled, Abram must take, *i.e.* bring *for God* (cf. לִי in ver. 10), a heifer, a she-goat, and a ram, each of them three years old, also a turtle dove and a young dove.—מִיֶּשֶׁלֶט in this sense only here and in the Septuagint of 1 Sam. i. 24. Onkelos renders wrongly three-fold, *i.e.* three of each. נֶזֶל only found besides in Deut. xxxii. 11, of the young of the eagle.

Ver. 10. He brought them accordingly. לִי does not at all mean on the day after the vision by night,<sup>6</sup> but either *in* <sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Budde, Kittel, Delitzsch.

<sup>2</sup> Ch. xii. 1 f.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. vol. i. 407.

<sup>4</sup> Ewald, § 243b.

<sup>5</sup> Judg. vi. 17 ff.; 2 Kings xx. 8 ff. Knobel.

<sup>6</sup> Ewald, Delitzsch<sup>4</sup>.

<sup>7</sup> Hupfeld, Keil.

or, better, *to* the theophany, which accordingly in *C* was not by night. He divided the three larger animals in the middle,<sup>1</sup> *i.e.* each in two equal halves, and laid *each one's half*<sup>2</sup> opposite the other half, but did not divide the birds.—**בָּתָּר** and Piel only here; **בָּתָּר** in Jer. xxxiv. 18 f. **עָפָר**, collective, as in Ps. viii. 9 and elsewhere; the Samaritan has **הַצִּפְרִים**.

"God wishes, then, to conclude a covenant with Abram.<sup>3</sup> The covenant ceremony consisted in the passage of the contracting parties between the slain animals, and the curse involved was to the effect that he who broke faith would fare as they had done. Hence the expressions **כרת ברית**, *ὄρκια τέμνειν*, and *fœdus icere, percutere, ferire*, cf. Jer. xxxiv. 18 f."<sup>4</sup> The covenants of ch. xxi. 31 and Ex. xxiv. 8 are of a different character.

"In analogy with the sacrifice of Lev. i. 17, the dove and the turtle dove were not divided. Only the five species of animals here named were lawful under the levitical sacrificial system";<sup>5</sup> and not only so, the choice of animals is intended to be a type for the people of Israel in their sacrifices. It is true that the ceremony here is not strictly a sacrifice, for the animals were not placed on the altar; but it was nevertheless a sacred rite, inasmuch as the name of God was solemnly invoked in an **אֱלֹהִים**. Perhaps, also, where human beings were alone parties to the compact, a sacrifice was offered in addition to the ceremony described. Though nothing is said of this in the passage, the mention of the birds may be intended as a substitute suggestive of it;<sup>6</sup> there is at least no mention of their being placed opposite to one another.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Samaritan has **בָּתָּר** for **בָּתָּר**.

<sup>2</sup> See ch. ix. 5.

<sup>3</sup> Ver. 17 f.

<sup>4</sup> Douglæi, *Analecta sacra*, ad loc.; Winer, *Realwörterbuch* (Knobel); Schenkel, *Bibelllexicon*, sub Bund.

<sup>5</sup> Knobel.

<sup>6</sup> Ewald, *Alterthümer*, p. 92 [*Antiquities of Israel*, p. 69, note 1].

<sup>7</sup> Delitzsch.

We have still to ask why the animals were to be three years old. The answer is not that the legend increases all the ages given for those remote times,<sup>1</sup> and scarcely that the reference is to the three generations of the Egyptian bondage,<sup>2</sup> for that lasted longer (vv. 13, 16). The fact is that the number three, like the number seven,<sup>3</sup> was customary in asseverations, oaths, curses, and blessings, and was a sacred number.<sup>4</sup> The divided animals are also, after all, only three, and the two birds a separate addition made for other reasons.

Ver. 11. All was now prepared, but before the actual passage between the divided bodies and the actual giving of the guarantee commenced, birds of prey<sup>5</sup> flew down to devour the bodies of the dead animals;<sup>6</sup> but Abram, watchful and resolute, frightens them away. The Septuagint translates וַיִּשָּׁב אַהֲם, less appropriately, καὶ συνεκάθισεν αὐτοῖς. It was an omen of evil, as when the harpies sought to carry off the sacrifices,<sup>7</sup> and it foreshadowed the obstacles in the way of the taking possession of the land which was about to be assured to Abram. Unclean and violence-loving peoples, in especial the Egyptians, will seek to defeat God's purpose, but they will not succeed.

Ver. 12 ff. For the reasons given on p. 55 f., and because ver. 18b, more particularly the expression לוֹרֶעַךְ, is already in strictness presupposed<sup>8</sup> in vv. 13–16, vv. 13(12b)–16<sup>9</sup> are not from *C*, but have been introduced by *R* as an *express* interpretation of the evil omens, and to introduce the panorama of future events which follows. Towards evening, as he watches by the divided bodies, Abram falls into a trance

<sup>1</sup> Ewald, *Geschichte*,<sup>3</sup> i. 466 [*History of Israel*, vol. i. p. 325, note 1].

<sup>2</sup> Delitzsch,<sup>4</sup> Keil.

<sup>3</sup> Ch. xxi. 28 ff.

<sup>4</sup> See on ch. ix. 25; Hermann, *Gott. Alterthümer der Griechen*,<sup>2</sup> § 21A. 9, § 22A. 18.

<sup>5</sup> For the article, see ch. xiv. 13.

<sup>6</sup> פֶּגֶר, Lev. xxvi. 30; Num. xiv. 29, xxxii. 33.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Virgil, *Aeneid*, iii. 225 ff., Ewald.

<sup>8</sup> Wellhausen.

<sup>9</sup> At least 12b–15; ver. 16 may be still later.

or vision-slumber,<sup>1</sup> the direct purpose of which is to reveal to him what he ought to know of the future.

Ver. 12. The sun was about to set,<sup>2</sup> and a deep sleep<sup>3</sup> had fallen on Abram: in this state he received a revelation. והנה introduces the revelation, and is in no way a doublet<sup>4</sup> to 'והרדמה ג'. It is not a kindly light which Abram sees in his sleep, but a *terror, a great darkness, i.e.* something terrifying, which consisted of a great darkness, *falls on him*. The reason of this is that the opening scene of the future which is to be revealed is joyless and terrifying.—הַשִּׁכָּה is only found here in the Pentateuch.

Ver. 13. Thus filled with horror Abram receives in his sleep the disclosures which follow. The subject to ויאמר is self-evident.

*You should know, of a truth, it is of some importance that you should know.*<sup>5</sup> The first fact is that his descendants have to dwell as strangers *in a land which does not belong to them,*<sup>6</sup> *i.e.* Egypt, *and will serve them* (the Egyptians); *and they* (the Egyptians) *will oppress them*<sup>7</sup> *for 400 years.* According to Ex. xii. 40, from A, the time is more exactly 430 years, but in the prophecy the round number is more appropriate.<sup>8</sup> This is a sufficiently joyless prospect.

Ver. 14. But affairs turn for the better. On this people whom they have to serve, misfortune such as has been hitherto their lot will *also* come. God will *judge* it, *i.e.* bring plagues upon it as its punishment,<sup>9</sup> and they will leave its land with great possessions<sup>10</sup> (רכוש, see note on ch. xii. 5).

Ver. 15. Such will be the fortunes of his descendants. "But Abram will be untouched by any misfortune. *You shall enter into your fathers, i.e.* reach the lower world to

<sup>1</sup> Ewald, *Alterthümer*,<sup>3</sup> 344 [*Antiquities of Israel*, p. 259 f.].

<sup>2</sup> Josh. ii. 5; Gesenius,<sup>25</sup> 114. 2A. 2.

<sup>3</sup> Ch. ii. 21.

<sup>4</sup> Kautzsch-Socin.

<sup>5</sup> Josh. xxiii. 13.

<sup>6</sup> Hab. i. 6; Gesenius,<sup>25</sup> 155. 2a.

<sup>7</sup> Ex. i. and v.

<sup>8</sup> Knobel.

<sup>9</sup> Ex. vii. ff.

<sup>10</sup> Ex. xii. 32, 38. Knobel.



which they have gone before,<sup>1</sup> *in peace*, i.e. unmolested and undisturbed, amid peaceful surroundings.”<sup>2</sup>

בְּשֵׁלוֹבָה טוֹבָה—in xxv. 8, from *A*.

Ver. 16 adds the reason why all these things must be just as they are to be. *As the fourth generation*,<sup>3</sup> or *in the fourth generation*,<sup>4</sup> not sooner, they will return here, *for until now*<sup>5</sup> *the guilt of the Amorite is not complete*, the measure of his sins is not full, so as to allow of his being earlier driven out and extirpated.

הָאֲמֹרִי—as in ch. xiv. 7, 13, whereas *C* uses הַכְּנַעֲנִי to designate the inhabitants of the country.<sup>6</sup> “The same unfavourable view of the moral character of these inhabitants is expressed in chs. xiii. 13, xviii. 20 ff., xix. 1 ff., xx. 11.”<sup>7</sup> As to their moral corruption being the ground of their extirpation, comp. Lev. xviii. 24 f., xx. 22 ff.

דֹּר—according to Ex. vi. 20 it was the fourth generation which returned from Egypt. Accordingly, if this verse is from the same author as ver. 13, דֹּר, *generation*, must here extend to a century or somewhat over. “The Arabic *dahr* is also used for a hundred years and over, but at the same time for a generation of forty-four years.<sup>8</sup> Similarly, *sæculum* is sometimes a *spatium vitæ humanæ longissimum partu et morte definitum*,<sup>9</sup> sometimes a *spatium centum annorum*,<sup>10</sup> or a period of 30, or 110, or 1000 years.<sup>11</sup> *Aetas*, too, is generally generation, but also century, e.g. in Ovid, *Metamorphoses* xii. 188, where Nestor says, *vixi annos bis centum, nunc tertia vivitur ætas*; Homer<sup>12</sup> made Nestor’s age three *γεγεναι*.”<sup>13</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See ch. xxv. 8.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. 2 Sam. iii. 21 ff., xv. 9, 27. Knobel.

<sup>3</sup> Gesenius,<sup>25</sup> 118. 5c.

<sup>4</sup> Sept.; cf. the Massoretic reading in xiv. 4.

<sup>5</sup> Ch. xlv. 28.

<sup>6</sup> Ch. xii. 6, xiii. 7.

<sup>7</sup> Knobel.

<sup>8</sup> Burckhardt [*Arabic Proverbs*, p. 88], Germ. tr. 101.

<sup>9</sup> Censorinus, *De die natali*, xvii. 2.

<sup>10</sup> Varro, *De lingua Latina*, vi. 11.

<sup>11</sup> Servius, *ad Æneadem*, viii. 508.

<sup>12</sup> *Iliad*, i. 250.

<sup>13</sup> Knobel.

Ver. 17. The sign proper in which the covenant promise is actually given is now at length reached. The form of the sentence is as in ver. 12.

The sun had meantime set, *and it had become*<sup>1</sup> *thick darkness.* עֲלֹטָהּ is only found besides in Ezek. xii. 6 ff. Suddenly there appears *an earthen stove of smoke, i.e. a smoking earthen stove,*<sup>2</sup> *and a flaming torch.* What is described is, doubtless, an apparition like a fireplace from which gleaming flames darted out. It passed between the pieces of the divided animals, and in the apparition, which was appropriate to the darkness of the night, God was present.<sup>3</sup> נִיר is a rare word. Even if vv. 12–16 were not an insertion of R's, we should still not be entitled to assume that Abram saw the transit simply in his sleep. He required to see it when awake, for a mere internal perception would be exposed to the danger of deception, and it is just because the sign is of fire and apprehensible by sense-perception that it had first to become dark. God alone passed between the pieces, because He alone had something to promise; by the sign He condescended to give Abram such an assurance of the promise as he had desired in ver. 8. But nowhere else in the Old Testament is there a similar instance of God's accommodating Himself to the practices current among men in protesting their truthfulness. The covenant in ch. xvii., A's, is of quite a different character.

Ver. 18 remarks expressly that God, by what had taken place, as narrated in ver. 9 onwards, had concluded a covenant with Abram regarding the future possession of the land, and it defines more closely the extent of the land thus promised. Ch. xxvi. 3 refers back to it. נָהָי, as in chs. i. 29, ix. 2, 3.

"The boundary kept in view as the limit of Israelite conquests, according to Ex. xxiii. 31; Deut. i. 7, xi. 24:

<sup>1</sup> Gesenius, 145. 7A. 3.

<sup>2</sup> עֲשֵׂן need not be taken to be a form of עֵשֶׂן. [Stove, i.e. Backtopf, see Riehm.]

<sup>3</sup> See on Ex. iii. 2, xiii. 21, xix. 9.

Josh. i. 4, was the river Euphrates." The southern boundary is elsewhere the נהל מצרים, the modern Wadi el 'Arish; <sup>1</sup> hence Knobel, Delitzsch, and others are of opinion that this river is intended by נהר מצרים. But although it is true that נהר might be used of smaller rivers and channels, <sup>2</sup> נהר מצרים can scarcely be anything other than the Nile or its most easterly branch. That being so, the expression is a manifest hyperbole. <sup>3</sup> If נהל were the original reading, <sup>4</sup> it could only be intentionally corrupted to נהר. The power of Israel in its palmiest days extended to the Egyptian frontier and to the Euphrates. <sup>5</sup>

Ver. 19 ff. Enumeration of the peoples whom God destined to subjugation by the Hebrews. Such enumerations of the Canaanite peoples are in great favour with *C*, *D*, and *R*. <sup>6</sup> Ex. xxiii. 28 contains the simplest of them; generally the number is given at five or six, sometimes at seven. Here and only here a collection of ten has been made, for the boundaries of the promised land in the south and east are stretched far beyond those of Canaan. The Kēni <sup>7</sup> and the Kēnizzi <sup>8</sup> seem intended to represent the tribes of the Negeb and of the southern desert, as 'Amalek does in ch. xiv. 1, and the Kādmoni <sup>9</sup> the inhabitants of the Syro-Arabian desert. By the Rephaim <sup>10</sup> and the Emori will be intended, for the most part, the tribes in the land east of Jordan. Regarding the others, see on ch. x. 15 ff.; for the פְּרִזִּי, see also ch. xiii. 7. The הִיזִי are wanting in the list, but are inserted by the Sept. and Samaritan after רֶכְנֵעִי.

<sup>1</sup> Num. xxxiv. 5; Josh. xv. 4; Isa. xxvii. 12.

<sup>2</sup> 2 Kings v. 12; Job xxviii. 11; Ex. viii. 1; Ezek. i. 3, and elsewhere.

<sup>3</sup> See further, Josh. xiii. 3; 1 Chron. xiii. 5; Delitzsch, *Paradies*, p. 311.

<sup>4</sup> Lagarde, *Bildung der Nomina*, p. 140. <sup>5</sup> 1 Kings v. 1, viii. 65.

<sup>6</sup> Ex. iii. 8, 17, xiii. 5, xxiii. 23, xxxiii. 2, xxxiv. 11; Deut. vii. 1, xx. 17; Josh. iii. 10, ix. 1, xxiv. 11, and frequently.

<sup>7</sup> See Num. xxiv. 21.

<sup>8</sup> See ch. xxxvi. 11.

<sup>9</sup> Only herē, but see ch. xxv. 15.

<sup>10</sup> Ch. xiv. 5.

## 2. THE BIRTH OF ISHMAEL, CH. XVI.; FOLLOWING C AND A

Sarai, seeing herself barren, induces Abram to cohabit with her maid Hagar in order that she may have children by her. Hagar becomes pregnant, behaves insolently towards her mistress, is humiliated by her, and flees to Egypt. An angel meets her in the desert, bids her return, and makes disclosures to her regarding the future of her descendants. After her return she bears Ishmael.<sup>1</sup>

In ch. xvii. 18 ff. *A* presupposes Ishmael's existence, so that he must before that have recorded his birth. On examination we find that vv. 1, 3, and 15 ff. of this chapter belong to *A* because of the exact notes of time they contain, and in part because of their language (ver. 3). He only related that Sarai, because barren, gave Abram her Egyptian maid Hagar to be his wife, and that she bore him a son, whom he named Ishmael. When these verses are taken away, what remains is an independent narrative, in which the original conclusion, regarding Ishmael's birth and his receiving a name, is alone wanting, it having been replaced in ver. 15 f. by material from *A*. The contents of the passage, such as "the angelic apparition (ver. 7 ff.), the conception of ver. 13, the unfavourable character given to Hagar and Ishmael, the etymologies (vv. 11, 13 f.), and the discrepancy between vv. 11 and 15,"<sup>2</sup> furnish evidence against *A*'s authorship. At the same time, seeing that the same material is found in part in *B* in a similar narrative (ch. xxi. 8–21), it is also testimony for *C*, who is further indicated by the linguistic data.<sup>3</sup> It is true that the thrice repeated introduction to the consecutive words of the angel in vv. 9–11 is surprising, and for this reason it is a natural conjecture<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Knobel.

<sup>2</sup> Knobel.

<sup>3</sup> (10) לֹא יִפְּרָה כִּי־בָּרָה, הָרְבָּה הָרְבָּה, (2) שָׁמַע לְקוֹל, אֵלֶּי, הִנֵּה־נָּא, יְהוָה.

<sup>4</sup> Böhmer, *Das erste Buch der Thora*, p. 203; Wellhausen, *JBDTh.* xxi. 410; Kuenen, *Onderzoek*,<sup>2</sup> i. 247; Kautzsch-Socin.



that vv. 8–10, or at least ver. 9 f., are a harmonistic insertion made with reference to *B* (ch. xxi. 9 ff.) and *A* (ver. 15 f.). In that case Hagar, according to *C*, did not return to Abram's house after her flight.<sup>1</sup> But would the מלאך יהוה appear in *C* only in order to tell Hagar that she was pregnant, as she already knew, and will bear an "Ishmael," and then leave her helpless and without further direction? And could Ishmael be counted a son of Abram if he were not born in his house? The language of the verses is identical with that of *C*, and they show no trace of the hand of a harmonist. The division of the angel's words into three parts may also be intentional, and we cannot say that ver. 10 is unsuited to precede ver. 11.<sup>2</sup> It is accordingly not certain that we must refuse the verses to *C*.

No express reference is made in the passage to the preceding chapter, and yet *R* had quite a definite intention in assigning to it its present position. According to the agreement of Abram and his wife, Hagar, in view of Sarai's continued barrenness, was to help in obtaining the offspring promised to Abram in ch. xv. But scarcely had the hope been cherished when it was disappointed by the quarrel of the women, and Hagar's flight. It is true that by divine interposition everything turns out well, the son is born to Abram in his house, and he thus obtains a lineal heir; yet the words of the angel to Hagar indicate thus early that this is not the son of promise. In the passage, therefore, the promise of ch. xv. begins to approach fulfilment, though it is not yet fulfilled, and the way is, at the same time, prepared for ch. xvii.

Ver. 1. Introductory descriptive sentence. If we cannot ascribe the whole verse <sup>3</sup> to *A*, at least the first part is his,<sup>4</sup> seeing that he has yet to mention Sarai's barrenness, whereas *C* has already done so in ch. xi. 30 (see notes there).

<sup>1</sup> See notes on ch. xxv. 6 for the question how far that verse contradicts this.

<sup>2</sup> See notes there.

<sup>3</sup> Knobel.

<sup>4</sup> Schrader.

Sarai had an Egyptian slave<sup>1</sup> "who stood in closer relationship to her than did the other slaves."<sup>2</sup> Being the property of the wife, she was not at the free disposal of the husband, as purchased slaves were; a regular *concubinatus* could only be contracted with consent of the wife.<sup>3</sup> Hagar's Egyptian origin is an invariable feature in the legend,<sup>4</sup> and, taken in connection with ch. xxi. 21, has an easily understood historical meaning. The name הָגָר, interpreted in the light of Arabic *hajara*, means *discessus a suis*, and the narrative here, as well as that in ch. xxi. 8 ff., attaches itself to this meaning of the name. But it is proved to be also an historical name in the light of that of the Arab nomadic people of the הַנְּזִירִים.<sup>5</sup>

Ver. 2. Sarai proposes that Abram should cohabit with Hagar. *He has closed me up*,<sup>6</sup> i.e. closed my womb, away from<sup>7</sup> bearing, i.e. so that I do not bear. God opens the womb of her who is fruitful.<sup>8</sup> This way of speaking, as also the following expression, נִכְנְה, is foreign to A.<sup>9</sup>

נָא—ch. vi. 4.

*Perhaps I shall be built up by her*, i.e. obtain children from her.<sup>10</sup> Sarai, that is, intends to take Hagar's child as her own, and Hagar's descendants will be reckoned hers; similarly in the case of Rachel in ch. xxx. 3 ff.<sup>11</sup>

אֵלִי—in C<sup>12</sup> and B.<sup>13</sup>

Ver. 3, which would be superfluous in C, is from A; the note of time is characteristic of the latter, and the expressions אֶרֶץ כְּנָעַן,<sup>14</sup> יָשָׁב,<sup>15</sup> and also אִשָּׁה.

"The practice of concubinage is customary among the

<sup>1</sup> Cf. ch. xii. 16.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. xxix. 24, 29. Knobel.

<sup>3</sup> Tuch.

<sup>4</sup> A in ver. 3, B in ch. xxi. 9.

<sup>5</sup> See on ch. xxv. 15.

<sup>6</sup> Ch. xx. 18.

<sup>7</sup> Ch. xviii. 25, xxiii. 6, xxvii. 1.

<sup>8</sup> Ch. xxix. 31, xxx. 22.

<sup>9</sup> Knobel.

<sup>10</sup> Ch. xxx. 3; cf. Ruth iv. 11; Ex. i. 21; Deut. xxv. 9; 2 Sam. vii. 11, 27; 1 Kings xi. 38.

<sup>11</sup> Knobel.

<sup>12</sup> Chs. xviii. 24, 28, xxiv. 5, 39 (xxxii. 21), xliii. 12.

<sup>13</sup> Ch. xxvii. 12.

<sup>14</sup> Ch. xii. 5.

<sup>15</sup> Ch. xiii. 12.

patriarchs,<sup>1</sup> and is also frequently mentioned in the case of their descendants.”<sup>2</sup> But the mention of the fact that the principal wife, in the cases of Abram and Jacob, desired the additional connection, is not without meaning; it is like an excuse for the want of adherence to monogamy.

פִּגְיוֹן—iv. 3, viii. 6. לְשֹׁבֶת, for לְ see ch. vii. 11.

Ver. 4. Originally the continuation of ver. 2. “When Hagar sees that she is pregnant she despises her unfruitful mistress and behaves unbecomingly towards her. Hannah had a similar experience at the hands of her fellow wife.<sup>3</sup> It is still the same in the East.<sup>4</sup> In the Old Testament barrenness is a great evil and a divine punishment;<sup>5</sup> fruitfulness, good fortune and a divine blessing.<sup>6</sup> It is held to be so even yet in the East.”<sup>7</sup>

וַחֲקָל—Gesenius,<sup>25</sup> 67A. 3.

Ver. 5. Sarai complains to Abram that he endures this unseemly conduct on the part of the slave girl; his reason was his hope of offspring.

הַמָּסִי עָלַי—misunderstood by the Septuagint and Vulgate. It is an exclamation, *the wrong done me*, may it come upon thee,<sup>8</sup> may its consequences fall upon thee. The pronominal suffix is an objective genitive, as in ch. ix. 2, Judg. ix. 24; Joel iv. 19.

בְּהִיקָךְ—on to thy breast, comp. 1 Kings i. 2.

*Judge between me and thee*, decide our dispute, and that in such a way that he will punish your ingratitude, and will aid me to obtain my due.<sup>9</sup> The supralinear point directs the omission of the second ו in וּבִינֶיךָ because the form is elsewhere always בֵּינֶיךָ, in pause בֵּינֶיךָ (ch. xvii. 2, 7, etc.).

Ver. 6. Abram, however, does not wish to punish Hagar

<sup>1</sup> Ch. xxii. 24, xxx. 3 ff., xxxvi. 12.

<sup>2</sup> See on Ex. xxi. 7. Knobel.

<sup>3</sup> 1 Sam. i. 6 f.

<sup>4</sup> Lane, *Manners and Customs*,<sup>5</sup> 1871, i. 232; pop. ed. p. 167.

<sup>5</sup> Chs. xix. 31, xxx. 1, 23; Lev. xx. 20 f.

<sup>6</sup> Chs. xxi. 6, xxiv. 60; Ex. xxiii. 26; Deut. vii. 14.

<sup>7</sup> Volney, [*Voyage en Syrie et en Egypte*,<sup>3</sup> ii. 326] Germ. tr. ii. 359 f.; Olivier, *Voyage*, i. 183 f. [8°; 4°, i. 103]; Winer, *Realwörterbuch*,<sup>3</sup> i. 656. Knobel.

<sup>8</sup> Ch. xxvii. 13.

<sup>9</sup> 1 Sam. xxiv. 16. Knobel.

himself, he leaves it to Sarai. As her slave, Hagar is in her *hand*, *i.e.* power,<sup>1</sup> so that she may treat her as she pleases. Sarai *humbls* the presumptuous maid, *e.g.* by her harsh manner and the imposition of hard work,<sup>2</sup> with the result that she runs away.<sup>3</sup> Incidentally this is a contribution to a picture of the evils which arise from polygamy.

Ver. 7. Providence now intervenes, and turns all to the best. Hagar flees southward to Egypt in the direction of the desert, a woman, and alone.<sup>4</sup> We are not told from where she set out. It is questionable if Mamre<sup>5</sup> were originally intended. In the desert the angel whom God sent to her found her by *the* spring, *i.e.* the spring known to all as figuring in this legend, further described in ver. 14, the spring on the way to Shur. וַיִּמְצְאָהּ, הָ— as in ch. xxxvii. 33, 1 Chron. xx. 2; 2 Chron. xx. 7.

Shur<sup>6</sup>—*before*, *i.e.* east of Egypt, bounds the country inhabited by the Israelites and Amalekites,<sup>7</sup> and gave its name to the desert of Shur or Etham.<sup>8</sup> It must have been a locality on the north-eastern border of Egypt; but it is not Pelusium,<sup>9</sup> which was סִן. The word signifies wall, as also doubtless does הַנֶּרֶף, its Targumic substitute. It was, no doubt, the Semitic name for one of the Egyptian border fortresses at the north-eastern entrance to the delta.<sup>10</sup> Saadia replaces שֹׁר by Jifâr. The Arabic geographers apply the name desert of Jifâr, in contradistinction to the desert of the children of Israel or Paran, to the strip of land five or six days' journey long, and bounded on the east by the desert of Paran, extending from Rafia in Philistia to Lake Tennis (Menzaleh), and from there to Kûlzum.<sup>11</sup> In a word, they

<sup>1</sup> Ch. ix. 2.<sup>2</sup> Ch. xv. 13, xxxi. 50.<sup>3</sup> Knobel.<sup>4</sup> Cf. Burekhardt, *Syria*, p. 448, Germ. tr. p. 740.<sup>5</sup> Ch. xiii. 18, xiv. 13.<sup>6</sup> Ch. xx. 1.<sup>7</sup> Ch. xxv. 18; 1 Sam. xv. 7, xxvii. 8.<sup>8</sup> Ex. xv. 22, comp. Num. xxxiii. 2.<sup>9</sup> Josephus.<sup>10</sup> Brugsch, *Geschichte*, 119, 195; E. Meyer, *Geschichte*, §§ 237, 240; comp. ch. xx. 1.<sup>11</sup> Kâzwini, *Kosmographia*, ii. 120; Işṭachri (ed. Mordtmann), p. 31 f.; Yâkût, ii. 90.



apply it to designate the western slope of the desert of Paran in the direction of Egypt.<sup>1</sup>

Ver. 8. The question of the angel serves simply to commence the conversation.<sup>2</sup> בִּרְחַת, as in ver. 6, doubtless a play on the meaning of the word הָנִיךְ.

Ver. 9. Three several divine messages<sup>3</sup> are addressed by the angel to Hagar in vv. 9-12, and in them the angel speaks as God's representative.<sup>4</sup> The purpose of the first is to help her out of her evil case; it bids her return and *humble herself under the hands of her mistress*. The second, ver. 10, encourages her to this by the promise of a numerous progeny which will then be hers.<sup>5</sup>

לא יספר מרב—xxxii. 13. הרבה ארבה—iii. 16, xxii. 17. In this assurance there already appears a partial fulfilment of ch. xv. 5.

Ver. 11 f. The third informs her regarding the name of the expected son, his character, and his future. She is to name him יִסְמְעָאֵל, *God heareth*, "because God *listened to her distress*, gave heed to it. Elsewhere the expression used is רָאָה אֶת־ (בְּ)עֵינַי.<sup>6</sup> The mother gives the child its name;<sup>7</sup> in 4 the father names the children."<sup>8</sup>

יִלְדָה—fem. partic., but with a punctuation approaching that of the 2 s. f. perf.<sup>9</sup>

Ver. 12. This son will be *a wild ass of a man*, or among men, *i.e.* a man like a wild ass,<sup>10</sup> which, free and wild, roams about in lonely deserts, untamable.<sup>11</sup>

*Its hand against all, and the hand of all against it; it*

<sup>1</sup> ZDMG. i. 173 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Knobel.

<sup>3</sup> Comp. xvii. 3, 9, 15, xxxv. 10 f.

<sup>4</sup> See note on Ex. iii. 2 [Dillmann, Com.].

<sup>5</sup> Comp. ch. xii. 2 ff. in relation to xii. 1.

<sup>6</sup> Chs. xxxi. 42, xxix. 32.

<sup>7</sup> As in iv. 1, 25, xix. 37 f., xxix. 32 ff., xxx. 6 ff., xxxviii. 3 ff.

<sup>8</sup> *E.g.* v. 3, xvi. 15, xvii. 19, xxi. 3; comp. xxxv. 18. Knobel.

<sup>9</sup> Ewald, *Syntax*, § 188b; König, *Lehrgebäude*, i. 404 f.; otherwise Gesenius,<sup>25</sup> 80. 26.

<sup>10</sup> Ewald, § 287g; Gesenius,<sup>25</sup> 128. 2e.

<sup>11</sup> Comp. Job xxxix. 5 ff.; Winer, *Realwörterbuch*,<sup>3</sup> ii. 674.

attacks everyone and is attacked by all, it lives in constant feud with all.<sup>1</sup>

"על-פני ו" in the very face of his brethren, right before them. The meaning is scarcely simply "east of."<sup>2</sup> "As in the case of all the patriarchs, the author delineates Ishmael also in accordance with the character of his reputed descendants, in this case the Beduin Arabs. These sons of the desert, who have never lost their freedom, are constantly engaged in war, pillage, and freebooting.<sup>3</sup> In the other narratives the promise is more attractive but much more general."<sup>4</sup>

Ver. 13 f. Interpretation of the name of the place where the incident occurred. Hagar recognises that God Himself has come to her in this comforting revelation, so *she called the name of Jahve who spoke to her*, she named Jahve, *Thou art a God of seeing*. In view of the explanation which follows, אֵל רֹאֶי is not to be taken passively, "God who is seen," but actively, who sees, looks everywhere, an all-seeing God. She said, *Have I here also*, in the desert, which is not a dwelling-place of Deity, where I could not expect such a thing, *looked after Him*<sup>5</sup> *who saw me*.<sup>6</sup> This translation makes unnecessary Lagarde's conjecture,<sup>7</sup> that הָלַם is due to a dittography of הָיָה. God saw her and espoused her cause. She did not see Him, but as He departed she observed that the all-seeing God was present here, in the person of His angel, and she looked after Him.<sup>8</sup>

Because of this the well is named,<sup>9</sup> *well of the living one who sees me*. So we must translate the Massoretic text. The interpretation, *well of living seeing*, with רֹאֶי as pausal of רֹאֶי, i.e. where a man sees God and remains alive,<sup>10</sup> pre-

<sup>1</sup> Knobel.

<sup>2</sup> Comp. xxv. 18.

<sup>3</sup> See Niebuhr, *Arabien*, 381 f.; Arvieux, [*Mémoires*, 1735, iii. 149 ff.] *Merkwürdige Nachrichten*, ii. 220 ff.; Denon, [*Voyage en Egypte*, i. 61 f.] Germ. tr. 55; Burekhardt, [*Bedouins*, vol. i. pp. 133 ff., 157 ff., 323 ff.] Germ. tr. 107 ff., 127 ff., 261 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Ch. xvii. 20, xxi. 20. Knobel.

<sup>5</sup> Ewald, 282b.

<sup>6</sup> Job vii. 8.

<sup>7</sup> *Onomastica sacra*,<sup>1</sup> ii. 95.

<sup>8</sup> Comp. Ex. xxxiii. 23.

<sup>9</sup> Ch. xi. 9.

<sup>10</sup> Tuch, Knobel, Hengstenberg, Keil.

supposes a combination of words impossible in Hebrew, and it is just to prevent this interpretation that in ver. 13 also the Massorettes accentuate רָאִי, not רָאִי. It is equally impossible that ver. 13 can mean, "Thou art a God who is seen, do I still really see (*i.e.* live) here after the seeing (*i.e.* after I have seen God)?"<sup>1</sup> especially for the reason that רָאִי is not used in the sense of "live," and that רָאִי without article and suffix would be too indefinite. Seeing that a given name has to be explained, it is not in the circumstances a matter of importance that הָחַי is never found in the Old Testament as a name for God, and that אֵל הַי itself is not found in the Pentateuch.<sup>2</sup> If there is to be emendation of the text, the proposal of Wellhausen<sup>3</sup> has most to recommend it. He reads, הֵנָּם (אֱלֹהִים) רָאִיתִי (וְאֵחָיו) אַחֲרַי רָאִי, *have I seen (God) (and remain alive) after (my) seeing*, therefore the well is called *well of "he lives who sees me."* But the meaning "jawbone of the antelope," given by Wellhausen<sup>4</sup> as the original signification of לָחִי רָאִי, is purely imaginative. Gesenius offers a similar conjecture.<sup>5</sup> Halévy<sup>6</sup> wishes to render by *puits de la saillie (!) de vision*.

Beerlahairoi is again mentioned in the history of Isaac.<sup>7</sup> It was probably at one time held sacred by the Israelites (and Beduins<sup>8</sup>). It lay between Kadesh to the east and Bered (Sept. Βαρύδ) to the west. Bered does not occur elsewhere; Onkelos gives חֲנִירָא, as for נִיר in ver. 7, while the Jerusalem Targum has Elusa. Gildemeister<sup>9</sup> wishes to refer us to a place ܥܠܝܬܐ, south of Ghazza; Wellhausen<sup>10</sup> to Βηρδάν,<sup>11</sup> κόμη ἐν τῇ Γεραριτικῇ. In Jerome's time<sup>12</sup> a Hagar

<sup>1</sup> As in xxxii. 31, in accordance with the well-known idea (chs. xix. 17, xxxii. 27, 31; Ex. iii. 6, xix. 21, xxxiii. 20) that the sight of what is holy has injurious consequences for man. Knobel, Tuch, Keil.

<sup>2</sup> Keil.

<sup>3</sup> *Geschichte*, i. 329 [Prolegomena, 1885, p. 326].

<sup>4</sup> *Op. cit.* and Prolegomena, p. 344.

<sup>5</sup> *Thesaurus*, 175.

<sup>6</sup> *Revue critique*, 1883, p. 287.

<sup>7</sup> xxiv. 62, xxv. 11.

<sup>8</sup> Stade in *ZATW*. i. 347 ff.

<sup>9</sup> *ZDPV*. xiv. 82.

<sup>10</sup> *Samuel*, p. 213.

<sup>11</sup> Lagarde, *Onomastica sacra*,<sup>1</sup> 299. 74, 145. 3.

<sup>12</sup> *Onomasticon*, sub Barad.

well was still shown. The Beduins even yet associate with Hagar's name a well a considerable distance south of Beersheba', in Muweilih, one of the principal stations on the caravan road,<sup>1</sup> and also a rock dwelling, Bait Hagar, in the neighbourhood.<sup>2</sup>

Ver. 15 f. Ishmael is born in his father's house, Abram being then eighty-six years old.<sup>3</sup> Ishmael was therefore thirteen years old when circumcision was instituted (xvii. 1 ff.). These verses are from *A*, as, *e.g.*, the contrast of ויקרא נ' with ver. 11 shows.

### 3. GOD'S COVENANT WITH ABRAM, THE INSTITUTION OF CIRCUMCISION, AND THE PROMISE OF ISAAC, CH. XVII.; FOLLOWING *A*.

Thirteen years after Ishmael's birth God appears to Abram, promises him a numerous posterity, changes his name in accordance with this promise, assures Canaan to him and his descendants, and concludes a covenant with him for all time, according to which He will be his God and the God of his descendants (vv. 1-8). He institutes circumcision as the sign of the covenant (vv. 9-14). But the covenant is only to include within its scope the descendants of the son whom Sarai will bear to him; she is to be the ancestress of the covenant people, and she, like her husband, receives another name (vv. 15-22). After the divine apparition Abram at once proceeds to circumcise his household (vv. 23-27).<sup>4</sup> In this manner the development commenced in ch. xv. progresses towards its proper goal; yet at the same time a new test of faith, patience, and obedience is laid on Abraham, who believed that in Ishmael he already had the son who was to be his heir.

<sup>1</sup> Russegger, *Reisen in Europa, Asien, u. Afrika*, iii. 66, 246; Robinson, [*Palestine*, i. 190] Germ. tr. i. 315.

<sup>2</sup> Rowlands in Ritter, *Erdkunde*, xiv. 1086; *ZDMG*. i. 175 f.

<sup>3</sup> Comp. xii. 4 and xvi. 3.

<sup>4</sup> Knobel.



The significance of the passage is seen to be more comprehensive when viewed in its original connection apart from the position assigned it by *R*. It is easy to see that the covenant, introduced in ver. 2 ff. as something quite new, must be described by a writer other than the author who described the covenant of ch. xv., and it is equally apparent that afterwards the promise of Isaac in ch. xviii. 9 ff. is expressed as if ch. xvii. 15 ff. had not preceded it at all. Ch. xvii. is a passage from *A* which has been preserved unchanged, and is presupposed in the later portions of his narrative.<sup>1</sup> It bears on it the unmistakable marks of its origin as seen in the character of its contents, "in its breadth of style, and in its language." Among the peculiarities of its contents are "its promise of *peoples*,<sup>2</sup> and of kings and princes,<sup>3</sup> its notes of time,"<sup>4</sup> and the resemblance of the covenant with that described in ch. ix. 9 ff. "Linguistic peculiarities are its use of *Elohim*, *El Shaddai* (ver. 1) אֱלֹהִים and פְּנִים (8), מִקֵּץ (12 f., 23, 27), הַלֵּיד and נִשְׂאָה (20), בֶּרֶכְךָ (12, 27), עַצֶּם (23, 26), כִּלְיֹכֶר (10, 12, 23), פֶּרֶה וּרְבָה (20), נָתַן בְּרִית and הָקִים (2, 7, 19, 21), compounds with עִלָּם (7, 8, 13, 19), *thou and thy seed after thee* (7-10, 19), לָרַחֲמֶם (7, 9, 12), וְנִכְרְתָהּ וְאֵל (14), also of אֶרֶץ כְּנָעַן (8), מֵאֵד מֵאֵד (2, 6, 20), and other expressions."<sup>5</sup> It shows a trace of *R*'s hand only in the יְהוָה of ver. 1.

Up to this point *A* has narrated only external incidents in the life of Abram,<sup>6</sup> he has told us nothing regarding his relation to God. All that he has to say on this point is compressed into ch. xvii., where Abram receives the first divine manifestation granted to him, and with it all the promises at once. What *A* here records is of unique importance in his narrative. It was now that God, with Isaac and Israel definitely in view, entered into that

<sup>1</sup> Chs. xxi. 2, 4, xxviii. 4, xxxv. 12; Ex. ii. 24, vi. 3 f.; Lev. xii. 3.

<sup>2</sup> Vv. 4 f., 16.

<sup>3</sup> Vv. 6, 16, 20.

<sup>4</sup> Vv. 1, 17, 24 f.

<sup>5</sup> See on vv. 20 and 23. Knobel.

<sup>6</sup> Ch. xii. 4 f., xiii. 6, 11 f., xvi. 3, 15 f.

special relationship with Abram on which depends everything that follows, not excluding the whole Mosaic covenant. From the time of the Noachic covenant with mankind, to which this attaches itself as a further stage in the development of the divine purpose, *A* has had nothing of similar importance to recount. His mode of statement is permeated by a consciousness of the importance of the occasion. It is to be observed that, as elsewhere in *A*, the covenant is not simply a solemn pledge on God's part, as it was in ch. xv., but the establishment of a reciprocal relationship in which both parties undertake obligations.

In the details of his account *A*, as usual, commits himself to the guidance of well-founded traditions regarding the past. Among the particulars thus derived is not only the divine name El Shaddai, but in a certain sense the ascription to the patriarchs of the practice of circumcision.<sup>1</sup> It is true that circumcision was not normally established among the Israelites even in Egypt,<sup>2</sup> and not till they reached Canaan,<sup>3</sup> and that to this extent *A* anticipates a later period. But, on the other hand, the existence of the practice among all the peoples who come into connection with the migration of Terah and among the Canaanites, though not among the Babylonians and Assyrians, nor among the Philistines, points to its pre-Mosaic dissemination, and in so far *A* has an historical point of departure for his representation. It has been asserted that it became possible to regard circumcision as the sign of a covenant only from the time of the Babylonian exile.<sup>4</sup> This might be maintained with some appearance of truth if only it were proved that among the Canaanites circumcision was practised as a religious observance on children eight days old, and with as much regularity as among the Israelites. But this cannot be

<sup>1</sup> Comp. also xxi. 4 and xxxiv. 13 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Ex. iv. 25 f.

<sup>3</sup> Josh. v. 2 f., 8 f.

<sup>4</sup> Lagarde, *Symmicta*, i. 117; *GGN.* 1889, p. 821; Wellhausen, *Geschichte*, i. 365 [cf. *Prolegomena*, 1885, p. 341 f.]; Stade, *Geschichte*,<sup>2</sup> i. 111; Kuenen, *Onderzoek*,<sup>2</sup> i. 206.

proved; and, on the contrary, there are passages<sup>1</sup> which show that even comparatively early circumcision was regarded as the external mark of those who belonged to the people of Jahve. The practice was in use among the Arabs before the advent of Islam:<sup>2</sup> "it is attributed, in particular, to the Ishmaelites,<sup>3</sup> the Saracens,<sup>4</sup> the Sabeans,<sup>5</sup> and to all of them together, along with the Samaritans and Idumeans.<sup>6</sup> The Old Testament suggests that it existed among the descendants of Lot, and also among the Edomites,"<sup>7</sup> although the later (Nabatean) "Idumeans were introduced to the practice only by Hyrcanus,<sup>8</sup> and the Itureans by Aristobulus."<sup>9</sup> Its original home appears to have been in Africa among the Ethiopians and the Egyptians,<sup>10</sup> from whom it is said to have been adopted by the Kolchians as well as by the Phoenicians and Syrians of Palestine.<sup>11</sup> It may with certainty be maintained that there was an historical connection between circumcision as practised by Asiatic peoples and its existence in Egypt. The Hyksos may have been the connecting link. It has not, however, been shown<sup>12</sup> that in Egypt all males, and not merely the priests, were circumcised. In any case circumcision in Egypt, and, indeed, doubtless in all cases except that of Israel, was not performed until the child was between his sixth and his fourteenth year.<sup>13</sup> The national contempt for the uncircumcised Philistines,<sup>14</sup> and the figurative

<sup>1</sup> As Jer. iv. 4, ix. 24 f.; Deut. x. 16, xxx. 6; Ezek. xlv. 7, 9.

<sup>2</sup> *Sharastani* (ed. Haarbrücker), ii. 354; see also *ZDMG.* xli. 718.

<sup>3</sup> Josephus, *Antiquities*, i. 12. 2; Origen, *ad Genesis*, i. 14; Eusebius, *Preparatio Evangel.* vi. 11.

<sup>4</sup> Sozomen, *Hist. Eccles.* vi. 38.

<sup>5</sup> Philostorgius, *Hist. Eccles.* iii. 4.

<sup>6</sup> Epiphanius, *Adversus Hæreses*, i. 33.

<sup>7</sup> Jer. ix. 25. Knobel.

<sup>8</sup> Josephus, *Antiquities*, xiii. 9. 1.

<sup>9</sup> *Op. cit.* xiii. 11. 3; *Vita*, 23. Knobel.

<sup>10</sup> Jer. ix. 25.

<sup>11</sup> Herodotus, ii. 104; comp. Diodorus Siculus, iii. 31.

<sup>12</sup> In spite of Ebers, *Aegyptian*, 278 ff., Lagarde, and others.

<sup>13</sup> Comp. further, Winer, *Realwörterbuch*, i. 156 ff.; Ewald, *Alterthümer*,<sup>3</sup> 120 ff. [*Antiquities*, pp. 89-97]; Riehm, *Handwörterbuch*, 168 ff.; regarding the significance of the rite, see on Lev. xii. 3.

<sup>14</sup> Judg. xiv. 3, xv. 18; 1 Sam. xiv. 6, xvii. 26, 36; 2 Sam. i. 20.

use of the words עָרַל,<sup>1</sup> and עָרְלָה<sup>2</sup> are proofs of how general and deep-rooted the custom early became among the Israelites.

It is to be observed that *A* uses this opportunity to state the complete law of circumcision as it was to be valid among the Israelites. He does not repeat it afterwards, but assumes a knowledge of it (in Lev. xii. 3).

Ver. 1. The date was determined partly by ch. xxi. 5, partly by a comparison of chs. xvii. 25 and xvi. 16.

יהוה—for Elohim, is due to *R*,<sup>3</sup> who wished to indicate the identity of the יהוה of the preceding sections with the אֱלֹהִים of the following narrative.<sup>4</sup> On the other hand, the originality of יְיָ וְנִי is defended by the וַיֵּעַל of v. 32,<sup>5</sup> and the statement of age, although repeated in ver. 24, has a meaning of its own as an antithesis to xvi. 16.

אֵל יִשְׂרָאֵל—*A*, also, records apparitions of deity,<sup>6</sup> but they are rare, and always of a simple character. This is the first in his narrative.”<sup>7</sup> God announces Himself as אֵל יִשְׂרָאֵל, and thereby inaugurates it as the divine name of the patriarchal covenant. It recurs in *A*<sup>8</sup> and elsewhere.<sup>9</sup> There is no certain tradition regarding the meaning of the name. The Targum does not replace it by anything. The Septuagint renders in Genesis and Exodus by ὁ Θεός μου, σου, αὐτῶν, in Num. xxiv. 4, 16 and Isa. xiii. 6 by Θεός, in Ps. lxviii. 15, xci. 1 by ὁ ἐπουράνιος (Θεὸς τοῦ οὐρανοῦ), in Ezek. x. 5 by Σαδδαί, in Job 9 or 10 times by κύριος, and 14 or 15 times by παντοκράτωρ. Similarly the Peshitta, where it does not retain אֵל יִשְׂרָאֵל (in Genesis and Exodus), replaces it by ܐܠܗܝܢ,<sup>10</sup> or ܐܠܗܝܬܐ,<sup>11</sup> or ܐܠܗܝܬܐ.<sup>12</sup> From the time of Aquila, who, however,

<sup>1</sup> Ex. vi. 12, 30; Jer. vi. 10; Lev. xxvi. 41.

<sup>2</sup> Lev. xix. 23; Deut. x. 16, and other passages.

<sup>3</sup> Comp. ch. xxi. 16.

<sup>4</sup> Comp. note on ii. 46. Knobel.

<sup>5</sup> Comp. xxxv. 9 ff.

<sup>6</sup> Chs. xxxv. 9, xlviii. 3; Ex. vi. 3.

<sup>7</sup> Knobel.

<sup>8</sup> Chs. xxviii. 3, xxxv. 11, xlviii. 3; Ex. vi. 3.

<sup>9</sup> Gen. xliii. 14, xlix. 25; comp. note on Ex. vi. 3.

<sup>10</sup> Numbers, Psalms, Job 12 times.

<sup>11</sup> Joel i. 15; Isa. xiii. 6; Job vi. 14.

<sup>12</sup> In Job 12 times.



according to Jerome,<sup>1</sup> also had ἄλκιμος, *ikavós* is the rendering given.<sup>2</sup> The Vulgate has *omnipotens*; and so, doubtless, Theodotion occasionally *ισχυρός*.<sup>3</sup> In the circumstances we might doubt whether the Massoretic pronunciation שַׁדַּי rests on an old tradition, or whether it has been concocted<sup>4</sup> only on the assumption of the interpretation *ikavós*, i.e. שַׁדַּי and יְיָ = *αὐτόπαρξ*.<sup>5</sup> But the pronunciation שַׁדַּי or שַׁדַּי, proposed by Nöldeke, and his interpretation *my lord* (שַׁדַּי, Arabic *sayyid*),<sup>6</sup> cannot be accepted in view of Gen. xvii. 1 and xxxv. 11, where שַׁדַּי is used by God Himself, and also because the word is never used in addressing God. The interpretation *exalted one*, from Assyrian *šadû*,<sup>7</sup> supposes a signification of שַׁדַּי, *be high*, which is not only unknown in Hebrew but unproved in Assyrian.<sup>8</sup> Derivations from the Aramaic שַׁדַּי resulting in renderings like (*lightning-*) *hurler*<sup>9</sup> or (*rain-*) *pourer*,<sup>10</sup> carry us completely away from the analogy of other Hebrew divine names. They are of no more assistance than the meaning *Deus promissionum*, divined by the Syrians with the help of the Aramaic word שַׁדַּי,<sup>11</sup> and used by Lagarde<sup>12</sup> in supporting his conception of יהוה as *Deus stator promissorum*.

We can hardly avoid connecting the word שַׁדַּי with the root שַׁדַּי.<sup>13</sup> But we are not on that account to interpret

<sup>1</sup> *Epist.* 136.

<sup>2</sup> Symmachus, Theodotion, in the hexaplar interpolations of the Septuagint, e.g. Ruth i. 20 f.; Job xxi. 15, xxxi. 2, etc.

<sup>3</sup> See Field's *Genesis*, xliii. 14, xlviii. 3; Ex. vi. 3.

<sup>4</sup> A. Geiger; Nöldeke in *MBAW.* 1880, p. 775; *ZDMG.* xl. 736, xlii. 481.

<sup>5</sup> Also in Saadia, Rashi, and other Rabbinical writers; still approved by Valetton in *ZATW.* xii. 11 f.

<sup>6</sup> But comp. also ASSYR. *šidu* in Schrader, *KAT.*<sup>2</sup> 160 [*Cun. Inscript.* vol. i. p. 148]; Delitzsch, *Paradies*, p. 153.

<sup>7</sup> Fried. Delitzsch, *Prolegomena*, 96; *ZKSF.* ii. 291 ff.

<sup>8</sup> Halévy in *ZKSF.* ii. 405 ff.; Jensen in *ZA.* i. 251.

<sup>9</sup> S. Schmid, Deyling.

<sup>10</sup> Cheyne, *Isaiah*,<sup>3</sup> on ch. xiii. 6.

<sup>11</sup> Payne Smith, *Thesaurus*, i. 151.

<sup>12</sup> *Mittheilungen*, iii. 71; *Bildung der Nomina*, p. 138, and *Register*, p. 68.

<sup>13</sup> Joel i. 15.

it *desolator*,<sup>1</sup> for this among other reasons, that שָׂרַר (comp. שָׂרָה) does not originally mean *destroy* or *desolate*, but *overpower*. We are led, on the contrary, to the meaning, *the wielder of power, the all-powerful* (Sept., Vulg.). The '־, or the '־, of שָׂרָה was the original pronunciation, is either an adjectival ending,<sup>2</sup> though not to be pronounced an Aramaism,<sup>3</sup> or serves to form an abstract noun, *All-power*.<sup>4</sup> It would also be appropriate to regard it as an intensive adjectival form from שָׂרָה,<sup>5</sup> if we might assume a root שָׂרָה=שָׂרַר. The more precise definition of אֵל by means of שָׂרַר is similar to that in chs. xiv. 18 (xxi. 33, xxxiii. 20, xxxv. 7). Ch. xlix. 25 is evidence that it is an ancient divine name. Compound personal names, in which it is one of the elements, are found in Num. i. 6, ii. 25, i. 5, ii. 10. God's announcement of Himself as the one who has power over all,<sup>6</sup> is especially appropriate here, where He promises to perform such great things.<sup>7</sup>

After His announcement of Himself God declares what is required of Abram under the covenant.<sup>8</sup> It is not obedience to a series of laws as under the Mosaic covenant, it is one fundamental demand, as is appropriate to a commencement, and to the fact that one individual only is dealt with: *walk before Me, i.e. in My sight*, as contrasted with the man who withdraws himself from God, and in the consciousness of My presence, looking up to Me<sup>9</sup> (there is a perceptible difference of meaning between this and "walk with God"<sup>10</sup>), *and be perfect, i.e. here not merely upright and at one with God, but morally blameless, irreproachable*.<sup>11</sup> The covenant duty which he is to undertake is that of a pious upright life; another, special, obligation follows in ver. 10 ff.

<sup>1</sup> Duhm, *Theol. der Propheten*, 303; Wellhausen, *Geschichte*, i. 359.

<sup>2</sup> Ewald, § 164; Olshausen, 216d.

<sup>3</sup> Baethgen, *Beiträge*, 294.

<sup>4</sup> Stade, *Lehrbuch*, § 301.

<sup>5</sup> Ewald, § 155c.

<sup>7</sup> Vv. 2, 5-8, 16.

<sup>9</sup> Ch. xxiv. 40, xlviii. 15; Isa. xxxviii. 3.

<sup>11</sup> Ch. vi. 9.

<sup>6</sup> Comp. xviii. 14.

<sup>8</sup> Comp. ix. 8.

<sup>10</sup> Ch. v. 22, vi. 9.

Ver. 2. Upon this condition God *grants*<sup>1</sup> His covenant,<sup>2</sup> and promises on His part, at first quite generally, that He will greatly<sup>3</sup> multiply Abram's posterity.<sup>4</sup>

Ver. 3. Abram falls on his face to express his reverential thanks for the divine graciousness;<sup>5</sup> he afterwards, as ver. 17 shows, stood up again.<sup>6</sup>

Ver. 4 ff. God now further addresses Abram, and unfolds more particularly the nature and contents of the covenant. First comes, as far as ver. 8, what God will perform, the promise. אֲנִי is put at the commencement of the sentence in antithesis to אֶתְּהָ in ver. 9.

In virtue of the relationship which from now onwards will exist between him and God, Abram is to become *the father of a multitude of peoples*. "Other peoples than Israel were also reckoned among the descendants of Abram,<sup>7</sup> and a numerous posterity was regarded as a divine blessing granted to those who enjoyed God's favour.<sup>8</sup> אֲבִי for אֲבִי is chosen because of the name Abraham; it occurs elsewhere in proper names, as אֲבִי־שָׁלוֹם אֲבִינֵר and others."<sup>9</sup> For the word נָוִים comp. xxxv. 11, also in A, though in xlviii. 4 he has עָפִים. The rare word הַמִּזְחָל, properly *tumult*, for קֶהָל, is chosen with reference to the interpretation of the name Abraham in ver. 5.

אֲבִרָהָם—the name Abram is changed to Abraham, because in the latter form we may hear the הֶם of the word הַמִּזְחָל. This is a mere play on the sounds of the words in order to connect the thought contained in הַמִּזְחָל with the name אֲבִרָהָם;<sup>10</sup> it is not etymology. There is no instance of a word רֶהֱם with the meaning multitude; the author could not have had in mind the word *ruhām* = *numerus copiosus*, found in the *Ḳamûs*. In this passage, in particular, it is quite improbable

<sup>1</sup> Ch. ix. 12; Num. xxv. 12.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. ix. 9 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Ch. vii. 9.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. xii. 2.

<sup>5</sup> Ruth ii. 10; Lev. ix. 24.

<sup>6</sup> Knobel.

<sup>7</sup> Ch. xxv. 36.

<sup>8</sup> Chs. xxiv. 60, xlviii. 16, 19; Ps. cxxviii.; Eccles. vi. 3.

<sup>9</sup> Knobel.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. xxix. 32.

that there has been mutilation of the text (Halévy<sup>1</sup> wishes to restore לְאַבֵּר for לְאֵב, "*chef d'une multitude*"). It is a question whether אֲבִרָהּ is the original<sup>2</sup> and אֲבִרם the contracted Hebrew form, or whether אֲבִרָהּ is only an expansion of אֲבִרם. Seeing that no instance of רִים=רָהִם can be found either in Hebrew or elsewhere, the former is the more probable. But אֲבִרָהּ is not susceptible of interpretation, or could be explained at best only by the Arabic *kunya*,<sup>3</sup> Abu Ruhm,<sup>4</sup> whereas אֲבִרם has the meaning *great father*, or, if the pronunciation were אֲבִירִים,<sup>5</sup> "father of Ram," or "the exalted is father";<sup>6</sup> comp. the Assyrian man's name *Abu-ramu*.<sup>7</sup> אֲבִרָהּ and אֲבִרם allow of being simply classed with the many other personal names compounded with אֲב as the first element; אֲבִרם as a divine name<sup>8</sup> would be without any Semitic analogy.

From now onwards, accordingly, Abraham, as the higher or covenant name, is to be the one in legitimate use.<sup>9</sup> The change of name was the more appropriate because at this same time circumcision was introduced, and "the Hebrews named their children when they were circumcised,<sup>10</sup> as the Persians also did."<sup>11</sup>

אֶת־שִׁמְךָ—see ch. iv. 18. וְהָיָה, see ch. xlii. 10.

Only in *A* is the promise always of a number of peoples;<sup>12</sup> the others use the singular.<sup>13</sup> The special mention of kings

<sup>1</sup> "Recherches Bibliques," xi. in *REJ.* xv. 177 f.

<sup>2</sup> Ewald, *Geschichte*,<sup>3</sup> i. 465 [*History*, i. 324, note]; Stade in *ZATW.* i. 349.

<sup>3</sup> كُنْيَا, a compound surname of which *abu* is the first component.]

<sup>4</sup> Nöldeke in *ZDMG.* xlii. 484.

<sup>5</sup> Num. xvi. 1 ff.; Deut. xi. 6; 1 Kings xvi. 34.

<sup>6</sup> Baethgen, *Beiträge*, p. 155 ff.

<sup>7</sup> Schrader, *KAT.*<sup>2</sup> p. 200 [*Cuneif. Inscript.* i. 190].

<sup>8</sup> Nöldeke.

<sup>9</sup> As Israel for Jacob in xxxv. 10.

<sup>10</sup> Ch. xxi. 3 f.; Luke i. 59, ii. 21.

<sup>11</sup> According to Tavernier [*Voyage*, 1724, vol. ii. p. 349], Germ. tr. i. 270; Chardin, *Voyage*, x. 76. Knobel.

<sup>12</sup> Vv. 16, 20, xxxv. 11, xlviii. 4, xxviii. 3.

<sup>13</sup> Chs. xii. 2, xviii. 18, xli. 3.



and princes among Abraham's descendants is also peculiar to him.<sup>1</sup>

Ver. 7. "The covenant is to include these promised descendants, who are more closely defined in vv. 19 and 22, and it is to be *a covenant of eternity*, valid for all time to come."

לְדֹרֹתָם—"according to their generations as they follow one after another."<sup>2</sup> *A* is fond of formulæ of this kind."<sup>3</sup>

*To be God to you*—"the covenant consists in this, that I, El Shaddai, am God to you and to your descendants, and so am the object of your religious veneration,<sup>4</sup> as well as your lord, guide, protector, and benefactor.<sup>5</sup> Abraham's descendants are to be God's people, *i.e.* to belong to Him as His worshippers, servants, and dependants.<sup>6</sup> The relationship between them is to be of the closest."<sup>7</sup>

Ver. 8. In addition to this, the land of Canaan is promised as a possession,<sup>8</sup> for the first time in *A*. *The land of thy nomad life*, "in which thou dwellest as יָרֵךְ, *stranger*."<sup>9</sup>

Vv. 9-14. Circumcision as the sign of the covenant.

Ver. 9. "Abraham also, besides the performance of the general obligation of ver. 1, has to satisfy a particular ritual covenant obligation; it is introduced by a special וַיֹּאמֶר."<sup>10</sup>—אַתָּה is the antithesis to the אֲנִי of ver. 4.

Ver. 10. *Let all that is male among you be circumcised*,<sup>11</sup> *i.e.* let every male among you be circumcised. The covenant in its external aspect is to consist in this. Circumcision is to be the external sign of the covenant.<sup>12</sup> Olshausen con-

<sup>1</sup> Ver. 20, xxv. 16, xxxv. 11, xxxvi. 31. Knobel.

<sup>2</sup> See note on Ex. xii. 14 [Dillmann's Com.].

<sup>3</sup> Chs. viii. 19, x. 5, xx. 31 f.

<sup>4</sup> Ch. xxviii. 21.

<sup>5</sup> Ex. xxix. 45; Lev. xi. 45, xxii. 33, xxv. 38, xxvi. 45, and frequently.

<sup>6</sup> Ex. vi. 7; Lev. xxvi. 12; Deut. xxvi. 17 ff., xxix. 12, and frequently.

<sup>7</sup> Knobel.

<sup>8</sup> Ch. xv. 18 ff., xiii. 15, xii. 7.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. xxviii. 4, xxxvi. 7, xxxvii. 1, xlvii. 9; Ex. vi. 4. Knobel.

<sup>10</sup> Knobel.

<sup>11</sup> Ewald, § 328c.

<sup>12</sup> Ver. 11 (cf. xxxi. 44, Knobel).

jectures that *זאת אלה בְּרִיתִי* was the original reading. The Septuagint has *חֲסֻמּוֹ* for *חֲסֻמְרִי*; this logically should involve *ובניכם* and *ובין זרעך אה'*. If the words *ובין זרעך אה'* are not superfluous,<sup>1</sup> the *you* in *בְּיִנְיָכֶם* must denote Abraham and the living members of his household.<sup>2</sup>

Ver. 11. *And, speaking more precisely, ye shall be circumcised in respect of the flesh of your foreskin.* For the accus. *בְּיִנְיָכֶם* see ch. iii. 15. *נִמְלֶתֶם*, Niph. pf. of *מָלַל* = *מול*, with *waw* consecutive for *נִמְלֵתֶם*.<sup>3</sup>

Ver. 12 f. Two further particulars. "Every male child is to be circumcised when eight days old. This was the age prescribed to the Israelites by law,<sup>4</sup> and conscientiously observed.<sup>5</sup> The Arab custom was different, see ver. 25."<sup>6</sup> Secondly, circumcision is also to be obligatory on all slaves, whether these are *born in the household*<sup>7</sup> or *bought for money*.<sup>8</sup> *בְּיִנְיָכֶם* occurs elsewhere in the Pentateuch in ver. 27; Ex. xii. 43, and Lev. xxii. 25. *הוא* as in ch. vii. 2. It is probably better to join ver. 12b with ver. 13 than with what precedes.

Ver. 14. Finally, extermination is made the penalty for neglect of the ordinance. For such neglect is breach of the covenant and also a slighting of God.<sup>9</sup> Those subject to the penalty are thus the descendants of Abraham that are under the covenant, the Israelites, and not his other descendants, such as the Ishmaelites. The formula, *that soul shall be cut off from among his people*, often occurs in the law.<sup>10</sup> It is not a command that those in authority shall exact a death penalty,<sup>11</sup> for where that is the intention the usual expression

<sup>1</sup> Kautzsch-Socin.

<sup>2</sup> Ver. 23 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Ewald, § 234a; Gesenius,<sup>25</sup> 67A. 11; König, *Lehrgebäude*, i. 344.

<sup>4</sup> Lev. xii. 3.

<sup>5</sup> Ch. xxiv. 4; Luke i. 59, ii. 21; Phil. iii. 25; Josephus, *Antiquities*, i. 12. 2.

<sup>6</sup> Knobel.

<sup>7</sup> Ch. xiv. 14.

<sup>8</sup> Ex. xii. 44.

<sup>9</sup> Num. xv. 31.

<sup>10</sup> Ex. xii. 15, 19; Lev. vii. 20 ff., xxiii. 29; Num. ix. 13, xv. 30, and frequently.

<sup>11</sup> Knobel.

for the extreme penalty, מות ימית, is added to this formula,<sup>1</sup> and the formula also occurs in many cases where there can be no idea of punishment by the community. It enjoins the man's expulsion from the society of his kith and kin,<sup>2</sup> and, as is clear from the variants in Lev. xvii. 9 f. and xx. 3, 6, it menaces divine interposition for the carrying off of the evil-doer.<sup>3</sup>

עֲמִים—a man's עֲמִים may be the different parts of his עַם; in this and another antique phrase (ch. xxv. 8) it denotes his fellow tribesmen and *kinsmen*, his blood relations.<sup>4</sup> The expression belongs to a period in which the division of the people into tribes, kindreds, and families was still in actual existence.<sup>5</sup> There is as little to support the contention that in these phrases the plural is a late correction for the singular,<sup>6</sup> as there is for regarding ver. 14 as an interpolation.<sup>7</sup> On the other hand, it is conceivable that ביום השמיני, which the Sept. and the Samaritan have after ערלתו, was only omitted by the later Soferim.

הַפֶּר—pausal for הִפֵּר.<sup>8</sup>

Vv. 15–21. Change of Sarai's name, promise of Isaac, disclosures regarding Ishmael and Isaac.

Ver. 15 f. שְׂרַי אִשְׁתִּךָ—placed at the beginning for emphasis, and resumed by the ה of מִתָּה. Sarai is to have the covenant name שָׂרָה (Sept. *Σάρρα*), *princess*,<sup>9</sup> from שָׂר. We cannot now decide whether שְׂרַי is only an obsolete form of the same word with —, as in Arabic, for هـ, <sup>10</sup> or whether the Hebrews felt the presence in the word of the root שָׂרָה,<sup>11</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Ex. xxxi. 14 f.

<sup>2</sup> Clericus, J. D. Michaelis, Ilgen, Stade, *Geschichte*,<sup>1</sup> p. 421 f.

<sup>3</sup> Rashi, Ibn Ezra, Kimchi, Rosenmüller, Saalschütz, *Das Mosaische Recht*, p. 476; Diestel, "Die relig. Delikte," in *JBTh.* v. 297 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Comp. Lev. xix. 16, 18.

<sup>5</sup> Ewald, *Alterthümer*,<sup>3</sup> 419 [*Antiquities*, p. 241]; Krenkel, *ZATW.* viii. 284.

<sup>6</sup> Against this contention, which is Diestel's (*op. cit.*), see note on Ex. xxx. 33.

<sup>7</sup> Diestel, p. 305 f.

<sup>8</sup> Ewald, § 141b.

<sup>9</sup> Judg. v. 29.

<sup>10</sup> Noldeke in *ZDMG.* xl. 183, xlii. 484.

<sup>11</sup> Ch. xxxii. 29.

as the Sept. in *Σάπα*, and conceived of it as meaning *contentious, eager for combat*.<sup>1</sup> In the latter case the absence of any indication of the feminine would be surprising though possible, but not if *י-* were merely an adjective ending.<sup>2</sup> The interpretation of *יָרִי* as *joyous*, and of *יֵרָה* as *delightful*,<sup>3</sup> following Arabic *sarra*, is against the laws of phonology and word-formation. The remark that *יֵרָה* and *יִשְׂרָאֵל* are essentially the same name,<sup>4</sup> is one which does not carry us far, but it is worthy of more attention than the conceit,<sup>5</sup> that the Nabatean god Dusares, *i.e.* *ذو الشرى*, *דו שרא*, worshipped in Petra, Bostra, and other places,<sup>6</sup> is the husband of *יֵרָה*, *i.e.* Abraham, and that *יֵרָה* was originally the name of a locality, more exactly, "of the barren and stony hills."<sup>7</sup>

*ובכרתיו—ובכרתיה*, the reading of Sept., Samaritan, Book of Jubilees, Peshitta, and Jerusalem Targum, is a correction;<sup>8</sup> the Septuagint and Peshitta continue it throughout the verse.

Ver. 17. Abraham falls down for the same reason as in ver. 3. *He laughed*, not from joy, but in astonishment, as is shown by his words which follow. As in xviii. 12 (*U*) and xxi. 6 (*B*), it is intended to explain the name Isaac. For *הלבן*, see Gesenius,<sup>25</sup> 100. 4; and for *ואם—ה*, Ewald, § 324c.

Seeing that *A* makes the length of Abraham's life 175 years,<sup>9</sup> there is nothing so very surprising in the mere fact of his begetting a son in his 99th year. The question may therefore be put whether the words from *ויצחק* onwards are an interpolation.<sup>10</sup> But if we compare in chs. v. and xi.

<sup>1</sup> Comp. *יָרִי* and other words.

<sup>2</sup> Delitzsch,<sup>4</sup> Keil.

<sup>3</sup> Pfeiffer in *St. Kr.* 1871, p. 145 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Robertson Smith, *Kinship and Marriage in Early Arabia*, p. 30.

<sup>5</sup> Lagarde, *Armenische Studien*, p. 162; *GGN.* 1886, p. 565; *Bildung der Nomina*, 92 ff.; E. Meyer in *ZATW.* vi. 16.

<sup>6</sup> Regarding him see J. H. Mordtmann, *ZDMG.* xxix. 99 ff.; Wellhausen, *Skizzen*, iii. 46 ff.; Nöldeke, *ZDMG.* xli. 711 f.; Baethgen, *Beiträge*, 92 ff.

<sup>7</sup> Lagarde, *Bildung der Nomina*, p. 94.

<sup>8</sup> Geiger, *Urschrift*, p. 458.

<sup>9</sup> Ch. xxv. 5.

<sup>10</sup> Ewald, *Geschichte*,<sup>3</sup> i. 468 [*History*, i. 326, note 5].



the ratios of the ages attained when children were born and when death took place, the expression of surprise may be justified. Apart from this, we cannot readily do without the statement of Sarah's age, and 90 years<sup>1</sup> made her really old to have children. Besides, **מֵאָה** for **מֵאָה**<sup>2</sup> is found in *A*<sup>3</sup> in ch. xxiii. 1 also, at least in the Massoretic text.

Ver. 18. Immediately on this there rises in Abraham's mind a feeling of solicitude regarding Ishmael, whom he does not wish to lose. He tells God this concern of his.

**לְפָנֶיךָ**—under thy protection and care.<sup>3</sup>

Ver. 19. Thereupon God expresses Himself still more distinctly, and dwells first on what had been said in regard to Sarah's son. His covenant with Abraham will be continued in the line which begins with Isaac. **אֲבֵל**, *certainly, notwithstanding*.<sup>4</sup> Isaac, see ch. xxi. 3. **עוֹלָם**, the Septuagint adds *εἶναι αὐτῶ Θεὸς καί*.

Ver. 20. But God also declares that he is heard *with regard to*<sup>5</sup> Ishmael, and promises that He will make him a great people with twelve tribal princes.<sup>6</sup> For **נָתַן לִגְוֵי** comp. ch. xlviii. 4 in *A*.

Ver. 21. But his successor in the covenant is and remains Sarah's son, whom he is to expect next year *at this time*;<sup>7</sup> comp. xxi. 2.

Ver. 22. The subject to **וַיֵּבֶל** is God; ch. xviii. 23 contains the same expression. God ascends again to the sky, from which He came, as in ch. xxxv. 13.

Vv. 23–27. Abraham carries out the divine injunctions.

Ver. 23. He circumcises, with punctilious obedience, on the same day<sup>8</sup> all the males of his house. *All that is male among*<sup>9</sup> the people of his house, *i.e.* the slaves (ch. xv. 3).<sup>10</sup>

Ver. 24. **בְּ-בִמְלוֹ**, it is not clear whether reflexive or passive.

<sup>1</sup> Comp. xxiii. 1.

<sup>2</sup> [Not Baer's text, but see p. 126, and cf. v. 6, vii. 24, xxv. 7, etc.]

<sup>3</sup> As Num. xviii. 19; Isa. liii. 2; Hos. vi. 2. Knobel.

<sup>4</sup> Ewald, § 354a.

<sup>5</sup> Chs. xix. 21, xlii. 9.

<sup>6</sup> Ch. xxv. 12 ff.

<sup>7</sup> Ch. iii. 8.

<sup>8</sup> Ch. vii. 13.

<sup>9</sup> Ch. vii. 21.

<sup>10</sup> Knobel.

Ver. 25. "Ishmael was circumcised at the age of 13. Mohammedan peoples still circumcise their children much later than the Jews.<sup>1</sup> Lane<sup>2</sup> remarks the 6th to the 7th year as the usual age, among the country people the 12th to the 14th year. Others give from the 6th to the 10th year,<sup>3</sup> the 7th,<sup>4</sup> the 8th to the 10th,<sup>5</sup> the 12th to the 14th,<sup>6</sup> the 13th to the 15th,<sup>7</sup> among the Persians the 5th or 6th.<sup>8</sup> The age observed by the Arabs is given by Josephus<sup>9</sup> and Origen<sup>10</sup> as the 13th year, by Burckhardt as the 6th or 7th.<sup>11</sup> According to Döbel,<sup>12</sup> the Arabs in Egypt in general do not circumcise their sons till the 13th year. The Koran prescribes nothing regarding circumcision; it is practised as an ancient and sacred custom without any particular age being held binding."<sup>13</sup>

Ver. 26 מִלּוֹל—used as the Niphal of מָלַל, but formed from מָלַל.<sup>14</sup>

Ver. 27. מֵאֵת—joined to מִקְנָה; comp. Lev. xxvii. 24.

#### 4. ABRAHAM AND SODOM VISITED BY CELESTIAL BEINGS; THE DESTRUCTION OF SODOM AND GOMORRAH, CH. XVIII. 1–XIX. 28; FROM C.

Jahve, accompanied by two angels, presents Himself on a day about noon at Abraham's tent in the grove of Mamre, accepts the patriarch's friendly hospitality, and promises him a son by Sarah, who laughs at the promise (ch. xviii. 1–15). On the way to Sodom and Gomorrah, where He purposes to investigate the conduct of the profligate inhabitants, Jahve

<sup>1</sup> Arvieux [*Mémoires*, iii. 172], Germ. tr. iii. 146.

<sup>2</sup> *Manners and Customs*,<sup>5</sup> i. 71; pop. ed. p. 47 [5th to 6th].

<sup>3</sup> Russell [*Aleppo*,<sup>2</sup> 1794, i. 202], trans. 282.

<sup>4</sup> M. d'Ohsson [*L'Empire Othoman*, ii. 285], trans. i. 385.

<sup>5</sup> Rauwolff, *Reisen*, i. 85.

<sup>6</sup> Tournefort [*Relation d'un voyage*, 1717, ii. 59], trans. ii. 431.

<sup>7</sup> Lüdecke, *Das türkische Reich*, i. 241.

<sup>8</sup> Chardin, *Voyages*, x. 75; comp. von Schubert, ii. 48.

<sup>9</sup> *Antiquities*, i. 12. 2.

<sup>10</sup> *Ad Genesin*, i. 14.

<sup>11</sup> *Bedouins* [i. 87], trans. p. 70.

<sup>12</sup> *Wanderungen*, ii. 173.

<sup>13</sup> Knobel.

<sup>14</sup> Ewald, § 140a.

is accompanied by Abraham, and informs the patriarch of his intention. He listens to Abraham's intercession, and promises that He will not destroy Sodom if there are even so many as ten righteous men among its wicked inhabitants. After this agreement Jahve and Abraham part from one another (xviii. 16-33). Meanwhile the two angels had gone on before; they reach Sodom in the evening and are hospitably received by Lot, but are threatened with shameful ill-treatment by the inhabitants of the town (xix. 1-11). Convinced by this of the terrible depravity of the inhabitants, they proceed to execute the punishment. First, however, they bring Lot, his wife, and his two daughters out of the city, and, at his request, assign him *So'ar* as his place of refuge. Then Jahve rains down brimstone and fire on the sinful cities and totally destroys them (xix. 12-26). When, in the morning, Abraham looks down on Sodom from the heights above, he sees thick clouds of smoke rising up (xix. 27 f.).

The story thus outlined has an independent unity of its own, and is a product of highly developed epic art. It starts from Abraham, and in its conclusion returns to him; the catastrophe in the plain has also a relation to him. Abraham, God's friend, radiant in moral beauty, the cities of the plain sunk in utter moral corruption; God in Abraham's tent, visiting him as one friend does another, lavishing on him His promises and revealing His purposes, and at the same time descending to judgment against the cities of the plain with fire from heaven: these are the contrasts by which the worth and significance of the man of God are manifested the more clearly, and the light they cast on the justice and compassion of the divine dealings with friends and foes is given for the sake of Abraham and his descendants.<sup>1</sup> The author is, without question, the one to whom we owe, for example, chs. ii. 4-iii. 24 and xi. 1-9. There is the same beauty and transparency of description, the same vividness of delineation, the same depth and fulness of thought, and

<sup>1</sup> Ch. xviii. 19.

the same naive anthropomorphism so suited for popular currency. The reference of xviii. 18 to xii. 2 f., as well as the mode of expression both in general and in particular, also identify the writer. Examples of his vocabulary are "Jahve and Adonai,<sup>1</sup> הַבָּיִת,<sup>2</sup> הַשָּׂקִים,<sup>3</sup> צַעֲקָה,<sup>4</sup> חֲלָלָה,<sup>5</sup> הַפֶּעַם,<sup>6</sup> הִנְהִינָא,<sup>7</sup> בַּעֲבוּר,<sup>8</sup> רַק,<sup>16</sup> אָף,<sup>15</sup> בִּי-עַל-כֵּן,<sup>14</sup> לָמָּה זֶה,<sup>13</sup> לִקְרָאת,<sup>12</sup> אוֹלִי,<sup>11</sup> לְבַלְתִּי,<sup>10</sup> טָרַם,<sup>9</sup> פָּצַר,<sup>17</sup> נָא;<sup>18</sup> of special grammatical forms, those in וְ,<sup>19</sup> and the use of אֵל for אֱלֹהִים;<sup>20</sup> of phraseology, *thy servant*,<sup>21</sup> used for 'I,' *all peoples of the earth*,<sup>22</sup> *to rise up early in the morning*,<sup>23</sup> *to prostrate one's self on the ground*,<sup>24</sup> *to find grace*,<sup>25</sup> *magnify kindness*,<sup>26</sup> חָרָה without אָף,<sup>27</sup> the disjunctive question of xviii. 21, בּוֹא בַיָּמִים.<sup>28</sup> The relation of the narrative to A's account in xix. 29, and the difference between xviii. 12 and xvii. 17, is also to be remarked."<sup>29</sup>

Wellhausen<sup>30</sup> wishes to separate xviii. 17-19 and 22b-33a<sup>31</sup> as later insertions, and to assign the latter paragraph to the time of Jeremiah and Ezekiel. But there is no linguistic support for this (on the contrary, note נִבְרָכוּ in ver. 18 and not the Hithpael), and the material reasons are insufficient. It is only natural that in vv. 18, 23 ff. Abraham should address God otherwise than in ver. 2 ff. (see notes on vv. 2

<sup>1</sup> Ch. xviii. 27, 30 ff., xix. 18.

<sup>2</sup> Ch. xix. 17, 26.

<sup>3</sup> Ch. xviii. 16, xix. 28.

<sup>4</sup> Ch. xviii. 21, xix. 13.

<sup>5</sup> Ch. xviii. 25.

<sup>6</sup> Ch. xviii. 32.

<sup>7</sup> Ch. xviii. 27, 31, xix. 2, 8, 19 f.

<sup>8</sup> Ch. xviii. 26, 29, 31 f.

<sup>9</sup> Ch. xix. 3, 9.

<sup>10</sup> Ch. xix. 4.

<sup>11</sup> Ch. xix. 21.

<sup>12</sup> Ch. xviii. 24, 28 ff.

<sup>13</sup> Ch. xviii. 2, xix. 1.

<sup>14</sup> Ch. xviii. 13.

<sup>15</sup> Ch. xviii. 5, xix. 18.

<sup>16</sup> Ch. xviii. 13, 23 f.

<sup>17</sup> Ch. xix. 8.

<sup>18</sup> Ch. xviii. 3 f., 21, 30, 32, xix. 2, 7, 18, 20, etc.

<sup>19</sup> Ch. xviii. 28-32.

<sup>20</sup> Ch. xix. 8, 25.

<sup>21</sup> Ch. xviii. 3, 5, xix. 2, 19.

<sup>22</sup> Ch. xviii. 18.

<sup>23</sup> Ch. xix. 2, 27.

<sup>24</sup> Ch. xviii. 2, xix. 1.

<sup>25</sup> Ch. xviii. 3.

<sup>26</sup> Ch. xix. 19.

<sup>27</sup> Ch. xviii. 30, 32.

<sup>28</sup> Ch. xviii. 11.

<sup>29</sup> Knobel.

<sup>30</sup> *JBDTh.* xxi. 415 ff. (Kuenen, *Onderzoek*,<sup>2</sup> i. 141; Fripp in *ZATW.* xii. 23 ff.).

<sup>31</sup> Kautzsch-Socin at least ch. xviii. 17-19.



and 13); the renewed presence of God in the persons of the *two* angels of ch. xix. is in perfect agreement with ch. xvi. 11 ff.; people had reflected regarding God's justice and compassion before the time of Jeremiah;<sup>1</sup> regarding the possibility of intercession for the guilty, see, *e.g.*, ch. xx. 7, 17 and Ex. xxxii. 11 ff. On the other hand, God's revelation to Abraham in ch. xviii. 20 f. is quite aimless and completely disconnected without vv. 17–19 and 23 ff.

*R*, for his part, has inserted the passage in the only possible place as regards suitability. The promise of a son to Sarah is a repetition in the face of the doubt expressed in ch. xvii. 17, and is confirmed by the repetition. The history of Abraham's testing and education is continued. He is given the opportunity of proving practically his hospitable nature and his love of his fellow-men, and thus of making himself worthy anew of the divine blessing. The punishment executed before his eyes on the cities of the plain will leave on him, and through him upon his posterity, only the most wholesome impressions.

Vv. 1–15. Celestial beings visit Abraham; the promise of Isaac. "Comparisons have been made from the classical mythology with the wanderings of the gods among men that they might learn their pride and their piety;<sup>2</sup> and with the hospitable reception once found by Jupiter and Mercury in the house of the aged and childless couple Philemon and Baucis;<sup>3</sup> and on another occasion, when Neptune was with them, in the house of the aged Hyrieus, who received a son as his reward."<sup>4</sup>

Ver. 1. Jahve appeared to Abraham in the grove of Mamre,<sup>5</sup> *as he was sitting at*<sup>6</sup> *the entrance of the tent*, i.e. outside in front of his tent, *at the heat of the day*, at midday.<sup>7</sup>

Ver. 2. Abraham looked up and saw three men standing

<sup>1</sup> *E.g.* Gen. xx. 4.

<sup>2</sup> Homer, *Odyssey*, xvii. 486 f.

<sup>3</sup> Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, viii. 626 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Palaephatus, *Incredibilia*, v.; Ovid, *Fasti*, v. 494 ff. Knobel.

<sup>5</sup> Ch. xiii. 18, xiv. 13.

<sup>6</sup> Ver. 10; Ewald, § 204a.

<sup>7</sup> 1 Sam. xi. 11; 2 Sam. iv. 5.

over him, as he sat, above, and so in front of him,<sup>1</sup> yet at the same time at some distance. This standing still of theirs was to see if they should be invited.<sup>2</sup> Abraham hastens to them, and by his obeisance pays them the usual mark of courtesy. In these three, of whom one has a more distinguished appearance than the others,<sup>3</sup> Jahve is present,<sup>4</sup> as again in the two of ch. xix. It is purely arbitrary to strike out the three here and the two in ch. xix., and to substitute in both cases one, namely, Jahve.<sup>5</sup>

רָאָה—used with לָקְרָאתָ as in xxiv. 17, xxix. 13, xxxiii. 4.

Ver. 3. He hospitably invites them to enter. He addresses one only, but afterwards, in ver. 4, the three together. We are given the explanation if one of them was externally recognisable as the principal personage, so that the reading of the Samaritan, which uses throughout the 2nd pers. plur., is not to be preferred. But, on the other hand, the Massoretic אֲדָנִי, already given by the Targum, is incorrect, and we should read אֲדָנִי.<sup>6</sup> Dalman<sup>7</sup> maintains without effect that “the narrator introduces Jahve as known to Abraham from the beginning.” If Abraham had from the beginning recognised the divinity of the strangers, his action would have displayed no great merit, for what man would refuse honour to God when He reveals Himself. His very offer of food and drink would have been meaningless, and there could have been no question of any test or trial of him. As a matter of fact, the revelation begins only in the course of conversation (ver. 13), and the case is exactly as in ch. 19, where the angels make themselves known as such (ver. 12 f.) only after they have put their host to the test.

אֲדָנִי does not mean *oh, would that* ;<sup>8</sup> אֲנִי imparts a delicate

<sup>1</sup> 1 Sam. xxii. 6.

<sup>2</sup> Delitzsch, following Daumas, *Chevaux du Sahara*,<sup>6</sup> p. 423 (Ger. tr. 195).

<sup>3</sup> Ver. 3 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Ver. 1.

<sup>5</sup> Fripp, *ZATW*. xii. 24 ff.

<sup>6</sup> Against Tuch, Knobel, Delitzsch, Keil.

<sup>7</sup> Adonai, p. 16.

<sup>8</sup> Knobel.

shade of meaning to the condition; Gesenius<sup>1</sup> rightly renders, *si—quod opto magis quam sumere audeo—gratiam inveni*; similarly elsewhere,<sup>2</sup> and even in Gen. xxx. 27, although there the apodosis is omitted.

Ver. 4. He desires to entertain them.

קָרַח—"let there be brought." It is unnecessary for Abraham to name those who bring the water. "Nothing was worn on the feet but sandals, so that it was necessary for travellers to have their feet washed on their arrival; it was especially usual before meal-time."<sup>3</sup>

"*Recline yourselves under the tree—sit down under it, resting on your arms. Meals were taken in a reclining posture,*<sup>4</sup> but sitting is not infrequently mentioned."<sup>5</sup>

יָצַח—the singular is quite to be expected, for three persons would not dismount for a meal under several trees. It follows, therefore, that we cannot conclude from the use of the singular that יָצַח in ver. 1, and chs. xiii. 18, xiv. 13, is a late correction for יָצַח,<sup>6</sup> all the less seeing that the reading would then have been, not יָצַח, but יָצַח<sup>7</sup> or יָצַח-אֵל.<sup>8</sup> The Septuagint singular *δρῦς* (similarly the Peshitta), everywhere given, had reference to the great tree, which still survived on the spot in the time of the translators.<sup>9</sup>

Ver. 5. *A morsel of bread*—modest expression for the ample meal he intends to set before them. *Support your heart, refresh yourselves with food.*<sup>10</sup> Each of the different kinds of food is a staff or support of vital energy; <sup>11</sup> so Pliny,<sup>12</sup> *corporis fultura quibus animus sustinetur.*<sup>13</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Thesaurus.*

<sup>2</sup> Ch. xxiv. 42, xxxiii. 10, xlvii. 29, l. 4; Ex. xxxiii. 13, xxxiv. 9.

<sup>3</sup> Ch. xix. 2, xxiv. 32, xliii. 24; Judg. xix. 21; 2 Sam. xi. 8.

<sup>4</sup> Amos vi. 4.

<sup>5</sup> E.g. ch. xxvii. 19; Judg. xix. 6; see Winer, *Realwörterbuch*, ii. 48. Knobel.

<sup>6</sup> Wellhausen in Bleek, *Einleitung*,<sup>4</sup> p. 643; Baudissin, *Studien*, ii. 224.

<sup>7</sup> Dent. xi. 30.

<sup>8</sup> Judg. ix. 6.

<sup>9</sup> Josephus, *Jewish Wars*, iv. 9. 7.

<sup>10</sup> Ps. civ. 15; Judg. xix. 5. 8.

<sup>11</sup> Isa. iii. 1; Lev. xxvi. 26.

<sup>12</sup> *Epistolæ*, i. 9.

<sup>13</sup> Knobel.

כִּי עַל־כֵּן—*for for this reason* = now that you have.<sup>1</sup>

V. 6-8. "The meal is quickly prepared, for one cannot allow guests of quality to wait long. It consists of cakes of bread, meat, and curdled and sweet milk, and is a genuine Beduin repast,<sup>2</sup> but exceptionally bountiful in honour of the guests."<sup>3</sup>

"*Hasten three seim of meal, fine meal*, bring quickly three *seim*,"<sup>4</sup> or, perhaps, *hasten three seim of meal!* סֵלֶת as in Lev. ii. 1. *Cakes*, small round ember-cakes, which were prepared on hot stones.<sup>5</sup>

*He*, the servant, *hastened to make*, to prepare, *it* (the young heifer), *and he set (gave) in front of them*, served up the food and set it before them,<sup>6</sup> while he himself remained *standing before*<sup>7</sup> *them*, i.e. "waited on them."<sup>8</sup> It remains so in the East. The Arab sheikhs when they have guests of quality do not sit down to eat with them, but remain standing, in order to serve their guests.<sup>9</sup> Strabo<sup>10</sup> gives a similar account of the Nabatean kings."

"*And they ate*, which celestial beings on other occasions refuse to do.<sup>11</sup> Ancient commentators<sup>12</sup> suppose that they only appeared to partake of the food."<sup>13</sup>

Ver. 9 f. In the conversation which the strangers begin, they make Sarah the subject, because God wishes to announce that she will have a son. For וַיֹּאמְרוּ the Septuagint has here already, incorrectly, the singular, εἶπε δέ. It is not till ver. 10 that the leading personage<sup>14</sup> takes up the conversation.

<sup>1</sup> Gesenius, *Thesaurus*, 682; Ewald, § 353a (comp. xix. 8, xxxiii. 10, xxxviii. 26; Num. x. 31, xiv. 43).

<sup>2</sup> Lane, *Manners and Customs*, 1871, i. 364, pop. ed. p. 268.

<sup>3</sup> See ch. xliii. 34.

<sup>4</sup> Isa. v. 19; 1 Kings xxii. 9.

<sup>5</sup> Winer, *Realwörterbuch*,<sup>3</sup> i. 95.

<sup>6</sup> Comp. xxiv. 33; Ex. xxv. 30.

<sup>7</sup> Ver. 2.

<sup>8</sup> Jer. lii. 12; 1 Kings x. 8.

<sup>9</sup> Shaw, *Travels*, 1738, p. 301 f.; Buckingham, *Mesopotamia*, 1827, p. 18 (Germ. tr. 23); Seetzen, i. 400.

<sup>10</sup> xvi. 4. 26.

<sup>11</sup> Judg. xiii. 16.

<sup>12</sup> Josephus, *Antiquities*, i. 11. 2; Targ. of Jonathan, Rashi, Kimchi.

<sup>13</sup> Knobel.

<sup>14</sup> Ver. 3.



אֵלַי—the points above the א and י of this word <sup>1</sup> doubtless indicate a reading אֵלַי.<sup>2</sup> כָּעֵת הַזֶּה—at this time, it being alive again, *i.e. when this time revives*,<sup>3</sup> *i.e. a year from now*.<sup>4</sup> In ver. 14 the words לְמוֹעֵד are added, and in 2 Kings iv. 16 f. הַזֶּה, and the translation becomes, “a year from now at this time.” Ch. xvii. 21 also makes the meaning clear.

וְהוּא אַחֲרָיו—and it, the door, was behind Him, Jahve, as He spoke, so that Sarah, on the threshold, did not see Him, nor He her. This is the Massoretic interpretation; the Septuagint refers הוּא (היא) to Sarah.

Ver. 11. A circumstantial clause explaining the action in ver. 12; הָרַל is therefore pluperfect.

Abraham and Sarah had *entered into the days*, far in, *i.e.* were of an advanced age;<sup>5</sup> *there had ceased to be to Sarah a way*, habitude, *like women*, *i.e.* such as women have,<sup>6</sup> namely, τὰ μηνιαία, the monthly course, and therewith the capacity for conceiving and bearing children. In the natural course of things they could expect children no longer.<sup>7</sup>

Ver. 12. This was the cause of Sarah's laughter; but it was only inwardly, and not aloud, that she laughed. This is an explanation of the name Isaac somewhat different from that in ch. xvii. 17.

אַחֲרַי בְּלֹתִי—after I am *withered*, decayed;<sup>8</sup> cf. ver. 13.

הִיחָה—question expressing amazement, without הִי; <sup>9</sup> comp. ch. xxi. 7. *Has there become to me*, shall there become to me, shall I again have, sexual pleasure? The Septuagint text, in which אַחֲרַי is wanting, and which reads בְּלֹתִי—עֲרֵנָה, has no claim to be considered.

My lord—my husband;<sup>10</sup> cf. ch. iii. 16.

Ver. 13 f. God reproves Sarah's laughter, because it betrayed doubt of His power. Now that by the promise of

<sup>1</sup> Comp. xvi. 5.

<sup>2</sup> Hypeden.

<sup>3</sup> Gesenius, *Thesaurus*, 470; Ewald, § 337c.

<sup>4</sup> 1 Sam. i. 20.

<sup>5</sup> Also in xxiv. 1; Josh. xiii. 1, xxiii. 1f.; comp. Luke i. 7.

<sup>6</sup> Ch. xxxi. 35.

<sup>7</sup> Chs. xvii. 17, xxi. 6 f.

<sup>8</sup> Ps. xxxii. 3; Job xiii. 28.

<sup>9</sup> Ewald, § 324b.

<sup>10</sup> Ps. xlv. 12.

ver. 10, and still more by the knowledge shown of Sarah's laughter, God has lifted the veil, and allowed Himself to be recognised in His true nature, the author for the first time designates the speaker as Jahve. Ver. 1 is only an apparent exception, it contains a comprehensive summary of all that is to follow. *Is there anything eminent before Jahve*, anything too great, too wonderful for Him?<sup>1</sup> Comp. the use and meaning of *אל שרי* in ch. xvii. 1.

The visit of God to Abraham, which is here announced, can be put only after the birth of Isaac, in view of the words *וליצרה בן*, when Sarah has a son. But nothing is said of it in the sequel, for ch. xxi. 1a cannot refer to it.

Ver. 15. "Sarah, in fear of punishment, denies her laughter, which had been only internal;<sup>2</sup> but God sets her aside with a curt *לא, no.*"<sup>3</sup>

Vv. 16-33. Conversation and agreement between God and Abraham regarding the punishment which awaits Sodom and Gomorrah. God has appeared, not merely to pay Abraham a visit, but also to investigate the terrible moral corruption of these cities.<sup>4</sup> It is accordingly a conspicuous token of the divine regard, that God should give Abraham a hint of the judgment awaiting so many. The patriarch has an opportunity of manifesting that admirable disposition of clemency and kindness which makes no distinction between friends and strangers. At the same time, God's own nature is clearly set forth as one who would always pardon rather than destroy, but who, when He does punish, punishes always only in strict accord with justice.

Ver. 16. The strangers proceed on their way escorted by Abraham. From one of the heights of the Judean hill country, which offered the view,<sup>5</sup> they *looked down*<sup>6</sup> upon the plain of Sodom, which was the goal of their journey. "For *שְׁלָה* see ch. xii. 20, and for *על-פני*, xiv. 3, xix. 28; Num. xxi. 20."<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Deut. xvii. 8, xxx. 11.

<sup>2</sup> Ver. 12.

<sup>3</sup> Ch. xix. 2, xlii. 12. Knobel.

<sup>4</sup> Ver. 21.

<sup>5</sup> See ch. xix. 27 f.

<sup>6</sup> Ch. xix. 28.

<sup>7</sup> Knobel.

Vv. 17-19 break the sequence of the narrative in order to furnish an explanation of what follows in ver. 20 ff. God says, not to Abraham, but אֶל-לְבֹי,<sup>1</sup> *i.e.* reflects, ought I indeed to conceal My intention from Abraham, *seeing that after all* Abraham will become a great people,<sup>2</sup> and all peoples will bless themselves with him,<sup>3</sup> so that he is of sufficient importance, and worthy of being initiated into God's plans. For *I have recognised him, i.e. entered with him into a more than usually close relationship,*<sup>4</sup> *with the intention that he should command his posterity, and that they should keep the way of Jahve, so that they will practise justice and righteousness, in order that God, on His part, may fulfil to Abraham all His promises to him.* C here distinctly declares that the purpose of the whole relationship entered into with Abraham is the founding of a house, later it will be a people and a kingdom, in which the life of true piety and morality, true religion, shall have its abode.<sup>5</sup> It is Abraham's task to implant this disposition and way of life in his house; this is the condition of the fulfilment of the promise.<sup>6</sup> For a man with this task before him, it is beyond doubt of importance that he should reach a clear understanding of the justice of God's rule in the world. The destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah is intended as a memorial to Abraham's house of the stern punitive justice of God which shall wholesomely affect its piety.<sup>7</sup>

לְמַעַן—wrongly impugned by Lagarde,<sup>8</sup> is, in view of the foregoing explanation, quite in place. The Septuagint (Vulgate, Peshitta), like the Targum, has simply failed to understand the words יִהְיֶה לְמַעַן; יִהְיֶה לְמַעַן was not wanting in its text. Regarding the addition by the Sept. and Pesh. of עֲבָדֵי

<sup>1</sup> Ch. viii. 21.<sup>2</sup> Ch. xii. 2.<sup>3</sup> Ch. xii. 3.<sup>4</sup> Amos iii. 2; Hos. xiii. 5.<sup>5</sup> See ch. iv. 20, and in A, xvii. 1.<sup>6</sup> Comp. xvii. 1 ff. in A.<sup>7</sup> Amos iv. 11; Hos. xi. 8; Isa. i. 9f., iii. 9; Deut. xxix. 33; Jer. xxiii. 14, etc.<sup>8</sup> *Onomastica sacra*, ii. 95; Olshausen also.

after מאברהם in ver. 17, see Ewald,<sup>1</sup> and compare xxvi. 24. It is incorrect to say that שֹׁמֵר דֶּרֶךְ יְהוָה and לַעֲשׂוֹת צְדָקָה וּמִשְׁפָּט are Deuteronomistic phrases.<sup>2</sup>

Ver. 20. God accordingly makes His disclosure.

If שְׁמִיעָתִי has not fallen out at the beginning of the sentence,<sup>3</sup> כִּי must be taken as meaning, "it is the case that," or "truly."<sup>4</sup> *The cry regarding* (genit. of obj.)<sup>5</sup> *Sodom*, which ascends to heaven and demands vengeance,<sup>6</sup> *has in truth become large, great*; רַבָּה is perf. of the verb. The interpretation,<sup>7</sup> "there is a report regarding Sodom and Gomorrah that their sin is great, that it is very grave," which omits the ! before חַטָּאתָם, fails because נִצָּעָה does not signify report.<sup>8</sup>

Ver. 21. But He desires to investigate before judging, so He will go down<sup>9</sup> and see whether they have done *entirely* in accordance with the cry against it (them) which has come before Him. The Sept. has הַבְּנֵעֲקָתָם; the הֵן־ of the Massoretic text is Sodom.

כָּלָה—*omnino*, as in Ex. xi. 1, and not as in Nah. i. 8; Zeph. i. 18; Jer. iv. 27, etc.; hence the paseq after עָשׂוּ.<sup>10</sup> Olshausen conjectures כָּלָם and Wellhausen כָּלָה.

הַבָּאָה—wrongly punctuated by the Massoretes as perf.,<sup>11</sup> similarly in xxi. 3, xlv. 27.

וְאִם—probably rather the second member of a disjunctive question than a conditional particle.

Ver. 22. The men, *i.e.* two of them,<sup>12</sup> now go on to Sodom, while Abraham detains the third, Jahve,<sup>13</sup> by continuing to stand in front of Him; he has something on his mind, and wishes to make intercession.

<sup>1</sup> *Geschichte*,<sup>3</sup> i. 480 [*History of Israel*, vol. i. p. 335].

<sup>2</sup> Frapp, *ZATW*. xii. p. 23; see, on the contrary, Ps. xviii. 22 [21]; Prov. xxi. 3; 2 Sam. viii. 15; and comp. Amos v. 24; Isa. xxxiii. 5.

<sup>3</sup> Lagarde, Olshausen.

<sup>4</sup> Isa. vii. 9; Ps. cxviii. 10 ff.; Ewald, § 330b.

<sup>5</sup> Ch. ix. 2, xvi. 5.

<sup>6</sup> Ch. iv. 10.

<sup>7</sup> Wellhausen, *JBDTh*. xxi. 416.

<sup>8</sup> Comp. xix. 13.

<sup>9</sup> Ch. xi. 5, 7.

<sup>10</sup> Delitzsch, following Luzzatto.

<sup>11</sup> Ewald, § 331b.

<sup>12</sup> Ch. xix. 1.

<sup>13</sup> Ver. 33.



The versions and ch. xix. 27 confirm the Massoretic text. The so-called סופרים תקן is to the effect that an original ויהיה ערנו עמר לפני אברהם was altered to the present text because of the double sense of עמר לפני, which also means "to stand at the service of." But it is not evidence of another reading, but only of the offence which the Rabbinical writers took at the representation of a man detaining God instead of God detaining the man.

Regarding Kaphar Berukha, where, according to Jerome, the interview took place, see Robinson.<sup>1</sup>

Vv. 23-32. "Abraham approaches Jahve to make intercession. He reminds Him that in Sodom also there are, doubtless, righteous persons, *e.g.* Lot, and that it is reasonable to show mercy for their sake. He assumes at first that there may be 50 such righteous persons, then he comes down to 45, to 40, 30, 20, and in the end to 10; he does not venture to go below this last number."<sup>2</sup> He speaks with great humility and deference, and Jahve listens to him indulgently, and with constant readiness to forgive. The destruction of the cities afterwards shows that there were not 10 righteous persons in the valley of Siddim. The author's opinion of the cities is, therefore, most unfavourable, as in chs. xiii. 13 and xv. 16.

נשא ל—supply עון or פִּשָּׁע; take away from him his transgression = pardon or forgive.<sup>3</sup>

Ver. 25. הללה לך—*profanum, nefas tibi sit, ita ut non facias*; for כן with the infin., see ch. xvi. 2.

שפט כל-הארץ—the *judge of the whole earth*, as the superior judge, must also be the most perfect, and therefore more than any other exercise the highest justice.<sup>4</sup> The words are supposed<sup>5</sup> to express a conception of God alien to the rest of the narrative. But in what capacity then does God

<sup>1</sup> *Palestine*, i. 490 f., trans. ii. 415.      <sup>2</sup> Knobel. *Comp. Jer.* v. 1.

<sup>3</sup> See *Num.* xiv. 19; *Isa.* ii. 9; *Hos.* i. 6.

<sup>4</sup> *Comp. Job* xxxiv. 57.

<sup>5</sup> Kautzsch-Socin, *Die Genesis* <sup>2</sup>.

punish Sodom? Surely, after all, as the judge of all the sins of the earth. See also ch. xxiv. 3, 7.

Ver. 27. הנהינא—as in ver. 31; see ch. xii. 11.

עפר ואפר—earthly and transitory being; see note on ch. ii. 7.<sup>1</sup> Alliteration, as in i. 2, iv. 14, etc.

Ver. 28. יחכרן—the fuller forms in ח are to be observed from now onwards; for the accusative חמשה see Gesenius.<sup>2</sup> The ח here in בחמשה plainly means *because of*.

Ver. 30. *Let it not become inflamed to the Lord*—let Him not become angry; see ch. iv. 5.

Ver. 32. הפעם, ch. ii. 23. In what is here related as passing between God and Abraham, God's compassionate justice as well as the nature of prayer and intercession, an intercession which is humble, yet bold in faith, unwearied and inspired by the purest love for men, are depicted in a way which leaves nothing to be desired.

Ver. 33. Abraham returns home and God “goes,” not, however, to Sodom, for there are only two there,<sup>3</sup> He “vanishes.” God's intention of going to Sodom, expressed in ver. 21, is not thereby departed from, for He is present in the two<sup>4</sup> as in the three.<sup>5</sup> Seeing that וילך in itself might quite as well signify *He went* to where the others had gone before, the שני of ch. xix. 1 is certainly not an interpolation caused by xviii. 22b–33a.<sup>6</sup> The author's intention rather was to distinguish Abraham by making God manifest Himself to him in fuller glory than in Sodom.

Ch. xix. 1–11. Visit of the two angels in Lot's house, and the moral corruption of Sodom.

Ver. 1 f. מלאכים—perhaps a substitution for definiteness' sake, for an original אנשים; the Samaritan has it also in ver. 12, the Septuagint in ver. 16.

As the two approached Sodom in the evening Lot was sitting in the gate of the city, to enjoy the talk of

<sup>1</sup> Knobel.

<sup>3</sup> Ch. xix. 1.

<sup>5</sup> Ch. xviii. 1, 'וירא יהוה וג'.

<sup>2</sup> *Grammatik*,<sup>25</sup> 117. 4A. 4.

<sup>4</sup> Ch. xix. 18 ff., 24.

<sup>6</sup> Wellhausen.

those assembled there or for purposes of business.<sup>1</sup> No sooner did he catch sight of the strangers than he hastened to fulfil to them the duties of hospitality.<sup>2</sup> "The Arabs count it an honour to be able to entertain a stranger who has arrived among them, and often contend vehemently for the honour."<sup>3</sup>

הִנֵּה נָא—only here with the *ē* thus shortened;<sup>4</sup> for נָא see note on xviii. 3, *allow me to hope, sirs*. For וְרָחֲצוּ see xviii. 4, and for לֹא, xviii. 15.

The angels at first refuse the invitation, because they have come to Sodom for the purpose of a judicial investigation,<sup>5</sup> doubtless, also, because they wish to put Lot to the test. "The climate being warm, it was possible to pass the night in the open street."<sup>6</sup>

Ver. 3. On his pressing them, however, they accept his invitation, and he prepares them a *מִשְׁתֶּה*, beverage, carousal, and then *entertainment* in general, so called from one of its principal elements, but always a decorous meal.<sup>7</sup>

פָּנָה—in the Pentateuch only besides in ver. 9 and in xxxiii. 11.<sup>8</sup>

Ver. 4 f. They had not as yet<sup>9</sup> lain down when<sup>10</sup> the citizens, old and young,<sup>11</sup> surround the house, and demanded of Lot that he should bring out his visitors in order that they might *know*<sup>12</sup> them, *i.e.* "commit impurity with them. They were therefore given to the vice of pæderasty, which seems to have been prevalent among the pre-Hebraic inhabitants of Canaan,<sup>13</sup> and was also known among the

<sup>1</sup> Winer, *Realwörterbuch*,<sup>3</sup> ii. 616.

<sup>2</sup> Comp. Job xxxi. 32, and the contrast in Judg. xix. 15.

<sup>3</sup> Tavernier, *Voyage*, Germ. tr. i. 125; Burckhardt, *Bedouins and Wahābys* (1831), i. 348; *Travels in Syria*, 375 ff.; Buckingham, *Syria*, Germ. tr. i. 285; Seetzen, *Reisen*, i. 400. Knobel.

<sup>4</sup> Ewald, § 91d.

<sup>5</sup> Tuch.

<sup>6</sup> Comp. Judg. xix. 15. Knobel.

<sup>7</sup> *E.g.* xxi. 8, xxvi. 30, xxix. 22; Judg. xiv. 12.

<sup>8</sup> Knobel.

<sup>9</sup> Ch. ii. 5; Josh. ii. 8.

<sup>10</sup> Ewald, § 341d.

<sup>11</sup> Ver. 11.

<sup>12</sup> Ch. iv. 1.

<sup>13</sup> Lev. xviii. 22 ff., xx. 13, 23.

Hebrews.<sup>1</sup> The author, no doubt, assumed that the angels appeared in the form of young men in their flower."<sup>2</sup>

אֲנָשֵׁי סֹדֶם—superfluous, perhaps a gloss;<sup>3</sup> see ver. 9.

*All the people from (to) the end (of them), i.e. to the last man, all together;*<sup>4</sup> a fuller form is מְקַצֵּה וְעַד־קֶצֶה.<sup>5</sup> They were therefore *all* thus corrupt, and besides so bold and shameless, that they did not feel it necessary to hide their desire.<sup>6</sup>

Vv. 6-8. "Lot goes out, tries to dissuade them from their scandalous proceeding, and offers them his two daughters. *My brothers, friends; a friendly manner of address.*<sup>7</sup> *Who have not known a man, have not yet had to do with a man.*<sup>8</sup>

אֵל—for אֱלֹהִים, elsewhere only in ver. 25, ch. xxvi. 3 f.; Lev. xviii. 27; Deut. iv. 42, vii. 22, xix. 11; 1 Chron. xx. 8.

*Now they have entered the shade of my [roof-tree], beam, have entrusted themselves to the protection of my house. Lot seeks, at enormous sacrifice, to protect his guests from shameful ill-treatment. The Arab holds sacred and inviolable the guest who has entered his house, and in case of need guards him with his own life.*"<sup>9</sup>

Ver. 9. They do not listen, but call to him *move off*,<sup>10</sup> make room, away, back. At the same time they complain that this<sup>11</sup> individual came to live among them as a stranger and (after that) *now* judges in judgment, *plays the judge*.<sup>12</sup> The infin. absol. is intended to emphasise the idea in שֵׁפֶט, perhaps also<sup>13</sup> to express repetition.

*Now we will do you evil more than to them, treat you*

<sup>1</sup> Judg. xix. 22.

<sup>2</sup> Mark xvi. 5, Knobel; comp. also 1 Sam. xxix. 9; Job v. 5ff.

<sup>3</sup> Olshausen.

<sup>4</sup> Isa. lvi. 11; Jer. li. 31.

<sup>5</sup> Gen. xlvii. 21; Jer. xii. 12, and elsewhere.

<sup>6</sup> Isa. iii. 9.

<sup>7</sup> As in xxix. 4; Judg. xix. 23; Job vi. 15.

<sup>8</sup> Num. xxxi. 17; Judg. xi. 39.

<sup>9</sup> Russell, *Natural Hist. of Aleppo* (1794), i. 232; Volney, *Voyage en Syrie et en Egypte*,<sup>3</sup> i. p. 395; Seetzen, ii. 67, 346. A remarkable instance is related by Sieber, *Reise von Kairo nach Jerusalem*, p. 29 f. Knobel.

<sup>10</sup> Isa. xlix. 20.

<sup>11</sup> הָ is the article, not the interrog. partic. הֵן.

<sup>12</sup> Comp. xxxii. 31; Ewald, § 231b.

<sup>13</sup> Gesenius,<sup>25</sup> 113. 3b.



worse than them. Having said this they press on him and proceed to break open the door. The words בָּלוֹט give the impression of being a gloss;<sup>1</sup> see ver. 4.

Ver. 10 f. The angels come to the rescue by drawing Lot into the house. *They smite the people with bedazzlement* (Blendung, éblouissement, dazzling by lightning), so that they cannot find the door. סִנְיָרִים (as 2 Kings vi. 18) is different from עִרְוָה, blindness. The inquiry is finished, the wickedness of the people is proved.

Vv. 12-26. Destruction of the cities and rescue of Lot.

Ver. 12. The angels, being about to execute judgment on the city, wish to rescue the hospitable Lot and his house, for the weal and woe of a house depends on its head.

*Have you still whom here?* "Have you anyone belonging to you in Sodom other than those in your house?"<sup>2</sup> He will do well to take them all away from the town.

הֵן—sing. and without suffix is surprising,<sup>3</sup> it could be explained as a question, *a son-in-law perhaps?* but as following ובִּנְיָן we rather expect והֵתִיךְ, as in the Peshitta; see ver. 14. May the letters וּבְנֵי have been interpolated between הֵתִיךְ and יך, for nowhere else is anything said of sons whom Lot had before the destruction of the cities?

הַמִּקּוֹם—the Samaritan and Septuagint add הֵּהָה.

Ver. 13. *We are on the point of destroying*—participle as in ver. 14 and xviii. 17. *The cry against them*<sup>4</sup> *has become great in the sight of Jahve*, in His presence. Olshausen conjectures צִעֲקָתָם as in xviii. 21.

Ver. 14. Lot goes out into the city to his sons-in-law, *the takers of his daughters*, i.e. those who were to take his daughters,<sup>5</sup> their betrothed.<sup>6</sup> The meaning can hardly be those who had taken his daughters,<sup>7</sup> for that would be better

<sup>1</sup> Olshausen.

<sup>2</sup> Knobel.

<sup>3</sup> Olshausen.

<sup>4</sup> Ch. xviii. 20 f.

<sup>5</sup> Ewald, § 335b.

<sup>6</sup> Josephus, *Antiquities*, i. 11. 4; Vulgate, Piscator, Clericus, J. D. Michaelis, von Bohlen, Tuch, Baumgarten, Keil.

<sup>7</sup> Sept., Targ. of Jonathan, Ibn Ezra, Kimchi, Mercerus, Schumann, Knobel, Delitzsch, Böttcher.

expressed by a relative clause with the perfect,<sup>1</sup> and because Lot would certainly not leave his married daughters without calling them to flight. It is not against the interpretation adopted that in his time of need (ver. 8) he offers these very daughters to the people, for the betrothal would have been nullified by whatever occurred. Nor is the absence of יָתִי any objection, nor the הנמצאות of ver. 15, nor the daughters' omission to mention the loss of affianced husbands in ver. 31.

To these future sons-in-law of Sodom, Lot with his summons that they should leave the city appeared *as one who jests*. They treated him with incredulous ridicule, and so perished.

Ver. 15. כִּמּוֹ—rare and poetical word<sup>2</sup> for בֹּאֶשֶׁר.

הַנִּמְצָאוֹת—who are found here, who are at hand.<sup>3</sup> The reference is not merely to בְּנוֹתָיִךְ, as if, *e.g.*, they were distinguished from married daughters in the city. It is a single expression for wife and daughters, those belonging to him who were on the spot, in contradistinction to those in the city, the הַתָּנִים.

Before פֶּן the Septuagint has the further words, καὶ ἔξελεθε.—עַל as in ch. iv. 13.

Ver. 16. The angels are in haste, but Lot delays,<sup>4</sup> because he finds it hard to leave home and city. So the angels have to take him and his household by the hand and lead them out before the city, *because of God's clemency towards him*, because God purposed to spare him seeing he was a righteous man.<sup>5</sup> The idea that Lot was spared for Abraham's sake is only found in A, ver. 29.

Ver. 17. At the same time directions are given him for his further flight. One of the angels is now spokesman as in xviii. 10; from all that has occurred it is clear enough that God Himself is here present, and so Lot addresses Him in ver. 18 also as אֱלֹהֵי. Accordingly, God is present also in the two as previously (ch. xviii.) in the three.

<sup>1</sup> In spite of ix. 18.

<sup>2</sup> Isa. xxvi. 18.

<sup>3</sup> 1 Sam. xxi. 4; Isa. xii. 3; Ezra viii. 25.

<sup>4</sup> Ch. xliii. 10.

<sup>5</sup> Ch. xviii. 24 ff.

*Save thyself, flee, for thy life, thy life is at stake.*

הָבֵיט—surprising after אַל.<sup>1</sup> He must not look behind, “that he may not see the divine agency at work, which is forbidden to the profane eye of mortal man; see note on xvi. 14. For similar reasons the ancients, during the performance of certain holy rites, did not look behind them;<sup>2</sup> and Orpheus was forbidden to look back when he brought Eurydice out of Orcus.”<sup>3</sup>

“For הַבָּר see note on ch. xiii. 10; the hills (ההרה) are those of Moab.”<sup>4</sup>

Ver 18 f. “Lot wishes the final direction given to him to be revoked, because he will not be able to escape to the distant hills before the work of destruction has commenced.”<sup>5</sup> *Otherwise the disaster may fasten on me, overtake me; for פָּן* see ch. iii. 22; and for יָּ, Ewald, § 249d. These continual delays and objections of Lot’s are certainly related as they are with a definite purpose; Lot is inferior to Abraham in faithful obedience.

Vv. 20-22. “He wishes the angel to assign him Şo’ar as his place of refuge, for it lay not far from Sodom and was כְּצִעֵר, a trifle, so that he did not ask more than the preservation of an insignificant little town. Being small, also, Şo’ar did not contain so much godlessness, and might, it was allowable to think, be excepted from the overthrow. The angel grants the request, but urges haste, because he can do nothing before Lot’s arrival in Şo’ar. This history explains why the name צִעֵר, *pettiness*, or we may say, petty town, was given to the place formerly called בְּלָע.<sup>6</sup> The incident related in vv. 19-22 rests on the significance of the name.”<sup>7</sup>

The ל of לָרֶבֶר as in xvii. 20; for לְבִלְתִּי see iii. 11; for קָרָא, xvi. 14.

<sup>1</sup> Gesenius,<sup>25</sup> 107. 4, note.

<sup>2</sup> Theocritus, *Idyll*, xxiv. 93; Vergil, *Eclogues*, viii. 102; Ovid, *Fasti*, v. 437 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Vergil, *Georgics*, iv. 491; Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, x. 51.

<sup>4</sup> See ver. 30, ch. xiv. 10.

<sup>5</sup> Knobel.

<sup>6</sup> Ch. xiv. 2.

<sup>7</sup> Knobel.

In recent times Şo'ar has been looked for<sup>1</sup> in the beautiful oasis of el-Mezra'a, on the tongue of land (el-lisân) or peninsula which projects into the Dead Sea from its eastern shore.<sup>2</sup> But Knobel has rightly kept to the older view, which Wetzstein<sup>3</sup> has further established, that Şo'ar lay about an hour south-east of the Dead Sea in the part of the 'Araba now called Ghor eş-Şâfia, at the point where Wadi el-Aḥsa leaves the border hills of Moab and enters the plain under the name el-Ḳurâhi. Its modern name is Chirbet eş-Şâfia, and it is buried under the alluvium of the water which abounds. The region is well watered, but the climate tropical. It was the most southern point of the Jordan district, of the כְּפָר.<sup>4</sup> The Dead Sea, then 580 stadia or 29 hours long, once extended as far as this point,<sup>5</sup> but now, in consequence of the alluvial deposits, has retreated northwards; the sea we are told lay between Jericho and Şo'ar.<sup>6</sup> In the Roman period there was a castle to protect the city,<sup>7</sup> and traces of it still remain. Dates and balsam trees were cultivated there.<sup>8</sup> In the Middle Ages it was still of importance. It was one of the six stages on the caravan road from Aila to Jerusalem, and an important commercial centre.<sup>9</sup> The name still existed in the time of the Crusades in the form Segor, and the Arabic geographers name it Şoghar or Zoghar, and the Dead Sea the Sea of Zoghar. It and the palm trees which were there have now alike vanished.

Ver. 23 f. The sun had risen over the earth, and Lot

<sup>1</sup> Especially by Robinson, Ritter, Winer, Tuch, and others.

<sup>2</sup> See Baedeker, *Palästina*,<sup>2</sup> p. 181; *ZDPV*. ii. 212 f.

<sup>3</sup> In Delitzsch, *Genesis*,<sup>4</sup> 564 f.; see also de Sauley in *Revue Archéol.* xxxiii. 193 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Ch. xiii. 10; Deut. xxxiv. 3.

<sup>5</sup> Josephus, *Jewish Wars*, iv. 8. 4.

<sup>6</sup> *Onomasticon*, sub Θάλασσα.

<sup>7</sup> *Notitia dignatatum*, i. 78 f.; Stephanus Byzant., sub Ζόαρα.

<sup>8</sup> *Onomasticon*, sub Βαλά; Talmud, *Yebamoth* xvi. 7; Ištāchri (ed. Mordtmann), xxxix. 41; Edrisi, trans. by Jaubert, i. 338; William of Tyre, xxii. 30, in *Gesta Dei per Francos*, i. 1041.

<sup>9</sup> Mukaddasi in Wetzstein.



had reached So'ar, when Jahve sent down the rain. Taken with ver. 15 this statement allows us to determine the distance of So'ar from Sodom.

*Jahve*, who is present in the angels, according to ver. 17 ff., *caused it to rain down from Jahve, from the sky.* מֵאֵת יְהוָה seems,<sup>1</sup> like the Greek ἐκ Διός, to have been a peculiar expression of the same meaning as מִן-הַשָּׁמַיִם by which it is explained.<sup>2</sup> But the author lays stress on the fact that it was really from the sky that the rain came down.

By this rain of sulphur and fire from the sky God *turned upside down*, completely destroyed, so that what had been beneath lay on the top and the top lay below, these cities and the whole district,<sup>3</sup> with its inhabitants and all that grew in it. The expression הֶפֶךְ, one little suited to the sulphur rain,<sup>4</sup> is used because it had long held its place in the legend. "It was supposed that the district, which abounded in bitumen,<sup>5</sup> after being kindled by a burning sulphureous material which fell from the sky, burned itself out, and thereafter was overspread by water which rose from beneath.<sup>6</sup> The fire and sulphur were easily suggested by the phenomena of thunderstorms. Josephus,<sup>7</sup> too, thought of lightning; and Tacitus<sup>8</sup> tells that the district *fulminum jactu arsisse*, and the cities *igne cælesti flagrasse*. Fire and brimstone are also the instruments of divine judgment in Ps. xi. 6 and Ezek. xxxviii. 22."<sup>9</sup> The connection of the catastrophe with the bituminous character of the soil,<sup>10</sup> is not amiss.<sup>11</sup> The text offers no hint of volcanic action.

<sup>1</sup> Comp. Micah v. 6.

<sup>2</sup> Ewald, *Geschichte*,<sup>3</sup> ii. 223 [*History*, ii. 157, note 3].

<sup>3</sup> Ver. 17.

<sup>4</sup> Nöldeke, *Untersuchungen*, p. 22.

<sup>5</sup> Ch. xiv. 10.

<sup>6</sup> Job xviii. 15, xxii. 16.

<sup>7</sup> *Antiquities*, i. 11. 4; *Jewish Wars*, iv. 8. 4.

<sup>8</sup> *Histories*, v. 7.

<sup>9</sup> Knobel.

<sup>10</sup> Riehm, *Handwörterbuch*, 973a.

<sup>11</sup> Recently defended anew by Dawson in the *Expositor* for 1886, Jan. p. 69 ff.

Ver. 26. "While this went on, *his wife, behind him, looked back, i.e.* she was walking to So'ar behind Lot, and took a look round, impelled by a woman's curiosity.

*And she became a pillar of salt*, was changed into a pillar of rock-salt, because she disobeyed the command of ver. 17. The punishment harmonises with the locality, where things are easily covered with a saline crust, due to the salty evaporation of the Dead Sea, and where rock-salt abounds.<sup>1</sup> The legend originated in the existence of some pillar of rock-salt. In Wisd. x. 7 a *στήλη ἄλός* beside the Dead Sea is mentioned as *μνημεῖον ἀπιστοῦσης ψυχῆς*, and it still existed in the time of Josephus.<sup>2</sup> Something of the kind may still be found. At the south-west end of the Dead Sea there is a long narrow ridge of rock, about 100 to 150 ft. high, which stretches from north to south or south-east, and is about 2½ hours in length. It is called Hill (rock, ridge) of Usdum or Salt Hill, and consists entirely of mineral salt,<sup>3</sup> or at least contains thick layers of mineral salt. It is quite bare, decomposed, and friable, and full of caves, seams, fissures, peaks, and indentations.<sup>4</sup> Its distance from the sea is at one point only 200 ft., and in the rainy season the ground there is flooded.<sup>5</sup> The denuding action of the rain forms on the ridge isolated peaks and knolls and pillars of various forms. They doubtless pass away to be replaced by others. Thus there is standing at present on the east side of the hill a high round pillar of crystalline salt about 40 ft. high.<sup>6</sup> We cannot say whether this be the same as that of which Josephus and others speak.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Seetzen, ii. 240; Lynch, *Expd. to Jordan and Dead Sea*,<sup>2</sup> 269, 272, 274, 281, 287, 297 f., 306.

<sup>2</sup> *Antiquities*, i. 11. 4.

<sup>3</sup> *Palestine*, i. 502, ii. 107 ff. (Germ. tr. ii. 435, iii. 22 f.).

<sup>4</sup> Seetzen, i. 428, ii. 227, 240.

<sup>5</sup> Roth in Petermann, *Geograph. Mittheilungen*, 1858, p. 268 f. Knochel.

<sup>6</sup> Lynch, *op. cit.* p. 307.

<sup>7</sup> Clement of Rome, 1 Cor. xi. [ed. Lightfoot, vol. ii. p. 46]; Irenæus, *Adv. Hæreseos*, iv. 31. 3; *Carmen de Sodoma* in Tertullian (*Opera*, ed. Oehler, ii. 773).

Regarding the various interpretations of the passage, see Rosenmüller, etc.<sup>1</sup> The rather unfavourable estimate of woman in the legend is to be noted (comp. xviii. 12 and iii. 6).

Ver. 27 f. Abraham, believing what God had said, and full of interest in the fate of the cities of the plain, betakes himself, while it is yet early, to the place on the height where he had made intercession the day before.<sup>2</sup> Looking down,<sup>3</sup> he saw now only *the thick smoke of the earth*, a thick smoke rising from the earth, like that which rises from a furnace.<sup>4</sup> Amongst others, Wisd. x. 7 and Philo<sup>5</sup> speak of a smoke which still continued to rise from the ground.<sup>6</sup> "Modern travellers, on the other hand, report only a dense vapour or a thin veil of mist,"<sup>7</sup> which is explained by the rapid evaporation of the water in the terrible heat.—With this return to Abraham the narrative concludes, and is rounded off.

"There is no doubt that the account has a basis in actual fact. Deut. xxix. 22<sup>8</sup> tells of the destruction of Sodom, Gomorrah, Admah, and Šeboim.<sup>9</sup> Hos. xi. 8 names only the last two; elsewhere the first two, as the most important, are generally named,<sup>10</sup> but occasionally Sodom by itself.<sup>11</sup> The statement in Wisd. x. 6 is inexact, seeing that Šo'ar was spared. Sodom, which is always named first, and more often than the others alone, was plainly the most important. This is confirmed by Strabo,<sup>12</sup> who, however, puts the number of the cities at thirteen."<sup>13</sup> The usual supposition, that the cities stood where the Dead Sea now is, rests on ch. xiv. 2 f.

<sup>1</sup> Rosenmüller, *ad loc.*; Grimm on Wisd. x. 7; Winer, *Realwörterbuch*, ii. 32 f.

<sup>2</sup> Ch. xviii. 22.

<sup>3</sup> Ch. xviii. 16.

<sup>4</sup> Ex. xix. 18.

<sup>5</sup> *De Abrahamo*, p. 21; *Vita Mosis*, ii. p. 143.

<sup>6</sup> Comp. Isa. xxxiv. 10.

<sup>7</sup> Robinson, *Palestine*, i. 512; Lynch, *op. cit.* p. 311; Ritter, *Erdkunde*, xv. 762 ff.; cf. Josephus, *Jewish Wars*, iv. 8. 4. Knobel.

<sup>8</sup> Comp. Jude 7.

<sup>9</sup> Comp. Gen. xiv. 2.

<sup>10</sup> Isa. i. 9 f., xiii. 19; Jer. xxiii. 14, xlix. 18, l. 40; Amos iv. 11; Zeph. ii. 9; Matt. x. 15; 2 Pet. ii. 6.

<sup>11</sup> Isa. iii. 9; Lam. iv. 6; Ezek. xvi. 48 ff.; Matt. xi. 23 f.

<sup>12</sup> xvi. 2. 44.

<sup>13</sup> Knobel.

But the older view, that the whole of the Dead Sea originated in this catastrophe, and that before then the course of the Jordan was through the 'Araba to the Gulf of 'Akaba, is quite untenable, for the level of the southern 'Araba at the lowest point of the water-shed, somewhat north of Petra, is 240 metres above the surface of the Mediterranean, whereas the surface of the Dead Sea is 394 metres beneath that level; and it has been proved geologically that the southern 'Araba has not been elevated since the formation of the present basin. On the other hand, the view of Russegger and Robinson<sup>1</sup> is confirmed, that the Dead Sea, in the greater part of its extent, has existed from the earliest times, and that only its southern part can be of later origin. Accordingly, most writers now localise the cities in the region of the southern gulf of the Dead Sea. This section, as far as the Lisân, is much shallower than the northern part. The latter is on the average about 329 m. deep, whereas the former is never more than 3·6 m., and is still less at its extreme end, where it may be waded through.<sup>2</sup> The position thus assigned finds support in the situation of Şoar (ver. 22), and of the pillar of salt (ver. 26), and also, if we approve of the bitumen hypothesis, in the circumstance that the bitumen is specially prevalent in the southern part of the sea.<sup>3</sup> The latest hypotheses, *e.g.* that the cities lay on the east side of the sea in the Wadi Zerka Ma'in, and were destroyed by volcanic action,<sup>4</sup> or that Gomorrah is to be found in the modern 'Ain Ghamr, near the 'Araba, almost half-way between the Dead Sea and the Gulf of 'Akaba,<sup>5</sup> have against them vv. 22 and 26.

<sup>1</sup> *Palestine*, ii. 187 ff. (trans. iii. 162 ff.).

<sup>2</sup> Lynch, *op. cit.* 306 f., 378 f.; further, regarding the Dead Sea, Winer,<sup>3</sup> ii. 73 f.; Furrer in Schenkel's *Bibelllexicon*, iv. 153 ff.; O. Fraas in Riehm, *Handwörterbuch*, 972 ff.; C. Hull in *Ausland*, 1883, p. 375 f.

<sup>3</sup> Comp. ch. xiv. 10.

<sup>4</sup> F. Nötling in the *Montagsblatt* of the *Berliner Tagblatt*, August 1886, Nos. 27, 31, 33.

<sup>5</sup> Clermont Ganneau in *Quarterly Statement of Pal. Explor. Fund*, Jan. 1886, p. 19 ff.



Nöldeke has discussed the unhistorical character of the legend of the overthrow of the cities,<sup>1</sup> and Cheyne its probable origin.<sup>2</sup>

5. DOUBLE APPENDIX, CH. XIX. 29, FROM *A*; XIX. 30-38  
(THE ORIGIN OF MOAB-AMMON), FROM *C*.

Ver. 29 is taken from *A*. Without any close connection with what precedes, it shortly reports to us the information already just given, that when *Elohim destroyed*<sup>3</sup> *the cities of the Kikkâr*,<sup>4</sup> *Elohim* in kindness *remembered*<sup>5</sup> Abraham, with whom he had entered into a covenant relation,<sup>6</sup> and, for his sake, sent Lot out of the midst of the overthrow, *i.e.* allowed him to escape or depart<sup>7</sup> when He overthrew the cities in which<sup>8</sup> Lot *had been settled*.<sup>9</sup> There are here five characteristic expressions of *A*,<sup>10</sup> and there is this agreement with his story as to matter of fact that Lot does not dwell in Sodom alone, but in the cities of the Kikkâr.<sup>11</sup> The reason assigned for Lot's deliverance also is not that of *C*, at least it is unmentioned in the preceding section. As for the word *הפך*, it and its derivatives had long become standing expressions for this peculiar destruction of the ground, and are found in Deuteronomy, Lamentations, Amos, Isaiah, Jeremiah, and even in the *Korân*.<sup>12</sup>

We are no longer able to determine the further point whether *A*, in connection with this narrative, or elsewhere in his narrative, gave his readers information regarding Moab-Ammon and their relationships, as he has done in the case of Ishmael and Edom. The narrative of vv. 30-38, regarding

<sup>1</sup> *Im neuen Reich*, 1871, ii. 41-48.

<sup>2</sup> *New World*, June 1892, p. 236 ff.

<sup>4</sup> As xiii. 12.

<sup>6</sup> Ch. xvii.

<sup>8</sup> *בהן* is not "in one of which," with a construction like that of ch. viii. 4 or Judg. xii. 7.

<sup>9</sup> As xiii. 12.

<sup>11</sup> Ch. xiii. 12.

<sup>3</sup> *שָׁחַת* as vi. 17, ix. 11, 15.

<sup>5</sup> As viii. 1.

<sup>7</sup> 1 Sam. xxiv.

<sup>10</sup> [The words in italics.]

<sup>12</sup> See Gesenius, *Thesaurus*.

the incest of Lot's two daughters with their father, and the origin of Moab-Ammon, is in any case not from *A*. It passes back over ver. 29, and connects itself with the preceding passage (vv. 23, 17), which it presupposes. In so far, also, there is reason for the current view<sup>1</sup> that it is from the same author, *C*, as was the preceding section. The expressions בְּכִירָה and זָעִירָה in vv. 31, 33 f., and 37,<sup>2</sup> and הָיָה יָרֵעַ in ver. 32,<sup>3</sup> may be used as special proofs of this, though בּוֹא עַל, ver. 31,<sup>4</sup> is not found elsewhere in *C*. In ch. xix. 1 ff. *C* portrays Lot, not, indeed, as one of the heroes of faith, but yet as a righteous man, who detested the dissolute character of the inhabitants of Sodom, and as one whom God Himself honoured with a visit and a miraculous deliverance; so, of course, he did not himself compose this odious story about him, but only adopted it, thereby giving expression to the abhorrence which Israel felt for the dissolute character of the people of Moab-Ammon. The narrative itself, unlike *C*'s delineations, which are artistically true to life, is marred by internal improbabilities. The irritation against Moab-Ammon, which grew more bitter as time went on, especially from the date of the Syrian wars waged under the house of Jehu, and which has received legislative expression in Deut. xxiii. 4 ff., makes itself plainly and directly felt in the story. It was the coarse humour of the people which put into words its hatred of Moab-Ammon by means of this narrative. Although, with the exception of Num. xxv. 1 ff., we have no definite information regarding unchaste practices prevalent among them, we must still conclude that this story about them would not have taken the shape it did among the Israelites if consanguineous marriages, such as were proscribed in Israel, had not been customary among them.<sup>5</sup> It is not probable that the

<sup>1</sup> Knobel, Hupfeld, Schrader, Kayser, Wellhausen.

<sup>2</sup> As in xxix. 26; comp. xxv. 23, xliii. 33, xlviii. 14.

<sup>3</sup> Comp. vii. 3.

<sup>4</sup> Comp. Deut. xxv. 5.

<sup>5</sup> Comp. Deut. xxiii. 4 with vv. 1-3; and regarding Reuben, ch. xxxv. 22. See Smend, *Moses apud Prophetas*, p. 73; Bertheau in Schenkel's *Bibellexicon*, iv. 230.

legend made Lot's wife, the mother of his daughters, a native of Sodom; <sup>1</sup> in ch. xii. f., before his migration to Sodom, Lot appears in possession of a house, just as Abraham does. But the daughters are doubtless regarded as having been influenced by the morals of Sodom. The conjectures that *R* was the first to insert the passage,<sup>2</sup> or that it is derived from *B*,<sup>3</sup> have no sufficient reason in their favour. The episode stands in no connection with the history of the trials of Abraham's faith.

Ver. 30. "The author, continuing the narrative from the point reached in ver. 23, relates that Lot left Soar and proceeded to the hills, because he feared that this city also might be destroyed. At the same time, the angel (ver. 21) had assured him of its permanent safety."<sup>4</sup>

*He dwelt in the cave*, was a cave-dweller; the article is generic.<sup>5</sup> Still some particular cave,<sup>6</sup> with which legend associated the events related, may be intended.<sup>7</sup> "Even yet the people of those regions inhabit caves and grottoes."<sup>8</sup> Compare also the name Loṭân mentioned among the Horites (cave-dwellers) in Gen. xxxvi. 20, 22, 29.<sup>9</sup> But it is to be remarked that וישב במע' וג' after וישב בהר is surprising, and the words may be a later addition.

Ver. 31. The elder daughter makes a proposal to the younger.<sup>10</sup>

*Our father is old*, and so will not be able to look out another place of residence, *and there is no one in the land to come upon us*, to cohabit with us. There is no alternative for us but to have connection with our father. For דרך, *way*, procedure, or manner in general, comp. ch. vi. 12.

Ver. 32. "But since Lot, the opponent of the immorality of Sodom,<sup>11</sup> would not, so long as sober, agree to such an immoral connection, he must be intoxicated."

<sup>1</sup> Knobel and others.

<sup>2</sup> Ewald, Böhmer, Kautzsch-Socin.

<sup>3</sup> Ilgen.

<sup>4</sup> Knobel.

<sup>5</sup> Chs. xiv. 13, xv. 11. Knobel.

<sup>6</sup> Comp. xvi. 7.

<sup>7</sup> Delitzsch.

<sup>8</sup> Buckingham, *Syria*, Germ. tr. ii. 53 f., 61, 81; Lynch, *op. cit.* p. 355 (Germ. 221).

<sup>9</sup> Riehm, *Handwörterbuch*, § 26.

<sup>10</sup> Ch. xxix. 26.

<sup>11</sup> Ch. xix. 9.

*And we will call to life seed from our father*, through him propagate our race; the expression as in ch. vii. 3. For לִבָּה the Samaritan has לְבִי.

Vv. 33—36. "The plan is executed. Lot is so intoxicated that he does not observe when his daughter lies beside him and rises again. At the same time he is capable, though an old man too, of begetting children. It is most improbable."<sup>1</sup> According to Jerome,<sup>2</sup> it was this very incredibility of the statement which accounts for the Jews having placed the supralinear point over קוֹמָה in ver. 33; but in view of the בְּקִמָּה of ver. 35 it seems rather to indicate an orthographical variant.

בִּשְׁכָּבָה—the Sept. strangely renders ἐν τῷ κοιμηθῆναι αὐτόν.

וְהִשְׁקִי—also in ver. 35; comp. Gesenius<sup>25</sup>.<sup>3</sup>

בְּלִילָה הוּא—as in xxx. 16, xxxii. 23 (1 Sam. xix. 10);<sup>4</sup> otherwise in ver. 35.

Ver. 36. מֵאֲבִיהֶן—the מ for ל is intentional, because of the etymology in ver. 37.

Ver. 37 f. "The author takes the name Moab either in the sense מֵאֵב, *from the father*, which accounts for the expression מֵאֲבִינִי in vv. 32, 34,<sup>5</sup> or as compounded from מוֹ for מֵי, water, corresponding to Aramaic מוֹי, and from אָב, so that it signifies something like 'seed of the father.'<sup>6</sup> In any case he connects it with the fact that the ancestress of the Moabites became pregnant by her father. The name עֲמוֹנִי he explains by בְּנֵי עַמִּי, *son of my people*; it is thus taken to express the fact that the ancestor of the Ammonites was entirely the son of his people, inasmuch as his mother's father was also father of her child. Both interpretations are very forced."<sup>7</sup> We are compelled to add, in imagination, the very point it is desired to find in the names, for "seed of the father" or

<sup>1</sup> Knobel.

<sup>2</sup> *Quæstiones*.

<sup>3</sup> 47A. 3.

<sup>4</sup> See Ewald, 293a.

<sup>5</sup> So Sept. by its insertion λέγουσα ἐκ πατρός μου [Dillmann].

<sup>6</sup> Comp. Isa. xlviii. 1, and Gesenius, *Thesaurus*, 774 [Dillmann].

<sup>7</sup> Knobel.



“son of my people” might be the name of any male child whatsoever.

Regarding the word עַם, see note on ch. xvii. 14. Its collective meaning, according to which it denotes the sum of those connected by blood, suffices here. The phrase בְּעַמִּי does not require us to assume that עַם was originally *patruus* and then *pater*,<sup>1</sup> for the word Moab also is interpreted only in a general way, מוֹ אָב, not מוֹ אֲבִי. Derenbourg<sup>2</sup> wishes to infer the name of an Ammonite god עַמְי from the Ammonite royal name עַמְיָנֶרֶב which occurs in the cuneiform inscriptions, and may be paralleled by the Moabite כְּמוֹתִשְׁנֶרֶב.<sup>3</sup>

*Until to-day*—as in ch. xxxv. 20, elsewhere הוּא הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה.<sup>4</sup> The phrase is here, perhaps, added to indicate that the characteristic feature of their origin still manifests itself in the nature of the people.

#### 6. SARAH'S DANGER AT THE COURT OF GERAR, AND HER PRESERVATION, CH. XX.; FROM *B*.

Abraham moves towards the south country, and takes up his residence in Gerar. He there gives it out that Sarah is his sister, and for a time loses her to King Abimelech; but receives her back, and is compensated by presents after God has brought illness on the unlawful possessor and his wives.<sup>5</sup> In this way, even after the reiterated promise of a son by Sarah, and before her pregnancy,<sup>6</sup> Abraham's hope, though not without fault on his part, is once more in appearance dashed, and his faith and patience are once more put to the proof. It is, however, the occasion, moreover, of his receiving anew proof of God's graciousness and almighty protection.

<sup>1</sup> Krenkel, *ZATW*. viii. 282 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Revue des études juives*, 1881, p. 123 f.

<sup>3</sup> Similarly Halévy in *JA*. vii. 19, p. 480 f., regarding Ammon and Moab.

<sup>4</sup> Chs. xxvi. 33, xxxii. 33, xlvii. 26, xlviii. 15, and frequently.

<sup>5</sup> Knobel.

<sup>6</sup> Ch. xxi. 2.

Such is the significance of the passage in its present position. But at one time it stood in another context before being transferred here by *R*. According to ch. xvii. 17 (*A*), Sarah is ninety years old; according to xviii. 11 f. (*C*) aged, and naturally incapable of bearing children; she cannot, therefore, still have been an object of desire to strangers.<sup>1</sup> But there are other reasons which completely exclude the possibility of the passage being from *A* or *C*. *A* is excluded, notwithstanding the use throughout of the word אֱלֹהִים, because "in his history Abraham dwells in Mamre-Hebron,<sup>2</sup> and there is no trace elsewhere in his narrative that he was ever resident in Gerar or Beersheba. The passage is also in other respects alien to *A*, *e.g.* Abraham is represented as a prophet (ver. 7); God appears in visions by night (vv. 3, 6); the moral character of the people of Gerar is represented unfavourably (ver. 11), and expressions *A* does not use are found, *e.g.* אֲדֹנִי (ver. 4), *the land is before you* (ver. 15), *rise up early in the morning* (ver. 8), *do kindness* (ver. 13), רַק (ver. 11), and הוֹכִיָּה (ver. 16)."<sup>3</sup> As little can *C* be its author, above all because the parallel narrative xii. 10–20 belongs to him, and because ver. 13 is not in harmony with it. Another proof is the use of the divine name Elohim; for in view of ch. xxvi. 28 f. it cannot be assumed that *C* here intentionally avoids the use of the name Jahve because the events related took place at a heathen court. Further, *C* expresses himself otherwise<sup>4</sup> than in ver. 13*a* regarding Abraham's removal from his original home, the style is less smooth and flowing than *C*'s, being even awkward,<sup>5</sup> and the words לֵבָב<sup>6</sup> for לֵב, and אִמָּה<sup>7</sup> for שִׁפְחָה, are unused by him."<sup>8</sup> Modern critics are therefore rightly of opinion that another source, namely *B*, has here been used,<sup>9</sup> one which writes אֱלֹהִים, not יְהוָה, and אִמָּה for שִׁפְחָה. Here, as elsewhere, he uses all sorts of rare

<sup>1</sup> Ch. xx. 2, 4, 11.<sup>2</sup> Ch. xxiii. 1 ff., xxv. 9; cf. xiii. 8.<sup>3</sup> Knobel.<sup>4</sup> Ch. xii. 1 ff.<sup>5</sup> See ver. 17.<sup>6</sup> Ver. 5 f.<sup>7</sup> Ver. 17.<sup>8</sup> Knobel.<sup>9</sup> Ilgen, Hupfeld, Böhmer, Knobel, Ewald, Schrader, Kayser, Wellhausen, Kuenen.

expressions,<sup>1</sup> in this respect contrasting considerably with *C*, and ver. 16 offers an example of his many ancient forms of speech. In his narrative Abraham dwells in the Negeb; he speaks much of revelations from God in dreams (here vv. 3, 6), represents Abraham as a prophet (ver. 7), and construes אֱלֹהִים with a plural verb.<sup>2</sup> Regarding אֶרֶץ הַנֶּגֶב and הַהַבְלָל, see vv. 1, 7. But ver. 18<sup>3</sup> is from *R*; see also notes on vv. 1 and 14.

Ver. 1. Abraham goes from there to the land of the south.<sup>4</sup> He settled, took up his residence, between Shur<sup>5</sup> and Kadesh,<sup>6</sup> and led a nomadic life for a time in the region of Gerar.

אֶרֶץ—the construct state with the locative termination הַ— as in xi. 31.<sup>7</sup>

הַנֶּגֶב—אֶרֶץ הַנֶּגֶב—for הַנֶּגֶב, as in ch. xxiv. 62; Num. xiii. 29; Josh. xv. 19; Judg. i. 15, and nowhere else.

מִישֶׁה—in the present context refers to the grove of Mamre,<sup>8</sup> and is quite possibly an insertion of *R*'s. If it stood in *B*'s text, we can no longer discover its reference.<sup>9</sup> There is no reason for attributing it to *C*.<sup>10</sup>

*Gerâr*—According to the *Onomasticon*, 25 Roman miles south of Eleutheropolis; in recent times<sup>11</sup> generally supposed to be the ruins of Umm el-Jerâr,<sup>12</sup> three hours S.S.E. of Gaza, situated on a broad, deep torrent which comes from the south-east, the Jurf el-Jerâr, the upper portion of the Wadi Gazzeh; the Wadi Gazzeh receives in it, some distance above Jerâr, the Wadi esh-Sherî'a, which comes from the north-west.<sup>13</sup> But unless וַיֵּרָא בְנֵי־יִשְׂרָאֵל implies a complete change of locality, as compared with וַיֵּשֶׁב—יִשְׂרָאֵל, this situation is too far north. If we take our starting-point “between Shur and Kadesh,”

<sup>1</sup> נִקְיֹן, ver. 5; אָמְנָה, ver. 12; אָמַר אֶל, vv. 2, 13.

<sup>2</sup> Ver. 30 (ch. xxxv. 7).

<sup>3</sup> See notes.

<sup>4</sup> Ch. xii. 9.

<sup>5</sup> Ch. xvi. 7.

<sup>6</sup> Ch. xiv. 7, xvi. 14.

<sup>7</sup> Gesenius,<sup>25</sup> 90. 2a.

<sup>8</sup> Ch. xviii. 1.

<sup>9</sup> Kittel, *Geschichte*, i. 125, conjectures xiv. 13 [*History of the Hebrews*, vol. i. p. 136, note 4].

<sup>10</sup> Hupfeld, *Quellen der Genesis*, p. 172 f.

<sup>11</sup> Since Rowlands.

<sup>12</sup> Robinson, Knobel, Keil, Kiepert, Baedeker,<sup>2</sup> 207; Riehm, *Handwörterbuch*, 489, and others.

<sup>13</sup> *ZDMG*. i. 175; Ritter, *Erdkunde*, xiv. 1084 f.

Gerar must be placed farther south, not, indeed, in el-'Arish,<sup>1</sup> but in all likelihood<sup>2</sup> south-west of Kadesh in or beside the Wadi Jerûr,<sup>3</sup> a side valley of the Wadi esh-Sheraif which opens into the Wadi el-'Arish.<sup>4</sup> It must, however, be admitted that this locality is not compatible with C's statement in ch. xxvi. that a Philistine king ruled in Gerar. Elusa for Gerar, given by Saadia and Abusaid, seems to be only a conjecture.

Ver. 2. לָאֵל, like לָ, <sup>5</sup> following אֵל, means "in reference to," "regarding." Abraham gives out that his wife is his sister, and Abimelech takes her away from him. Both statements are very curtly made. The first does not find its explanation until ver. 11 ff. in the Massoretic text,<sup>6</sup> and the second leaves it unexplained why the king took Sarah away, whether because of her beauty, as in ch. xii. 11, or for the sake of a marriage connection with the stranger chief, or because it was his habit.

"Elsewhere Abimelech is called king of the Philistines;<sup>7</sup> his land, land of the Philistines;<sup>8</sup> and his people, Philistines.<sup>9</sup> Our author does not use the name so early as for the patriarchal period."<sup>10</sup>

Ver. 3. But God interferes on Abraham's behalf, appears to Abimelech in a dream, and announces to him that he will die because he has taken a married woman,<sup>11</sup> and has thus infringed a sacred right. In this author God frequently *comes and speaks in a dream*.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Kneucker in Schenkel's *Bibellexicon*, i. 385.

<sup>2</sup> Thomson, Trumbull, Guthe in *ZDPV*. viii. 215.

<sup>3</sup> Described in Robinson [*Palestine*, i. 188 f.], Germ. tr. i. 311 ff., 438, 442; Palmer, *Desert of the Exodus*, 1871, p. 349 ff.

<sup>4</sup> See, further, ch. xxvi. 1, 6, 17, 23.

<sup>5</sup> Ver. 13, xxi. 7.

<sup>6</sup> The Septuagint supplies here already an explanation from ver. 11 ff., ἐφοβήθη γὰρ εἰπεῖν, ὅτι γυναῖκα μου ἐστὶ, μὴ ποτε ἀποκτείνωσιν αὐτοῦ οἱ ἄνδρες τῆς πόλεως δι' αὐτήν.

<sup>7</sup> Ch. xxvi. 1, 8.

<sup>8</sup> Ch. xxi. 32, 34.

<sup>9</sup> Ch. xxvi. 14 f., 18.

<sup>10</sup> Knobel.

<sup>11</sup> Deut. xxii. 22.

<sup>12</sup> Ver. 6, xxi. 12, 14, xxii. 1 ff., xxviii. 12, xxxi. 11, 24, xxxvii. 5, xlvi. 2.



תָּמָת—*thou art a dead man*; you must die; comp. Deut. xviii. 20; Isa. xxxviii. 1.

עַל—*in ver. 11 (comp. xix. 17) עַל-הַבֶּרֶךְ*; the Samaritan has עַל אֲדָמָה (comp. xxi. 11, 25).

Ver. 4 f. turns back the course of the narrative when it remarks, but Abimelech *had not yet approached her*, had not yet had connection with her;<sup>1</sup> and it is not till vv. 6 and 17 that we learn that he was restrained from this by illness sent on him by God. After the parenthesis Abimelech pleads his innocence.

יְהוָה—used in addressing Jahve;<sup>2</sup> here put in the mouth of a heathen.

*A righteous people also?*—*i.e.* righteous people<sup>3</sup> also; comp. the use of עם in Ps. xviii. 28, xxii. 7, lxii. 9; Geiger<sup>4</sup> regards נָי as a later interpolation.

“Abimelech is righteous, because he acted *in innocency of heart and cleanness of hands*, *i.e.* in the belief that he was taking Abraham’s sister, an act which cannot have been regarded as unjust by the morality of the time.”<sup>5</sup>

לִבִּי—used for לֵב, elsewhere also in B.<sup>6</sup>

Ver. 6. God acknowledges that he acted in good faith.

*Therefore I also, on My part, restrained you from sinning against Me, i.e. by illness which I sent upon you.*<sup>7</sup> הָטוּ for הָטָא.<sup>8</sup> *For this reason, i.e. in order that you might not sin against Myself by violating the rights of My chosen, I allowed you not, put it not in your power,*<sup>9</sup> to touch her.

Ver. 7. But Abimelech must now forthwith restore Sarah, because Abraham is *a prophet*. This title is applied to Abraham here only, comp. Ps. cv. 15, though in effect he is represented as such in ch. xviii. 17 ff. It designates one who is God’s intimate, whose possessions dare not be touched

<sup>1</sup> Isa. viii. 3.

<sup>2</sup> Ch. xv. 2.

<sup>3</sup> [*Leute*; the English word people has the double meaning.]

<sup>4</sup> *Urschrift*, p. 365.

<sup>5</sup> See xii. 14. Knobel.

<sup>6</sup> *E.g.* ver. 6, xxxi. 26; Josh. xiv. 7, xxiv. 23.

<sup>7</sup> Ver. 17.

<sup>8</sup> Gesenius,<sup>25</sup> 75A. 21.

<sup>9</sup> Ch. xxxi. 7; Num. xx. 21, xxi. 23 in B.

with impunity, and on the other side as one also who has influence with God, who, in virtue of his prayers, may be an intercessor between God and man. As such, Abraham will pray for Abimelech, *i.e.* make intercession for him in the matter of his illness. See Knobel<sup>1</sup> regarding intercession as part of the prophetic calling. G. Baur<sup>2</sup> and König<sup>3</sup> give a wider meaning to the word prophet.

יְהִי—a consecutive imperative;<sup>4</sup> thus thou shalt not die, of the illness, but become well again.

הִתְפַּלל—strictly prove one's self an arbiter or mediator, is the word for *intercede*,<sup>5</sup> and differs from עָתָר, ch. xxv. 21.

Ver. 8. Abimelech obeys the nocturnal warning as from God; his servants also, the officials, whom he informs of what has occurred, are affected by a like wholesome fear, and agree that he should act as he has been directed.

Ver. 9 f. Abraham is summoned, but in the first place upbraided by the king for his conduct. You have done *deeds which are not done*, *i.e.* acted in a way contrary to the practice (morality) of men everywhere.<sup>6</sup> *What have you seen*, had in view, intended, by your false statement. In Arabic رَأَى is also thus used.

Ver. 11 f. Abraham justifies himself. עֵשִׂתִּי must be supplied before בִּי אִמְרָתִי.<sup>7</sup>

רָק—the signification *certainly*<sup>8</sup> is not proved even by Num. xx. 19 and Ps. xxxii. 6; *only*, in the sense of *at least*, suits everywhere.

Owing to the general absence of piety among the population,<sup>9</sup> he was apprehensive of being murdered if he acknowledged himself to be Sarah's husband.<sup>10</sup> Besides, Sarah was really his sister, though her mother was not his. The latter statement is not made in xi. 29, and is not necessarily implied in xii. 13. "Marriages of the kind thus implied are

<sup>1</sup> *Prophetismus*, i. 213.

<sup>2</sup> On Amos iii.

<sup>3</sup> *Offenbarung*, i. 69.

<sup>4</sup> Ewald, § 235a.

<sup>5</sup> Ver. 17; Num. xi. 2, xxi. 7; Deut. ix. 20, 26.

<sup>6</sup> Comp. xxxiv. 7.

<sup>7</sup> Comp. xxvii. 20, xxxi. 31.

<sup>8</sup> Knobel, Delitzsch.

<sup>9</sup> See xv. 16.

<sup>10</sup> Comp. xii. 12.

forbidden in the law,<sup>1</sup> but occurred among Canaanites, Arabs, Egyptians, Assyrians, and Persians,<sup>2</sup> and according to this passage also among the Hebrews of pre-Mosaic times";<sup>3</sup> they are, of course, however, to be judged<sup>4</sup> in accordance with their original ethnological significance; it was intended to represent the blood of the race as pure and unmixed.

על-דבר—see ch. xii. 17.

אמנה—as in Josh. vii. 20; the Samaritan has אִמְנָם, as in xviii. 13.

Ver. 13. The matter had been arranged between him and Sarah so long ago as when they migrated from their ancestral home.

The account of xii. 11 is different. It is also to be remarked that nothing is here said of a call, as in ch. xii. 1 ff., but that God הרעה, *led* him *astray*, or away from known paths, to foreign parts, *i.e.* sent him forth to wander without a definite goal. Comp. תָּעָה in xxxvii. 15, and how Jacob is called אָבִיר in Deut. xxvi. 5.

התעו, plural, because heathen are addressed;<sup>5</sup> ver. 6 is, of course, no proof against this explanation. The same construction occurs again in *B* in ch. xxxv. 7, but for a different reason.

אל—אל-כל-המקום for ב is due to the attraction of the relative clause.

אמר-לי—see note on ver. 2.

Ver. 14 f. Abimelech is satisfied with Abraham's explanation, accompanies Sarah's restoration with gifts (as in xii. 16), and allows Abraham to reside undisturbed in the territory of Gerar.

לפניך—see xiii. 9. The establishment of a prospective claim to this territory<sup>6</sup> can hardly be intended by the expression.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Lev. xviii. 9, 11, xx. 17; Deut. xxvii. 22.

<sup>2</sup> See Lev. xviii. 6 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Like xi. 29 and xxix. 26 ff.

<sup>6</sup> Hupfeld, *Genesis*, p. 169.

<sup>3</sup> Knobel.

<sup>5</sup> Ewald, § 318a.

<sup>7</sup> Comp. xiii. 9, xxxiv. 20 f.

Before צָאן the Samaritan and Septuagint add אֵלָּה כֶּסֶף ו from ver. 16; שְׂפָחוֹת is surprising in *B* (אַמְהָתַי in ver. 17); it is either a late alteration, or along with וַעֲבָרִים due to *R*.

Ver. 16. Formal acknowledgment is made that Sarah's honour is untouched, it is confirmed by a special gift. The thousand shekels of silver<sup>1</sup> are not the value of the presents mentioned in ver. 14,<sup>2</sup> for we see no reason for such a calculation of their value; and these were, besides, out of consideration for Abraham himself, to propitiate and honour him, whereas the silver is a special and very handsome gift to Abraham, the object of which is explained by Abimelech to Sarah in the following sentence.

*It is for you a covering of the eyes to all who are with you*—it is given for Sarah and on her account, and is intended to veil the eyes of all those about her, so that they may become blind to what has occurred, and may no longer see the dishonour she has met.<sup>3</sup> לְכָל אִשֶּׁר אִתָּךְ cannot signify *in reference to all that has occurred to you*,<sup>4</sup> nor can לְכָל=וּלְכָל,<sup>5</sup> which is indeed the reading of the Samaritan and Septuagint. Consequently, לְכָל must express those whose eyes are to be covered, and לָךְ must be *dativus commodi*; לָךְ cannot be the one who is to be made blind,<sup>6</sup> for 'לְכָל וְנִ' would then have no meaning. "For many reasons we cannot suppose that the thousand shekels were to procure a veil which Sarah was afterwards to wear."<sup>7</sup> Nor can הוּא be intended for Abraham himself,<sup>8</sup> for then the purpose of the thousand shekels would not be stated at all. The present may be rightly taken to be a covering of the eyes, inasmuch as Abimelech by it, as if by a witness,<sup>9</sup> confirms his confession of the wrong he had

<sup>1</sup> Gesenius,<sup>25</sup> 134. 3A. 3.

<sup>2</sup> Knobel, Keil.

<sup>3</sup> Comp. xxxii. 21; Job ix. 24. So Hofmann, *Schriftheweis*,<sup>2</sup> ii. 1, 233.

<sup>4</sup> Schumann, Gesenius, *Thesaurus*; Tuch, Knobel.

<sup>5</sup> Delitzsch<sup>4</sup>.

<sup>6</sup> Delitzsch<sup>5</sup>.

<sup>7</sup> J. D. Michaelis, Dathe, Rosenmüller, von Bohlen, Baumgarten, Knobel.

<sup>8</sup> Ibn Ezra, Ewald, § 123b.

<sup>9</sup> Ch. xxi. 30.



done Sarah; and this witness in the hand of her brother, accepted and acknowledged by him, prevents any dishonour to Sarah being afterwards seen.

וְאֵתְּךָ—not co-ordinate with אֵתְּךָ,<sup>1</sup> so that we translate “what has happened to you and to all”; for אֵת does not allow of this sense at all, and nothing had taken place affecting “all.” Nor is it co-ordinate with כָּסוּת עֵינַיִם,<sup>2</sup> it is to be taken with וְנִכְחַת as the Massoretes direct, *and before all*, thou, etc.

וְנִכְחַת—for the construction with ו, *thus*, see Ewald;<sup>3</sup> נִכְחַת meaning attainted or convicted of wrong,<sup>4</sup> is linguistically possible, but unsuitable seeing that Abimelech cannot here be reproving Sarah. Taken as passive of הוֹכִיחַ, *cum accusativo rei*,<sup>5</sup> we may translate *evidenced, demonstrated, se.* as one to whom wrong has been done, or as passive of הוֹכִיחַ לִי<sup>6</sup> it will mean *in the right, justified*. In this case it is best to point וְנִכְחַתָּהּ,<sup>7</sup> for after *waw* consecutive a perfect, 2 f. s., is alone in place, not a participle feminine, as if that could stand for וְנִכְחַתָּהּ אֵת,<sup>8</sup> or even signify, *and as for everything it is arranged, decided*.<sup>9</sup> It is syntactically impossible also to take the word as a feminine substantive, decision. Olshausen doubts the correctness of the reading.

Ver. 17. “After this reconciliation, Abraham makes intercession for Abimelech,<sup>10</sup> and God removes his illness and that of his wives. As in ch. xii. 17, our author does not indicate precisely the nature of the illness; according to ver. 6 it was at all events one which prevented sexual intercourse. Compare the plague sent on the Philistines,<sup>11</sup> and Herodotus’ account<sup>12</sup> of certain diseases among the Scythian women.”<sup>13</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Tuch, Knobel.

<sup>2</sup> Gesenius.

<sup>3</sup> § 344b.

<sup>4</sup> Gesenius.

<sup>5</sup> *E.g.* Job xiii. 15, xix. 5.

<sup>6</sup> *E.g.* Isa. xi. 4; Job xvi. 21.

<sup>7</sup> Ewald, § 195b.

<sup>8</sup> Delitzsch<sup>5</sup>.

<sup>9</sup> Hofmann, Bunsen; Böttcher partially.

<sup>10</sup> See ver. 7.

<sup>11</sup> 1 Sam. v. 6, 9, 12, vi. 4 f.

<sup>12</sup> i. 105, iv. 67.

<sup>13</sup> Also Winer,<sup>3</sup> ii. 254 f. Knobel.

It is to be noted that we were not told up to this point that Abimelech and his wives were unwell; the style is awkward.<sup>1</sup>

וילדו—and they bore children,<sup>2</sup> or better, and they had children,<sup>3</sup> so that Abimelech is included in the subject; comp. ילד in Hos. ix. 16 and Zech. xiii. 3. The reading וילדו!<sup>4</sup> would introduce an alien element.

אמה—common in this writer for נטפחה,<sup>5</sup> although strictly<sup>6</sup> there is a distinction between the two words.

Ver. 18 explains what has just been said by the statement that Jahve had on Sarah's account *closed* every womb in the household of Abimelech. The expression is used elsewhere of incapacity to conceive,<sup>7</sup> possibly<sup>8</sup> also of incapacity on the part of a pregnant woman to bring forth. The explanation therefore, so far as it refers to the wives of Abimelech's household, is general enough to be appropriate, but it overlooks the fact that according to ver. 17 Abimelech himself was prevented by illness from sexual intercourse,<sup>9</sup> and it leaves the impression that the cause of children not being born lay only in the women. For this reason, and because of the use of the word ירהה, the verse is to be regarded as an addition by R.<sup>10</sup> In consequence of the position given to the passage by R, Sarah could not have been long at the royal court,<sup>11</sup> and the incapacity of the women to conceive could not have been so quickly noticeable. Accordingly, R desired to lay stress on their incapacity to *bear* children, and has therefore<sup>12</sup> taken עתר in this latter sense.

<sup>1</sup> See on xiv. 24.

<sup>2</sup> Ewald, § 191*b*.

<sup>3</sup> Knobel.

<sup>4</sup> Bredenkamp, *ZKWT*. 1882, p. 671 f.

<sup>5</sup> Ch. xxi. 10–13, xxx. 3, xxxi. 33; Ex. ii. 5, and frequently; see ver. 14.

<sup>6</sup> 1 Sam. xxv. 41.

<sup>7</sup> See on xvi. 2.

<sup>8</sup> Isa. lxvi. 9, xxxvii. 3.

<sup>9</sup> Ver. 6.

<sup>10</sup> Tuch, Knobel, Hupfeld, Delitzsch, Schrader, Wellhausen, Kuenen.

<sup>11</sup> See xxi. 2.

<sup>12</sup> Tuch, Knobel.

7. ISAAC'S BIRTH AND THE EXPULSION OF ISHMAEL,  
CH. XXI. 1-21; FOLLOWING *A*, *C*, AND *B*.

Sarah's long-promised son comes at last, is circumcised when eight days old in accordance with the covenant, and is named Isaac (vv. 1-7). After Isaac is weaned, Abraham, on Sarah's demand, is obliged to send from the house Ishmael and his mother, in order that the former may not inherit along with Isaac. In the wilderness, Hagar, thus cast out, has experience of God's care. Her son grows up under God's protection and settles in the desert of Paran, where he takes an Egyptian to be his wife (vv. 8-21). Thus Abraham, after God's great central promise has been fulfilled to him, must yet soon resign another possession which had become dear to him, and by this obedience testify his faith in the realisation of the divine covenant in Isaac.

In the passage, vv. 1*b* and 2*b*-5 are to be assigned to *A* "because of the reference of vv. 2*b* and 4 to ch. xvii., because of the statement of age in ver. 4, the expanded style of ver. 3, and the form מֵאֵת in ver. 5."<sup>1</sup> The account was his continuation of ch. xvii. and ch. xix. 29; but *R*, as in ch. xvii. 1, must have altered the original אֱלֹהִים of ver. 1*b* into יְהוָה. *C*, of course, also wrote an account of the birth of Isaac, but *R* has taken nothing from it except vv. 1*a*, 2*a*, 7. At least, 1*a* would be incomprehensible as an unconstrained addition of *R*'s not found in *C*, but nevertheless put alongside of ver. 1*b*; in vv. 2*b* and 7 לִזְנוֹנִי is evidence for *C*, and in ver. 7 the duplication of ver. 1*b*. Vv. 6 and 8-21, are on the other hand, in spite of their use of אֱלֹהִים, not from *A*. The apparition of the מַלְאָךְ (ver. 17), the explanation of the name Isaac (ver. 6), the whole story of the expulsion of Hagar and Ishmael, and, in particular, the age of Ishmael at the time of the expulsion (see ver. 15), conflict with *A*'s authorship. "Expressions also like *God was with him* (ver. 20), שָׁמַע בְּקוֹלָהּ (ver. 12), הַשְׁכִּים בְּבֶקֶר, (ver. 14), וַיֵּרַע בְּעֵינָיו (ver. 11 f.),

<sup>1</sup> Knobel. [For מֵאֵת see note on xvii. 17.]

יְרִיט (ver. 10), and יֵלֶךְ (vv. 8, 14 ff.), are alien to him.”<sup>1</sup> Against *C*’s authorship there is, besides the divine name used, the difference of his explanation of the name Isaac<sup>2</sup> from that in ver. 6, and, above all, the fact that vv. 9-21 are a variant of the legend regarding Hagar and Ishmael which has already been narrated by *C* in ch. xvi. Accordingly, only *B* can be the author. Evidence for him, apart from the use of the word אֱלֹהִים, is found in the locality of the incident, the Negeb,<sup>3</sup> and in the use of the rare words חֲמַת (vv. 14 f., 19), טָחָה (ver. 16), רִבְיָה קָנִיָּה (ver. 20), and of expressions such as שׁוּם לָנוּי (vv. 10, 12 f.), אָמָה (vv. 10, 12 f.), הָרִחֵק (ver. 16), and עַל-אֲדֹמָה (ver. 11). Only in ver. 14 the hand of *R* or of a later editor has interfered, and after ver. 17 something has been omitted. Beyond all doubt in *A* and *C*, Isaac was born in Mamre.

Vv. 1-7. The birth of Isaac.

Ver. 1*a* is certainly not from *A*, who writes זָכַר,<sup>4</sup> not פָּקַד; it refers back to xviii. 10 ff. and is from *C*, who, like *B*, uses פָּקַד. Ver. 1*b* is from *A*, and the reference is to xvii. 16 and 21. But *R* has put יְהוָה for אֱלֹהִים, as in xvii. 1, because two divine names in sentences otherwise of the same meaning would have produced erroneous impressions. The Sept. has Κύριος in vv. 2 and 6 also. A similar tautology between two parts of the same verse is found in Num. xxii. 3.

Ver. 2*b* is certainly from *A*. Comp. לְמוֹעֵד in xvii. 21, found, however, in xviii. 14 also. The first part of the verse, because of לֹקֵנִי, in his old age,<sup>5</sup> must be from *C*. Only if לֹקֵנִי has been introduced by *R* from ver. 7 could it belong to *A*.

Ver. 3 f. The naming and circumcision of Isaac as required by xvii. 12, 19.

הַנּוֹלֵד-לוֹ—the perf. with an article instead of a relative; but see ch. xviii. 21.

<sup>1</sup> Knobel.

<sup>3</sup> Comp. xx. 1.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. ver. 7, xxxvii. 3, xliv. 20.

<sup>2</sup> Ch. xviii. 12.

<sup>4</sup> Ch. viii. 1, xix. 29.



Ver. 5. Comp. ch. xvii. 1, 24. The accus. with the pass. as in ver. 8, iv. 18, xvii. 5.

Ver. 6 is from *B*, who explains Isaac's name, otherwise than *A*<sup>1</sup> or *C*,<sup>2</sup> by the joyful utterance of the mother on the birth of her son. God, she says, has prepared laughter for her, everyone who hears of her son will laugh *at her*<sup>3</sup> in wonder. So understood, the two parts of the verse do not exclude one another. What God has done to her is a subject for laughter to herself and to others. It is therefore unnecessary to assign 6*b* to *C* and to put it after ver. 7.<sup>4</sup>—יִצְחָק, see ch. ii. 12, 23.

Ver. 7. Another saying of Sarah's, introduced by a second וְהָאֵמֶר, is reported; it gives expression to her joyful surprise, and is in poetical form; hence the use of כִּלְל, not found elsewhere in the Pentateuch.

כִּלְל—*who ever said*,<sup>5</sup> i.e. who would ever have said,<sup>6</sup> have thought that he might say. So the Vulgate; the Septuagint<sup>7</sup> has wrongly τίς ἀναγγελεῖ.

בְּנִים—generic plural.<sup>8</sup>

לֹקֹנִי—the Sept. has ἐν τῷ ἡγήρα μου, but comparison with ver. 2 and the repetition of וְהָאֵמֶר make it probable that the verse is from *C*.

Vv. 8-21. Expulsion of Hagar and her son. It is from *B*, and parallel to the narrative of xvi. 4 ff.; in *A* nothing is found regarding an expulsion of Hagar and Ishmael.<sup>9</sup>

Ver. 8. Isaac is weaned after he has grown big.<sup>10</sup> "Children were often late in being weaned, sometimes after the age of three<sup>11</sup> or four<sup>12</sup> years. The occasion was cele-

<sup>1</sup> Ch. xvii. 17.

<sup>2</sup> Ch. xviii. 12.

<sup>3</sup> Job v. 22, xxxix. 7, xviii. 22; Ps. lix. 9, etc.

<sup>4</sup> Budde, *Urgeschichte*, p. 224; Kittel, *Geschichte*, p. 137 [*History of the Hebrews*, vol. i. p. 152].

<sup>5</sup> Comp. Num. xxiii. 10; Prov. xxx. 3 f.; Job xli. 5.

<sup>6</sup> Gen. xviii. 12; Gesenius,<sup>25</sup> 106. 4.

<sup>7</sup> So Tuch.

<sup>8</sup> As Ex. xxi. 22; 1 Sam. xvii. 43; Song ii. 9.

<sup>9</sup> See xxv. 9.

<sup>10</sup> 1 Sam. i. 23 f.

<sup>11</sup> 2 Macc. vii. 27; Mungo Park, *Travels* (1799), p. 235 (Germ. tr. 237).

<sup>12</sup> Russell, *Aleppo* (1794), i. p. 303 (Germ. tr. i. 427).

brated by Abraham as a family festival, as it still is in the East." <sup>1</sup>

וַיְנַחֵל, as in ver. 20; וַיְנַחֵל, see Gesenius; <sup>2</sup> מִשְׁתֶּה, see ch. xix. 3.

Ver. 9 f. "On this occasion Sarah sees Hagar's son מִצְחָק, *making fun*,<sup>3</sup> i.e. playing<sup>4</sup> as lively children do, skipping about and dancing;<sup>5</sup> her maternal jealousy is aroused, and she demands his expulsion and that of Hagar, that he may not inherit along with her son.<sup>6</sup> צַחֵק cannot be explained as implying that Ishmael mocked,<sup>7</sup> for the word without a preposition is not so used. Still less can we suppose that Isaac was persecuted,<sup>8</sup> or that there was a quarrel about the inheritance,<sup>9</sup> or that idol worship is implied,"<sup>10</sup> the less seeing that, according to ver. 14 ff., Ishmael was still very young. מִצְחָק is the pausal pronunciation.<sup>11</sup>

It is to be observed that neither here nor in the continuation of the narrative is Hagar's son named by his name Ishmael; see, further, the note on ver. 17.

Ver. 11. Abraham is displeased with the demand, not so much on account of Hagar, though see ver. 12, as on account of the son whom he now loved as his own.

עַל אֹרֶת—on account of the turnings or circumstances = *because of*, a rare expression, elsewhere found in B.<sup>12</sup>

Ver. 12. But what a woman's jealousy impels Sarah to

<sup>1</sup> Morier, *Second Journey through Persia*, etc., p. 107; von Schubert, *Reisen*, ii. 48. Knobel.

<sup>2</sup> 51A. 2.

<sup>3</sup> Ch. xix. 14.

<sup>4</sup> Zech. viii. 5 (Dillmann); Sept. and Græcus Venetus, παίζοντα; the Sept. adds μετὰ Ἰσαὰκ τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτῆς; Vulgate, *ludentem*.

<sup>5</sup> Ex. xxxii. 6; Judg. xvi. 29; 2 Sam. vi. 5.

<sup>6</sup> So, rightly, Ilgen, Gesenius, Tuch.

<sup>7</sup> As Kimchi, Vatablus, Piscator, Grotius, J. D. Michaelis, Schumann, von Bohlen, Baumgarten, Keil.

<sup>8</sup> Gal. iv. 29, Rosenmüller, Delitzsch.

<sup>9</sup> Ancient Jewish expositors, Fagius.

<sup>10</sup> Jonathan, Rashi, Knobel.

<sup>11</sup> As Ex. xxxii. 6; Deut. xxxii. 11; see Gesenius,<sup>25</sup> 52. 2A. 2.

<sup>12</sup> Ver. 25 (xxvi. 32), Ex. xviii. 8; Num. xii. 1, xiii. 24; Josh. xiv. 6; also in the Samaritan of Gen. xx. 3.

wish is for other reasons in accordance with God's will. Abraham is instructed by God to deny his paternal feelings and to obey his wife in all.

אֲדִי־רָע—impersonal, *let it not make you sorry*; whatever she says to you, listen to her voice.

*For in or through Isaac will seed be named to you, i.e. "in the line of Isaac those will be descended from you who will bear your name, the Abrahamites proper, who as such are the heirs of the divine promise, namely, the Israelites, who were the descendants of Abraham chosen by God."*<sup>1</sup> Ch. xvii. 19 and 21 are explanatory of this in *A*.

Ver. 13. "Ishmael, however, as Abraham's offspring, will also become a great people; comp. xvii. 19 f. in *A*. This promise makes it easier for the father to send away his son."

שִׁים לְנִי—"as in ver. 18 and xlv. 3 from the same author";<sup>2</sup> comp. Josh. vi. 18.

הָאִמָּה הַזֹּאת—*the Samaritan and Septuagint have האמה הזאת*; לְנִי גֵדוֹל; see ver. 18.

Ver. 14. "Directly on the morning after this revelation, which, therefore, took place in the night,<sup>3</sup> Abraham carries out the divine command. He takes bread and a skin of water; both, along with the boy, he hands over<sup>4</sup> to Hagar, who, being thus driven out, wanders about in the desert of Beersheba."<sup>5</sup> The last statement makes it probable that in *B*'s account Abraham was then in Beersheba; see ver. 22 ff.

הַחֵמֶת—for חֵמֶת, because of the following tone syllable, construct from חֵמֶת;<sup>6</sup> the word only occurs in this passage.<sup>7</sup>

שָׁם—perfect, in explanatory apposition to וַיֵּתֶן.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Knobel. Comp. Isa. xli. 8; Rom. ix. 7; Heb. xi. 18.

<sup>2</sup> Knobel.

<sup>3</sup> Chs. xv. 1, xx. 3, 6, xxii. 1, xxvi. 24, xxxi. 11, 24, xlv. 2.

<sup>4</sup> Ch. xviii. 7.

<sup>5</sup> See ver. 31. Knobel.

<sup>6</sup> Vv. 15, 19; Ewald, § 211b.

<sup>7</sup> See, further, Wellsted [*Travels in Arabia*, 1838, vol. i. p. 89 f.], Germ. tr. i. 66 ff.

<sup>8</sup> Ewald, § 346a.

וְאֶת־הִילָד—<sup>1</sup>a second object to the verb וַיֵּת, not to *עַל־שִׁכְמָה*, at least not in the present text. There is no reason for explaining the words *עַל־שִׁכְמָה* to be a gloss by *R*,<sup>2</sup> but *עַל־שִׁכְמָה* may well be a harmonistic correction for *וַיֵּת* *עַל־שִׁכְמָה* אֶת־הִילָד, which is the reading of the Septuagint. The transposition of *וְאֶת־הִילָד* to a place after *וַיֵּעַלָהּ*<sup>3</sup> is un-called for.

Ver. 15. The water in the skin having been exhausted, Hagar throws the boy down in the shade under a bush. Regarding *שִׁיחַ* (ch. ii. 5), the desert shrub, see on Job xxx. 4.<sup>4</sup>

The expositors make vain endeavours to transmute the *casting down* of the child into a *quickly dispose of*, in order to get rid of the representation that Hagar had before carried her son. According to *A*, Ishmael would be at least sixteen years old at the time.<sup>5</sup> But the very fact that he is tired out before his mother, apart from the *וַיִּגַּד* of ver. 20, shows that *B* regards him as younger,<sup>6</sup> as a yet tender boy who must be carried or helped along by his mother.

Ver. 16. She herself sat down *opposite him, e conspectu*,<sup>7</sup> *making a distance*<sup>8</sup> *like bowmen*, i.e. a bowshot away. *לָהּ*, as in ch. xii. 1.

*קִטְחָיו*—const. plur. partic. Pile from *קָטַח*,<sup>9</sup> not a substantive, bowshot;<sup>10</sup> it is found only here.

*רָאָהּ*—as in ch. xlv. 34; she acts thus that she may not have to *witness* the death of her child.

The second part of the verse, according to Knobel, is an insertion of the Jehovist, who alone writes *נִשָּׂא קוֹל*,<sup>11</sup> and has been added by him because he missed a mention of the

<sup>1</sup> Rashi, Ilgen, Schumann, von Bohlen, Tuch.

<sup>2</sup> Knobel.

<sup>3</sup> Olshausen.

<sup>4</sup> [Dillmann's Commentary.]

<sup>5</sup> Chs. xvi. 16, xvii. 25, xxi. 5.

<sup>6</sup> Tuch.

<sup>7</sup> Num. ii. 2; 2 Kings ii. 7; Obad. 11.

<sup>8</sup> Ewald, § 280a; comp. Ex. xxxiii. 7 in *B*, and Josh. iii. 16.

<sup>9</sup> Gesenius,<sup>25</sup> 75A. 18.

<sup>10</sup> Böttcher.

<sup>11</sup> Chs. xxvii. 38, xxix. 11.



mother's weeping, which would be natural in the circumstances. The Septuagint gives וישא את־קולָהּ ויבך; and this may have been the original reading,<sup>1</sup> which was corrected because of the (supposed) age of the ילד;<sup>2</sup> comp. ver. 14. In that case the words והשימ מננר, which are in the Septuagint text also, mean "so that she then sat, and while she so sat the boy began to cry loudly." If the Sept. reading be not adopted we must, in explaining ver. 17*a*, help ourselves out by recourse to the fact of *B*'s awkward stylism remarked in ch. xx. 17.

Ver. 17. God hears the voice of the weeping boy, and the angel of God<sup>3</sup> calls from the sky<sup>4</sup> and speaks words of encouragement to Hagar, telling her that God has heard the voice of the boy *where he is*, i.e. "the answer to the cry is on the spot where he is lying."<sup>5</sup>

Taken along with what has been remarked on ver. 10, the conjecture forces itself upon us that an explanation of the name Ishmael was here given by *B*, but that *R* omitted the sentence or sentences in which he did so in consequence of the insertion of the passage in its present context.

מלאך אלהים—"found in the Pentateuch only in the work of this author."<sup>6</sup>

Ver. 18. He instructs her to take up the boy and *make her hand fast on him*, take him by the hand, for he is not to perish, but to become a great people (comp. ver. 13).

Ver. 19. *God opened her eyes*, caused her to perceive what she had not seen before (comp. ch. iii. 5, 7). The spring which she now saw is the answer to the boy's cry, spoken of in ver. 17.

Ver. 20. *God was with the boy*, "was his attendant and protector, so that he grew up prosperously. The phrase is

<sup>1</sup> See ver. 17.

<sup>2</sup> Kautzsch-Socin.

<sup>3</sup> Comp. xvi. 7 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Ch. xxi. 11.

<sup>5</sup> Ver. 19. Knobel.

<sup>6</sup> Chs. xxviii. 12, xxxi. 11, xxxii. 2; Ex. xiv. 19. Knobel.

never found in *A*, but frequently in the other writers.”<sup>1</sup> For *ויגדל*, see ver. 8.

He dwelt in the desert south of Canaan,<sup>2</sup> and *became, as he grew up*,<sup>3</sup> an archer. This is the interpretation of the Massoretes and of Jerome also. “But the fact of growth has already been stated in the word *ויגדל*, and it is better to read *רַבֵּה קִשֶּׁת* = archer.”<sup>4</sup> *רבה* is then taken as = *רבב*<sup>5</sup> and *רמה*:<sup>6</sup> so the Septuagint and Onkelos. *Kimchi*, *Delitzsch*, and others declare for the same sense, but with the retention of the Massoretic punctuation; *a marksman, a bowman* (comp. ch. xiii. 8). “Several of the Ishmaelite tribes, *e.g.* the *Ḳedar- enes* and the *Itureans*,<sup>7</sup> distinguished themselves in the use of this weapon; their ancestor is delineated accordingly; comp. xvi. 12.”<sup>8</sup>

Ver. 21. He settled in the desert of Paran, west of Edom,<sup>9</sup> and his mother, who was herself an Egyptian,<sup>10</sup> took for him<sup>11</sup> an Egyptian wife (see note on ch. xvi. 1).

#### 8. ABRAHAM'S COVENANT WITH ABIMELECH, AND HIS CLAIM TO BEERSHEBA, CH. XXI. 22–34; ACCORDING TO *B*, THE CONCLUSION FROM *R* FOLLOWING *C*.

At this time Abimelech, influenced by Abraham's good fortune, made a covenant of friendship with the patriarch, and on the occasion Abraham recovered a well which Abimelech's people had taken from him. Hence the name of the place Beersheba' (vv. 22–31). Abraham dwelt a long time in the land of the Philistines, and worshipped Jahve at Beersheba' (vv. 32–34).

This narrative stands in no very close connection with the history of how Abraham was proved by God. It bears

<sup>1</sup> Ver. 22, ch. xxvi. 3, 24, 28, xxviii. 15, xxxi. 3, xxxv. 3, xxxix. 2 f., 21, 23, xlviii. 21; Ex. iii. 12, 18, 19, and frequently. *Knobel*.

<sup>2</sup> Ver. 14.

<sup>3</sup> Job xxxix. 4.

<sup>4</sup> *Knobel*.

<sup>5</sup> See Gen. xlix. 23.

<sup>6</sup> Comp. Jer. iv. 29; Ps. lxxviii. 9.

<sup>7</sup> See ch. xxv. 13, 15.

<sup>8</sup> *Knobel*.

<sup>9</sup> See Num. x. 12.

<sup>10</sup> Ver. 9, xvi. 1.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. xxxiv. 4, xxxviii. 6; Judg. xiv. 2.

witness to the consideration enjoyed among the natives of the country by the man of God,<sup>1</sup> and to the prudent wisdom with which he lived among them, and at the same time establishes Abraham's right to the possession of Beersheba. It has been placed in its present position because it already followed the preceding incident in *B*'s own writing. It cannot come from *A*'s hand.<sup>2</sup> The proofs of *B*'s authorship are found in the vocabulary,<sup>3</sup> and in the coincidences of its scene and personages with those of ch. xx., as well as in the highly peculiar description of the conclusion of the covenant. In view of ch. xxvi. 27 ff. the narrative cannot belong to *C*. Only ver. 32 f. may be taken to be an insertion from *C*, and ver. 34 to be added by *R* as a preparation for ch. xxii.

Ver. 22. "Abimelech<sup>4</sup> has a special leader for his fighting men, and is thus more powerful than Abraham (ch. xiv. 14), who is never called מֶלֶךְ. But he thinks a treaty with the patriarch advisable, seeing that God is with Abraham in all his undertakings,<sup>5</sup> and makes him continually stronger"<sup>6</sup> (comp. ch. xiv. 13).

וּפִיכֹל—the name only occurs again in ch. xxvi. 26. Abimelech and Phikhol,<sup>7</sup> i.e. *along with*, or in the presence of, Phikhol. Phikhol is present as witness, because the intention is to make a treaty. Here and in ver. 32, according to the Septuagint, אֵהוּת מֵרַעְהוּ was also present, as in ch. xxvi. 26.

Ver. 23. Abraham is asked to take an oath.

הֵנָּה—*here*, strictly *hither*,<sup>8</sup> with a reference to Beersheba, the name of which the author means to explain,<sup>9</sup> and the scene of the occurrence (comp. ver. 14).

אִם—see ch. xiv. 23; *that you will not lie to me nor to*

<sup>1</sup> Comp. ch. xiv.

<sup>2</sup> Comp. e.g. *do kindness* (ver. 23) בְּרִית בְּרִית (vv. 27, 32), בַּעְבוֹר (ver. 30), בְּלָתִי (ver. 26), הֵנָּה (ver. 23).

<sup>3</sup> Elohim (ver. 22), *God is with him* (ver. 22), especially עַל אֹדֶת (ver. 25), and the rare כִּן וְנָכַר (ver. 23).

<sup>4</sup> Ch. xx. 2.

<sup>5</sup> Ver. 20.

<sup>6</sup> Knobel.

<sup>7</sup> [Dill., consistently, writes Abimelekh.]

<sup>8</sup> Ch. xv. 16.

<sup>9</sup> Knobel.

*my sons and scions*, will not be false to me or my descendants, who expect kindness from you. Their relationship was already friendly, it was only to be formally secured for the future.<sup>1</sup> For the kindness already rendered, see xx. 15.

נִזְכָּר—*alliteration*, as in xviii. 27; the phrase is also found in Job xviii. 19; Isa. xiv. 22.

Ver. 24 f. "The peace-loving and upright patriarch is at once ready to accede to the proposal, but wishes first that they should be agreed regarding a well which he had dug, and which Abimelech's servants had taken from him,<sup>2</sup> so that afterwards there should be no disturbance of their compact of friendship by any strife."<sup>3</sup>

אֲנִי אֶשָּׁבַע—not "I swear herewith," but, "I (on my part) will swear."

וְהוֹכַח—not *ויוכח*, because this calling of Abimelech to account comes before the actual oath; for the verb, see xx. 16.

בְּאֵר הַמַּיִם—for the article, comp. xvi. 7.

עַל אֲדוּת—see note, ver. 11.

Ver. 26. Abimelech excuses himself on the score of ignorance. What follows implies that he gives back the well.

Ver. 27. "Abraham gives presents, as was customary when treaties were made,<sup>4</sup> in order that he may dwell in Gerar undisturbed, and be under the protection of Abimelech."

Ver. 28. But, besides, he placed apart separately *the* seven lambs, *i.e.* those used when the oath was taken. אֶת שִׁבְעַת הַצֹּאן, not "seven lambs of the flock,"<sup>5</sup> for אֶת marks determination. Nor need we assume that there is a reference to something omitted in the working together of two accounts.<sup>6</sup> See on בְּאֵר הַמַּיִם in ver. 25.

Ver. 29. Abraham is asked what these are, *i.e.* what their meaning is.

<sup>1</sup> Knobel.

<sup>2</sup> See chs. xiii. 7, xxvi. 15 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Knobel.

<sup>4</sup> Isa. xxx. 6, xxxix. 1; 1 Kings xv. 19.

<sup>5</sup> Delitzsch.

<sup>6</sup> Kautzsch-Socin.



הֵנָּה—as in xxv. 16, Zech. i. 9, iv. 5, and not meaning *here*.

כְּבִישָׁת—without article,<sup>1</sup> but the Samaritan has הכְּבִישָׁת here and in ver. 30.

Ver. 30. He explains, *in order that it may be a witness to me that I have dug this well*. “By his acceptance of the gift, Abimelech will declare that Abraham is its rightful possessor.”<sup>2</sup> The feminine הִיא hardly refers to כְּבִישָׁת,<sup>3</sup> but to the whole act.<sup>4</sup>

לְבִדְהָ and לְבִדְהָ—see Gesenius,<sup>25</sup> 91. 1, and comp. ch. xlii. 36.

Ver. 31. From this occurrence the place received its name *well of the seven*, because there both pledged themselves, or swore, *by seven things*. We here obtain a glimpse of one of the oldest ways of solemnly affirming the sincerity of one's pledge,<sup>5</sup> and at the same time a glimpse into the origin of the word נִשְׁבַּע. “A parallel is found in Herodotus,<sup>6</sup> where we are told that the Arabs took as their witnesses seven stones, which lay between the contracting parties, and were smeared with their blood.” There is a similar ceremony in the *Iliad*;<sup>7</sup> “according to Pausanias,<sup>8</sup> Tyndareus made Helen's wooers swear to protect her over the divided body of a horse slain in sacrifice; seven pillars were erected on the spot in memory of the act.”<sup>9</sup>

The government of a numeral by a construct was probably once usual in Canaanite but not in Hebrew.<sup>10</sup> This explains all the more naturally why, as is shown by בִּי שֶׁם וְנִי, the Hebrews found in the word בְּאֵר שֶׁבַע not so much the numeral 7 as the idea of oath, and that although שֶׁבַע does not occur

<sup>1</sup> Gesenius,<sup>25</sup> 126. 5A. 1a; comp. Num. xi. 25.

<sup>2</sup> Knobel. Comp. xx. 16, and Ewald, *Alterthümer*,<sup>3</sup> 24 [*Antiquities*, p. 18].

<sup>3</sup> On the principle explained in Gesenius,<sup>25</sup> 145. 4.

<sup>4</sup> Comp. Job iv. 5; Micah i. 9, etc.

<sup>5</sup> On the same subject, see notes on ch. xv. 9.

<sup>6</sup> Ch. iii. 8.

<sup>7</sup> xix. 243 ff.

<sup>8</sup> iii. 20. 9.

<sup>9</sup> Knobel. See, further, Ewald, *Alterthümer*,<sup>3</sup> 24 [*Antiquities*, p. 18].

<sup>10</sup> Ewald, § 293b; *Geschichte*,<sup>3</sup> i. 488, 494 [*History*, vol. i. pp. 340, 344].

in the Old Testament in the sense of *שֶׁבַע*. It is by no means clear that the text contains a double derivation of the name, from *שֶׁבַע* and *שֶׁבַע*; <sup>1</sup> and *C*, to whom alone the doublet might be due, is excluded by ch. xxvi. 33 from being the author of an explanation here. "Ch. xxvi. 33 contains another view as to the origin of the name."

"Beersheba', according to the *Onomasticon*, lay 20 Roman miles south of Hebron. According to Robinson,<sup>2</sup> the modern Bir es-Seba', interpreted as 'the lion well,'<sup>3</sup> is twelve hours from Hebron. There are still ruins there, in the neighbourhood of which are two wells (cisterus) with excellent water."<sup>4</sup>

Vv. 32-34. See general remarks above. Ver. 32*a* is not the original continuation of 31*b*, and still dependent on *בִּי*.<sup>5</sup> The words *בְּבֵאֵר שֶׁבַע* prevent our supposing so. It appears rather to have been inserted from *C* by *R*, as ver. 33 certainly was. *C*, in that case, also recounted a stay of Abraham's in Beersheba' and a covenant with Abimelech, but without here, thus early, explaining the origin of the name of the place (comp. ch. xii. 8 with xxviii. 19). It is in any case certain that ver. 32*b* does not belong to *B*, for he does not anywhere speak of Abimelech's coming to where Abraham was,<sup>6</sup> and Abimelech is king of Gerar in his narrative,<sup>7</sup> and not king of the Philistines, as in *C*.<sup>8</sup> Ver. 33 is from *C*, as is indicated by the words *וַיִּקְרָא בְּשֵׁם יְהוָה*.<sup>9</sup> At most, the first clause of the verse may have stood in *B*.<sup>10</sup>

"Near Beersheba' a famous tamarisk tree seems to have stood. According to the legend, it was planted by Abraham, who had lived there. In later times there existed a sanctuary and a priesthood in Beersheba'.<sup>11</sup> Legend, therefore made it a place consecrated by the patriarchs as a place of

<sup>1</sup> Kautzsch-Socin.

<sup>2</sup> *Palestine*,<sup>3</sup> ii. 568.

<sup>3</sup> But see *ZDMG*. xxii. 177 [refer. by Dillmann].

<sup>4</sup> See Robinson, *Palestine*,<sup>3</sup> i. 204; Russegger, *Reisen*, iii. 71; Seetzen, iii. 31 f.

<sup>5</sup> Wellhausen.

<sup>6</sup> Ver. 22.

<sup>7</sup> Ch. xx.

<sup>8</sup> Ch. xxvi. 8 ff.

<sup>9</sup> See ch. iv. 26.

<sup>10</sup> Wellhausen, *JBDTh*. xxi. 408.

<sup>11</sup> Amos v. 5, viii. 14.

worship.”<sup>1</sup> The identity of this Beersheba with that mentioned by Amos has been disputed.<sup>2</sup>

תְּמָרָה—*tamarisk*.<sup>3</sup> The renderings ἄρουρα (Sept.<sup>4</sup>), δένδρῶν (Aquila), and φυτεία (Sym. Onkelos, Pesh.) seem due to the same intentional avoidance of the mention of a sacred tree, as in the translation מִיֶּשֶׁרָה for אֱלֹהִים (see ch. xii. 6).

אֱלֹהִים—see notes on chs. xvii. 1 and xiv. 18. The name is quite appropriate here, where the context concerns an oath and contract; but it also vividly reminds one, like אֱלֹהִים in ch. xiv. 18, of the Canaanite Κρόνος,<sup>5</sup> Χρόνος ἀγήρατος.<sup>6</sup>

Ver. 34. Abraham dwells for a long time in the land of the Philistines. This is remarked because in ch. xxii. 6 Isaac is already fairly grown up.

Vv. 33 and 34 are hardly to be transposed,<sup>7</sup> for although אַבְרָהָם would be more in place at the beginning than in the following verse, ver. 33 attaches itself to ver. 32 in its mention of locality, and not to ver. 34. The Septuagint, Samaritan, Peshitta, and Vulgate have an אַבְרָהָם after וַיֵּטֶע (as also in ver. 30 after וַיֹּאמֶר).

## 9. THE SACRIFICE OF ISAAC, CH. XXII. 1—19;

FOLLOWING *B* AND *R*.

Isaac had now grown to be a lad when Abraham receives from God a command regarding him. The boy is his only son, yet he is told to offer him to God in sacrifice. Obedient and devoted, he makes the necessary preparations, and betakes himself to the appointed place of sacrifice, resolved to satisfy even this extreme demand. His hand is even raised to slay

<sup>1</sup> Comp. xxvi. 25, xlvi. 1; see on ch. xii. 7. Knobel.

<sup>2</sup> *E.g.* by Halévy, *REJ.* 1885, No. xxi. p. 75 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Löw, *Aramäische Pflanzennamen*, p. 65 f.; Mordtmann-Müller, *Sabäische Denkmäler*, p. 65.

<sup>4</sup> Also 1 Sam. xxii. 6, xxxi. 13.

<sup>5</sup> Eusebius, *Præpar. Evangelica*, i. 10. 13 ff.

<sup>6</sup> Damascius, *De Principiis*, 123 (p. 381 f. ed. Kopp).

<sup>7</sup> Hupfeld, *Quellen der Genesis*, p. 148.

his son when he hears the divine voice, clear and distinct, saying that God does not desire the completion of the sacrifice, but is satisfied with the proved willingness of the patriarch to surrender even his dearest to Him. The animal which is to be substituted in his son's place stands there ready by Divine Providence, and is sacrificed for him. The reward of his perfected obedience and faith is a solemn renewal of all the divine promises hitherto given him. The spot where this all took place was Moriah. By it (1) Abraham's faith is triumphantly established in the face of the most severe test of all; (2) his son is a second time granted to his faith, and preserved as the foundation-stone in the building of the Church of God; (3) above all, in contradistinction to Canaanite practice, the knowledge that God does not desire human sacrifices is acquired and secured for all time to come.

The memory that, in the matter of child sacrifice, the Hebrews once stood on a level with the other Semites and Canaanites, distinctly shines through the narrative. But it is equally clear that a higher faith must long have been common property in the Israelitish community, before it could reflect itself in such a story in the legends regarding Abraham. Human sacrifice, and especially child sacrifice, was widely spread among the Canaanites,<sup>1</sup> "Phoenicians,"<sup>2</sup> Carthaginians,<sup>3</sup> and Egyptians,<sup>4</sup> and among the Moabites<sup>5</sup> and Ammonites, who were akin to Israel and by these sacrifices honoured Moloch;<sup>6</sup> it was also practised among Aramean and Arabian peoples."<sup>7</sup> The legal enactments

<sup>1</sup> "2 Kings xvi. 3; Ps. cvi. 37 f."

<sup>2</sup> Porphyry, *De Abstinencia*, ii. 56; Eusebius, *Preparatio Evangelica*, i. 10, and *De Laudibus Constantini*, xiii. 4.

<sup>3</sup> Diodorus, xx. 14; Plutarch, *De Superstitione*, 12; Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* xxxvi. § 39; Silius Italicus, iv. 767 ff.; Justin, xviii. 6, xix. 1; Lactantius, *Institt.* i. 21.

<sup>4</sup> Diodorus, i. 88; Plutarch, *De Iside*, 73.

<sup>5</sup> 2 Kings iii. 27.

<sup>6</sup> Lev. xviii. 21, xx. 2 ff.

<sup>7</sup> 2 Kings xvii. 31; Lucian, *De dea Syria*, 58; Porphyry, *loc. cit.*; Eusebius, *Prepar. Evang.* iv. 16. Knobel. See also Wellhausen, *Skizzen*, iii. 37, 39, 112 f.



against the practice,<sup>1</sup> and Judges, ch. xi., show that the Israelites of even post-Mosaic times had not entirely shaken off such practices. Child sacrifice continually threatened to re-establish itself, being aided in especial by the recognised sanctity attaching to a firstborn;<sup>2</sup> and it again gained wider currency from the time of Ahaz.<sup>3</sup> It was, without doubt, of the highest importance in the struggle with this error which it was so difficult to eradicate, that the writers of the earliest history of Israel clearly taught in Abraham's life, and by his example, in what sense it is that God desires the sacrifice even of one's dearest child, and in what sense He does not; and also that they proved that the full truth on the matter in dispute had long ago been attained.

The narrative was originally composed by *B*<sup>4</sup> and not by *C*,<sup>5</sup> although much in the language reminds us of the latter. The proofs are the prevailing use of אֱלֹהִים or הָאֱלֹהִים, the revelation in a nocturnal vision (ver. 1),<sup>6</sup> the calls and replies (vv. 1, 11),<sup>7</sup> in particular, the angel's calling from the sky (ver. 11),<sup>8</sup> the use of כֹּה in a local sense (ver. 5), and the result of a comparison of ver. 13 with ch. xxi. 19. But vv. 15–18, to begin with, are not from *B*, seeing that the second angelic revelation which they contain is appended in the manner of an afterthought, instead of continuing ver. 12,<sup>9</sup> and connects itself in expression and thought with *C*'s writing. Similarly also הַמִּצְיָה, in ver. 2, the related ver. 14, and the name יְהוָה in ver. 11. It is certain, therefore, that the text of *B* has undergone revision, partly that Moriah might be introduced as the scene of the sacrifice (vv. 2, 14), partly that this greatest act of faith on Abraham's part might

<sup>1</sup> Lev. xviii. 21, xx. 2 ff.; Deut. xii. 31.

<sup>2</sup> Comp. Ezek. xx. 26 with Ex. xxii. 28, xiii. 12, and Micah vi. 7.

<sup>3</sup> 2 Kings xvi. 3, xvii. 17, xxi. 6, xxiii. 10; Ps. cvi. 37 f.; Jer. vii. 31, xix. 5, xxxii. 35; Ezek. xvi. 20 f.

<sup>4</sup> Hupfeld, Schrader, Kayser, Wellhausen, Kuenen, *Onderzoek*,<sup>2</sup> i. 141, 247; Kittel, Delitzsch,<sup>5</sup> Kautzsch-Socin.

<sup>5</sup> Knobel, Böhrmer.

<sup>6</sup> Comp. xx. 3, xxi. 12.

<sup>7</sup> Ch. xlvi. 2.

<sup>8</sup> Ch. xxi. 17.

<sup>9</sup> Hitzig, *Begriff der Kritik*, p. 167 f.

be crowned by a ceremonious repetition of all the promises (vv. 15–18). *C* himself cannot have carried out this revision, partly because vv. 15–18 are added in too external a fashion, partly because he would not have left the divine name אֱלֹהִים unchanged. We must rather recognise the hand of *R*, to whom the expressions עֵקֶב אֲשֶׁר, יַעַן אֲשֶׁר, נֶאֱמַר יְהוָה, בִּי נִשְׁבַּעְתִּי, הַחֲבֵרֶךְ, are most easily attributed. It is indeed in itself possible that *C* should have contained a similar narrative, and that *R* should have inserted from it the parts in question.<sup>1</sup> But we cannot see why, in that case, he should not rather have adopted the whole of *C*'s narrative in place of that of *B*, and so return to the conclusion that these are additions of the redactor himself.

For the various views of earlier scholars regarding the narrative, see Schumann in Winer's *Realwörterbuch*,<sup>2</sup> and Ewald<sup>3</sup> and Baudissin<sup>4</sup> regarding the remarkable and much-quoted account of Sanchuniathon, which relates how Kronos Israel sacrificed his only son Yeûd, whom the nymph Anobret had borne him.<sup>5</sup>

Ver. 1. *After these things*—see note on ch. xv. 1.

וַיֹּאמֶר—circumstantial clause introductory to וַיִּצְטָרֵק, *when God tempted Abraham, He said*. נִסָּה,<sup>6</sup> “put to the test in order to see (ver. 12) whether he would obey Him to the uttermost”;<sup>7</sup> it is a word never found in *A*.

The vision is by night (ver. 3), as in xxi. 12 ff. In the Septuagint God calls Ἀβραάμ Ἀβραάμ, as in the Hebrew of ver. 11.

Ver. 2. The severity of the demand is indicated by the emphatic accumulation of the three accusatives. *Thine only one*, who still remains to you after the dismissal of Ishmael,<sup>8</sup> and has the whole of your paternal love.<sup>9</sup>

לְךָ—see ch. xii. 1.

<sup>1</sup> Delitzsch,<sup>5</sup> [*New Commentary*, ii. p. 84]; Kittel, *Geschichte*, p. 138 [*History*, vol. i. p. 152].

<sup>2</sup> I. 13 f.

<sup>3</sup> *Geschichte*,<sup>3</sup> i. 517 f. [*History*, i. p. 361].

<sup>4</sup> *Studien*, ii. 154 f.

<sup>5</sup> Eusebius, *Præpar. Evangel.* i. 10. 29 f.

<sup>6</sup> Ex. xv. 25, xvi. 4, xx. 20.

<sup>7</sup> Knobel.

<sup>8</sup> Ch. xxi. 14 ff.

<sup>9</sup> Knobel.

*Land of Moriah*—i.e. neighbourhood of Moriah.<sup>1</sup> הַמִּרְיָה, with article, is the name of the temple hill in Jerusalem,<sup>2</sup> from the time of Solomon the most important place of worship in the country. In spite of the objections raised,<sup>3</sup> this is the place we must suppose to be intended here, for no other place of the name is found, and Abraham's greatest deed of faith was best localised in a sacred spot of importance. Besides, the indications of ver. 14 point to it at least not less plainly than the play on the word in 2 Chron. iii. 1.<sup>4</sup> Moreh, beside Shechem,<sup>5</sup> mentioned in ch. xii. 6, is too unknown in Israelitish history, and is too far from Beersheba to be reached from it so soon as by the third day (ver. 4).<sup>6</sup> There are, indeed, difficulties in the identification. Moriah, as a name for the temple hill, even though it be not an invention of the Chronicler suggested by this passage,<sup>7</sup> was never in common use. It was all the less allowable, then, to name the whole district after it, and speak of אֶרֶץ הַמִּרְיָה, and then by inversion from this to designate Moriah itself as "one of the hills of that region." But no other place of the name is known, and the translations of the word as a common noun by the Septuagint,<sup>8</sup> Aquila,<sup>9</sup> and Symmachus,<sup>10</sup> give no tolerable sense even if the consonants of the text permitted of them. We may therefore assume that some other word stood in B's original text, though, if so, certainly not אֶרֶץ הַמִּרְיָה, i.e. Shechem (xxxiii. 19);<sup>11</sup> for although the Samaritans

<sup>1</sup> Comp. Num. xxxii. 1; Josh. viii. 1, x. 41.

<sup>2</sup> 2 Chron. iii. 1 (Josephus, *Antiquities*, i. 13. 1 f.); for the name see Bertheau on 2 Chron. iii.

<sup>3</sup> J. D. Michaelis, *Supplementa ad Lexica Hebraica*, 1551 ff.; Jänisch trans. of Hamelsveld, *Bibl. Geog.* ii. 40 f.

<sup>4</sup> Knobel, Delitzsch, Ewald, *Geschichte*,<sup>3</sup> i. 476, iii. 313 [*History of Israel*, i. p. 332, iii. p. 230, note 4].

<sup>5</sup> Preferred by Bleek, *St. Kr.* 1831, p. 520 ff., and Tuch.

<sup>6</sup> According to Robinson (*Itineraries*, in *Palestine*<sup>3</sup>), about thirty-five hours.

<sup>7</sup> Wellhausen, *JBDTh.* xxi. 409; Baudissin, *Studien*, ii. 252.

<sup>8</sup> Εἰς τὴν γῆν τῆς ὑψηλότητος; comp. its translation of מִוְרָה in ch. xii. 6, and the מְוִרָאָה of the Samaritan.

<sup>9</sup> τὴν καταφανῆ.

<sup>10</sup> τῆς ὀπτασίας.

<sup>11</sup> Wellhausen.

take Gerizim to be Moriah,<sup>1</sup> it is doubtless only by having brought ch. xii. 6 into consideration. ארץ האמרי, the reading of the Peshitta, is more likely.<sup>2</sup>

אִשֶּׁר אָמַר אֵלַי—as in xxvi. 2; comp. xii. 1.

Ver. 3. Abraham forthwith obeys; straightway in the morning he sets off with Isaac and two servants. "He takes the ass to carry the wood (ver. 6) and other sacrificial requirements and provisions. The author does not say that Abraham was repelled by the terrible character of the sacrifice as such. Human sacrifices were usual among the people in the midst of whom Abraham lived."<sup>3</sup>

It is to be remarked that the words 'אִשֶּׁר אָמַר וְנִ' do not very well harmonise with 'אִשֶּׁר אָמַר אֵ' in ver. 2, probably because the text has been altered there.

Ver. 4. By the third day he sees the spot from a distance. The Septuagint wrongly takes "on the third day" with the וַיֵּלֶךְ of ver. 3. For מָקוֹם see ch. xii. 6. According to the *Onomasticon*,<sup>4</sup> the distance from Beersheba' by Hebron to Jerusalem amounted to 42 Roman miles, about seventeen hours' journey, according to Robinson somewhat more.<sup>5</sup>

Ver. 5. Some distance from the place he leaves the servants and the ass behind, saying that he and the boy wish to pray there alone and undisturbed, and would come back again. "An untrue statement, as in xii. 30 and xx. 12."<sup>6</sup> But there may lie in it the unexpressed hope that the heavy task may still somehow be remitted to him; comp. ver. 7.

עַד-כֵּה—so far, i.e., in antithesis to כֵּה, to that spot.<sup>7</sup>

Ver. 6. "The two continue their way alone. Isaac, already a fairly grown boy,<sup>8</sup> carries the wood, Abraham, a knife and the fire, i.e. a glowing ember which will kindle the fire."

<sup>1</sup> ZDPV. vi. 198, and vii. 133.

<sup>2</sup> But see Geiger, *Urschrift*, p. 278.

<sup>3</sup> Knobel.

<sup>4</sup> See Bersabee and Arboch.

<sup>5</sup> See ch. xxi. 31. Knobel.

<sup>6</sup> Knobel.

<sup>7</sup> Comp. xxxi. 37; Ex. ii. 12; Num. xxiii. 15 (in B).

<sup>8</sup> Ch. xxi. 34.



Ver. 7 f. "Isaac has seen his father offer sacrifice before now, so he asks about the animal to be offered."

יִרְאֶה—"look out, provide,<sup>1</sup> or see to."<sup>2</sup> See, further, ver. 14. In this word also<sup>3</sup> there lies a quiet hope that God may yet determine otherwise. "The author beautifully pictures the patriarch maintaining himself unshaken by the talk of the innocent boy, his only and much loved son. His obedience to God triumphs over the paternal feeling of his heart. The expressions 'my father,' 'my son,' bring this into prominence."

"The second יִצְחָק in ver. 7 only repeats the first."<sup>4</sup>

Vv. 9-11. Having reached the place he makes the necessary preparations. The deed is practically accomplished when Abraham stretches out his hand to slay his son. In spirit he has severed himself even from his dearest for the love of God. God does not wish more. The angel calls down from the sky,<sup>5</sup> and stays him. The repetition of the word Abraham,<sup>6</sup> expresses urgency, as in ch. xlv. 2 and Ex. iii. 4, from the same author; so in 1 Sam. iii. 10. It is R who names the angel מִלֹּאךְ יְהוָה for מִלֹּאךְ אֱלֹהִים, because he wishes to prepare for ver. 14 f.

Ver. 12. The angel speaks in God's name.<sup>7</sup> God is satisfied with Abraham's readiness to obey, with the disposition he has manifested; his perfect piety is demonstrated.<sup>8</sup> God does not require human sacrifice.

Ver. 13 is attributed to C by Kittel,<sup>9</sup> because of the expression וִירָא וְהִנֵּה; but it is a common phrase, and is found in B in ch. xl. 6 and Ex. iii. 2 as well as here.

An animal victim is found for the sacrifice instead of the human being. Abraham sees it behind him on looking up. *Behold a ram was held*<sup>10</sup> *by its horns in the thicket*

<sup>1</sup> Ch. xli. 33; 1 Sam. xvi. 1, 17.

<sup>2</sup> Ch. xxxix. 23.

<sup>3</sup> Comp. ver. 5.

<sup>4</sup> Knobel.

<sup>5</sup> As xxi. 17.

<sup>6</sup> Comp. ver. 1, Sept.

<sup>7</sup> As xvi. 10, xxi. 18; cf. note on Ex. iii. 2 [Dillmann, Com.].

<sup>8</sup> Comp. ver. 1. <sup>9</sup> *Geschichte*, p. 138 [*History*, vol. i. p. 152].

<sup>10</sup> Another reading is נֶחֱזֶה, *held*.

*behind*,<sup>1</sup> i.e. there was found, by God's arranging, a ram which had caught itself by its crooked horns in the bushes at Abraham's back. For similar divine aid comp. ch. xxi. 19. "In like manner by divine providence a stag was substituted as victim in the place of Iphigenia, whom her father Agamemnon wished to sacrifice in Aulis."<sup>2</sup> The reading אֵיל, proposed for this passage also,<sup>3</sup> would not harmonise with Israelitish sacrificial customs.

אֵהר—not temporal, whether in the sense of *postea* taken with וַיֵּשֶׁב,<sup>4</sup> or in the sense of *postquam*,<sup>5</sup> but local. The reading אֵהר<sup>6</sup> is preferred by some,<sup>8</sup> as supported by better authority. But it adds nothing to the sense, and is, we may hold, a secondary reading from אֵהר; אֵהר itself, at the same time, may be an ancient gloss to explain why Abraham only now noticed the ram. The reading אֵהר, another,<sup>9</sup> was certainly never intended.

Ver. 14. Abraham names the spot *Jahve sees*. יֵרָאֶה is used in the sense it bears in ver. 8, and is punctuated as it is with reference to that verse. So also the Septuagint, but in view of what follows we should rather expect יֵרָאֶה יְהוָה. The passage continues, *so that*<sup>10</sup> *it is said to-day*, the expression is a current one,<sup>11</sup> *on the hill where*<sup>12</sup> *Jahve is seen*. Other translations<sup>13</sup> are incorrect. Both this and the first part of the verse are allusions to הַמְרִיָּה in ver. 2, but they do not

<sup>1</sup> Ps. lxviii. 26.

<sup>2</sup> Euripides, *Iphigenia in Aulis*, 1591 ff. Knobel.

<sup>3</sup> Ganneau in *JA.* vii. 11, 510.

<sup>4</sup> Saadia, Rashi, Albarbanel, Rosenmüller.

<sup>5</sup> Ibn Ezra, Kimchi, Schumann.

<sup>6</sup> Samarit. Sept. Book of Jubilees, Targg. Pesh. Graecus Venetus, and a number of Hebrew MSS. In most of the Firkowitsch MSS. which have it, it is forged; see Harkavy-Strack, *Catalogue*, p. iii.

<sup>7</sup> Ex. xxix. 3; 1 Sam. i. 1, and elsewhere.

<sup>8</sup> J. D. Michaelis, Olshausen, Ewald, Kautzsch-Socin.

<sup>9</sup> Geiger, *Urschrift*, p. 244.

<sup>10</sup> Ch. xiii. 16.

<sup>11</sup> See on ch. x. 9.

<sup>12</sup> Ewald, § 332d.

<sup>13</sup> *On the hill of Jahve he appears* (Massorettes), ἐν τῇ ὄρει Κύριος ὡφθῆναι (Sept.; quite impossible), *on the hill of Jahve there is seeing*, i.e. providence is exercised (Knobel, there is no instance of the Niph. in this sense).

harmonise unless we read יֵרָאֶה in the second sentence, with the Vulgate, or יֵרָאֶה in the first. Two explanations of the name are, in fact, given, though they are not mutually exclusive, as seeing may be coincident with appearing.

If ver. 14*a*, in its original form, was a continuation of the preceding narrative of *B*, it had אֱלֹהִים for יְהוָה, and the allusion was at least not to Moriah but to some other place. Even after the recasting of the passage by *R*, Moriah is no more than *alluded* to. For good reasons it is not said that the name הַמְּרִיָּה was given at this time. The article in the name is worthy of notice (ver. 2); the Massoretes have taken great care to avoid it by the reading אֶל-אֶרְצָה מְרִיָּה.

Vv. 15–18. Regarding the authorship, see preliminary remarks above.—Jahve, by His angel, calls from the sky a second time,<sup>1</sup> in order solemnly to repeat all the previous promises<sup>2</sup> to the patriarch now that he has been so decisively approved. On this occasion they are confirmed by *an oath by Jahve Himself*. Such an oath occurs again in the Pentateuch only in Ex. xxxii. 17, which is from *C* or *R*, though Num. xiv. 28 practically amounts to the same. Gen. xv. 9 ff. is also an oath, but of a different kind; *C*, *D*, and *R* often attribute to God the simple taking of an oath.<sup>3</sup> Here even the prophetic נֶאֱמַר-יְהוָה is ventured on as in Num. xiv. 28.

בִּי—used to introduce the actual words of the oath, resumed in ver. 17 after the causal clause.

יֵעַן אִשֶּׁר—in the Hexateuch only in Deut. i. 36; Josh. xiv. 14, besides this passage.

עָקֵב אִשֶּׁר—in xxv. 6 also. This and יֵעַן אִשֶּׁר, as well as the infinitives absolute בָּרַךְ and הִרְבָּה,<sup>4</sup> are for the sake of solemnity and emphasis.

*Multiply thy seed*, as xii. 2, xvi. 10; *as the stars*, xv. 5; *as the sand*, xxxii. 13; Josh. xi. 4.

<sup>1</sup> Comp. עוֹר in ch. xxxv. 9.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. especially xii. 2 f.

<sup>3</sup> E.g. xxiv. 7, xxvi. 3, l. 24; Ex. xiii. 5, 11, xxxiii. 1, and frequently.

<sup>4</sup> See ch. iii. 16.

*Shall take possession of the door of his enemies—conquer and occupy their cities; found elsewhere in the Pentateuch only in ch. xxiv. 60, from C.*

Ver. 18. Comp. ch. xii. 3. The Hithpael הִתְכַּבֵּר is to be noted; it also occurs in xxvi. 4, which has been recast by R.

Ver. 19 due to B. They return together to Beersheba', where Abraham remains; comp. ch. xxi. 33.

C. CLOSING PASSAGES OF ABRAHAM'S HISTORY,  
CHS. XXII. 20–XXV. 18.

1. REGARDING THE FAMILY OF NAḤOR, CH. XXII. 20–24;  
ACCORDING TO C AND R.

The series of sections still remaining are concerned with the domestic affairs of the patriarch, and various incidents of his family history. They are opened by a statement regarding the family of Naḥor. It is loosely connected with what precedes,<sup>1</sup> and is introduced as news brought to Abraham from Naḥor's house regarding twelve sons borne to him by two wives. The manner of introduction is not that of A, who is in the habit of writing אֵלֶּה תּוֹלַדֶּת. It is true that "the formally drawn out genealogies of the Book of Genesis" are, as a rule, from A,<sup>2</sup> and that the mention of Bethuel later in A's narrative, xxv. 20, might lead us to conjecture a previous preparatory notice. But these reasons are not sufficient to appropriate this list here to A.<sup>3</sup> It cannot be established that A in Genesis derived from Terah exactly seventy Hebrew peoples,<sup>4</sup> so that we can draw no conclusion as to the authorship of this passage from such a contention. We must reflect that A speaks of Rebecca as the daughter of Bethuel the *Aramæan* resident in *Paddan Aram*,<sup>5</sup> and

<sup>1</sup> Cf. xv. 1, xxii. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Knobel.

<sup>3</sup> Tuch, Knobel, Nöldeke.

<sup>4</sup> Nöldeke, *Untersuchungen*, 16 f., 23.

<sup>5</sup> Ch. xxv. 20; cf. xxii. 20 ff.



similarly always only of a residence of Jacob in Paddan Aram.<sup>1</sup> If, then, *A* wrote anything regarding Bethuel's relationship to Abraham it was elsewhere than here and different in character.<sup>2</sup> The further contents of the genealogy also are not such as can be from *A*, for he has previously<sup>3</sup> given עֵרִין and אֶרֶם quite a different place in his genealogies. On the other hand, the section is indispensable for *C* as an introduction to ch. xxiv.,<sup>4</sup> and seeing יֵלֶךְ in ver. 23 and נִם הוּא in ver. 20 support the view that he is author, we may attribute it to him.<sup>5</sup> There is nothing pointing to *B* as the author;<sup>6</sup> on the contrary, he names Laban simply the Aramæan,<sup>7</sup> whereas ver. 21 speaks of אֲבִי אֶרֶם. But neither can the whole passage be from *C*, for in ch. xxix. 5, which is *C*'s, Laban is called the son of Nahor; and though Bethuel is named in ch. xxiv. 15, 24, 47, and 50, the text there suggests the conjecture<sup>8</sup> that it is a later insertion. In that case at least ver. 23a in this passage, וּבְתוֹאֵל יֵלֶךְ אֶת־רַבְקָה, is due to an adjustment with ch. xxv. 20, which is *A*'s, and has replaced an original וְהָאֵלֶּה לְבָן וְהָאֵלֶּה רַבְקָה. וּפִילִגְשׁוּ in ver. 24<sup>9</sup> also points to a remodelling of the passage (by *R*), just as the bringing up of the number of Nahor's sons to the round figure twelve betrays the influence of *A*.<sup>10</sup> We conclude accordingly that the section is from *C*, but revised by *R* on the basis of other information.

Ver. 20. For מְלִכָּה see ch. xi. 29. נִם הוּא, found in ver. 24, chs. iv. 4, 22, 26, x. 21, xix. 38.

Ver. 21. The peoples mentioned can be identified only in part.

עֵרִין—see ch. x. 23. The name is here perhaps taken in

<sup>1</sup> Ch. xxxi. 18, xxxiii. 18, xxxv. 9, 26.

<sup>2</sup> See also vol. i. p. 404 f.

<sup>3</sup> Ch. x. 22 f.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. especially xxiv. 4, 10, 24 ff.

<sup>5</sup> Hupfeld, *Genesis*, p. 57 f.; Böhmer, Schrader, Kayser, Budde, *Urgeschichte*, p. 223 f.

<sup>6</sup> Wellhausen, *JBDTh.* xxi. 417.

<sup>7</sup> Ch. xxxi. 20, 24.

<sup>8</sup> Mez, *Harran*, p. 19 ff.

<sup>9</sup> See on xxv. 6.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. Ishmael and Edom.

a somewhat narrower sense than in that passage; comp. also ch. xxxvi. 28. For **בכרו** see x. 15.

**בזו**—Septuagint *Bavûξ*, “to be looked for in the neighbourhood of Edom, because named along with Dedân and Têmâ,<sup>1</sup> and because Elihu, the fourth of Job’s opponents, belonged to it.”<sup>2</sup> A country of Bâzu occurs in Asarhaddon’s inscriptions as well as Hâzu, **הזו**.<sup>3</sup>

**קמואל אבי ארם**—otherwise unknown. Kamula in north-east Mesopotamia<sup>4</sup> is out of the question. Aram can hardly be simply another pronunciation for Ram (Job xxxii. 2);<sup>5</sup> it is the people of Aram, although it may be in a narrower sense than in ch. x. 22 f. in *A*.

Ver. 22. **פִּשְׁטִּיר**—Sept. *Xaζύδ*, the assumed ancestor of the **כְּשִׁיטִים**, Chaldeans, or at least of a branch of that people. See further on ch. xi. 28.

**חזו**—Sept. *’Aζaû*, has no connection with *Xaζήνη*<sup>6</sup> in Assyria between Calachene and Adiabene.<sup>7</sup> *Xaζήνη*, a satrapy on the Euphrates in Mesopotamia,<sup>8</sup> is more likely.<sup>9</sup> The Arabic geographers mention, besides the Assyrian Hazza, one in Mesopotamia between Nisibis and Râs ‘Ain.<sup>10</sup> The most probable identification is with the Chazu of Asarhaddon;<sup>11</sup> see under **בזו** in ver. 21.

**פלדש**—Sept. *Φαλδές*, unknown. It has no connection with the *’Pιπάλθας* of Procopius.<sup>12</sup> A personal name **פלדשו**

<sup>1</sup> Jer. xxv. 23.

<sup>2</sup> Job xxxii. 2. Knobel.

<sup>3</sup> Delitzsch, *Wo lag das Paradies?* p. 307, and *ZKSF*. ii. 93 ff.; Schrader, *KAT*.<sup>2</sup> 141, 221 [*Cuneiform Inscriptions*, vol. i. pp. 127, 212]; Tiele, *Geschichte*, p. 337. [Below, in ver. 22, transliterated Chazu.]

<sup>4</sup> Named in Assemani, *Bibliotheca Orientalis*, iii. 2, 731 f.; proposed by Knobel.

<sup>5</sup> Knobel, who quotes 2 Chron. xxii. 5 in support; Ewald, *Geschichte*,<sup>3</sup> i. 445 [*History*, vol. i. p. 310].

<sup>6</sup> Strabo, xvi. 111.

<sup>7</sup> Knobel, *Völkertafel*, p. 173.

<sup>8</sup> According to Arrian in Stephanus Byzantinus, *sub* *Xaζήνη*.

<sup>9</sup> Knobel.

<sup>10</sup> Yakût, ii. 263.

<sup>11</sup> Schrader, *KGF*. p. 399; Delitzsch, *Paradies*, p. 306 f.

<sup>12</sup> *De ædificiis*, ii. 4; proposed by Knobel.

has been read in Nabatean inscriptions,<sup>1</sup> and Halévy believes that he has found it in the Safa inscriptions also.<sup>2</sup>

יִדְלָה—Sept. Ἰελαδάφ, unknown.

בֶּתְוֵאל—not identified as the name of a place. Bethallaha, in Mesopotamia,<sup>3</sup> is proposed by Knobel, but only doubtfully. In *A*, Bethuel is an Aramæan,<sup>4</sup> as Laban is in *B*.<sup>5</sup>

Ver. 23. See preliminary remarks above.

Ver. 24. And as to his concubine<sup>6</sup> Reûmah (Sept. *Ρεύμα*, Samar. רומה), she also bare.<sup>7</sup>

טְבַח—Sept. *Ταβέκ*; to be read also in 2 Sam. viii. 8,<sup>8</sup> in accordance with the Septuagint, Peshitta, and 1 Chron. xviii. 8, which have טְבַח for בַּטַּח. It is therefore probably known to us as the name of one of the towns of the Syrian king Hadadezer, and therefore cannot be connected with Thæbata in north-west Mesopotamia,<sup>9</sup> nor with Θεβηθά, south of Nisibis.<sup>10</sup>

בָּנֵי—Sept. *Ταάμ*, unknown. The mention of the Banu *Juhmâ*,<sup>11</sup> a tribe between the Hieromax and the Yabbok,<sup>12</sup> gives no additional light.

תַּחֲשִׁי—Sept. *Τοχός*, unknown.

מַעֲכָה—in 1 Chron. xix. 6 Aram Ma'akha, a sufficiently well-known place.<sup>13</sup> "The tribe must have been situated on Hermon.<sup>14</sup> The situation of Abel<sup>15</sup> or Abel Mayim,<sup>16</sup> which is generally named Abel by Beth Ma'akha, to distinguish it from other places of the name, and which is mentioned

<sup>1</sup> ZDMG. xiv. 440.

<sup>2</sup> JA. vii. 19, 467; but in vii. 17, 194 עֲלֵדֵשׁ.

<sup>3</sup> *Notitia dignitatum*, i. 93 (ed. Böcking).

<sup>4</sup> Chs. xxv. 20, xxviii. 5.

<sup>5</sup> Ch. xxxi. 20, 24; comp. 47.

<sup>6</sup> See xxv. 6.

<sup>7</sup> Ewald, § 344b.

<sup>8</sup> Ewald, *Geschichte*,<sup>3</sup> iii. 207 [*History*, iii. p. 153].

<sup>9</sup> Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* vi. § 120.

<sup>10</sup> Peutinger Table, xi.e; Arrian in Steph. Byzant. Knobel.

<sup>11</sup> Knobel.

<sup>12</sup> Burekhardt [*Travels in Syria*, pp. 268, 287], Germ. tr. pp. 423 f., 449.

<sup>13</sup> Deut. iii. 14; Josh. xii. 5, xiii. 11, 13; 2 Sam. x. 6, 8.

<sup>14</sup> *Onomasticon*, sub Μαχαβί.

<sup>15</sup> 2 Sam. xx. 14, 18.

<sup>16</sup> 2 Chron. xvi. 4.

along with Iyyon, Dan, Kēdesh, and Ḥaṣor,<sup>1</sup> suits this situation.”<sup>2</sup>

“In ch. xxxi. 52 Gilead appears as the boundary between the descendants of Abraham and Naḥor.”<sup>3</sup>

## 2. THE DEATH OF SARAH AND THE ACQUISITION OF THE FIELD OF MAKHPELAH BY ABRAHAM, CH. XXIII.; FROM A.

On Sarah's death, Abraham, for her place of burial, acquires from 'Ephron the Hittite, with all due legal formality, the piece of land beside Ḥebbron called Makhpelah and the cave in it. There he buries his wife. The narrative is A's, as we cannot fail to recognise from many indications, from the chronological statement of ver. 1, from the whole purpose of the narrative, the juristic exactness and formality of statement, “the use of the names *children of Heth*,<sup>4</sup> and *Makhpelah*,<sup>5</sup> and of the expressions 'שְׁנֵי הָיִים' (ver. 1), אֵהָזָה (vv. 4, 9, 20), הָרָשָׁב (ver. 4), נָשִׂיא (ver. 6), קָוִים, *to come to be* (vv. 17, 20), שָׁמַע אֶל-פ' (ver. 16), and כִּיקְנָה (ver. 18), as well as from his later references<sup>6</sup> to what is here recounted.”<sup>7</sup> We learn afterwards, from these later references, that Abraham, Isaac and Rebecca, Jacob and Leah, were also buried in this cave. Later generations regarded it as their forefathers' ancestral burial vault, and as such it was a sacred and precious memorial to them. The actual cave is the certain and stable element in the story; “the details are a free expansion by the hand of the narrator. He takes the opportunity afforded him of showing how the Hittites met Abraham in the most obliging and friendly fashion, but how the patriarch would neither use their burial-places nor accept from them the gift of a piece of land. The field was publicly

<sup>1</sup> 2 Sam. xx. 15; 1 Kings xv. 20; 2 Kings xv. 29.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Seetzen, i. 118, 338; Robinson, *Later Biblical Researches in Palestine*, p. 372.

<sup>3</sup> Knobel.

<sup>4</sup> See ver. 3.

<sup>5</sup> See ver. 20.

<sup>6</sup> E.g. xxv. 9 f., xlix. 29 ff., l. 13.

<sup>7</sup> Knobel.



handed over to Abraham in the presence of all the people, who were onlookers and listeners to the transaction. The price was duly paid, and so the field was legally and validly acquired by Abraham as heritable property in Canaan.”<sup>1</sup> In *B*’s narrative Jacob acts similarly in the neighbourhood of Shechem.<sup>2</sup>

On the textual criticism of this chapter see Egli in Hilgenfeld’s *Zeitschrift für Wissenschaftliche Theologie*, xxiii. 344 ff.

Ver. 1 f. Sarah dies at the age of one hundred and twenty-seven.

מָאָה—the Samaritan has מֵאָה, as elsewhere in *A*.<sup>3</sup>

יָשְׁנִי חַיִּי שָׁרָה—wanting in the Septuagint, and almost too redundant even for *A*.

*Arba’-town*—said to be so called from Arba’, the father of ‘Enak,<sup>4</sup> originally more probably *four-town*.<sup>5</sup> Here and elsewhere *A*<sup>6</sup> and *B*<sup>d 7</sup> explain it of Hebron,<sup>8</sup> which, according to Josh. xiv. 15 and Judg. i. 10, was the later name. But in the same author, *A*, we also read מִמְרָא הוּא חֲבֵרֹן (ver. 19) and מִמְרָא קִרְיַת הָאֲרֵבֶּעַ הוּא חֲבֵרֹן (ch. xxxv. 27), according to which Mamre, if not another name for Hebron itself, must, it seems, have been part of it or have belonged to it.<sup>9</sup> *A*, intentionally, we may be sure, nowhere speaks of the “terebinths of Mamre.”<sup>10</sup> The addition by the Septuagint of ἡ ἐστὶν ἐν τῷ κοιλώματι and of אֵל עֵמֶק by the Samaritan between אֲרֵבֶּעַ (Samar. הָאֲרֵבֶּעַ) and הוּא, is probably due to the desire to define more closely, in accordance with ch. xxxvi. 14, the relations of Mamre and Hebron.

בְּאֶרֶץ כְּנַע—as in ver. 19, written with a definite purpose.

וַיָּבֹא—he *went in*, not *he came* from the field where he was

<sup>1</sup> Knobel.

<sup>2</sup> Ch. xxxiii. 19.

<sup>3</sup> See note, ch. xvii. 17.

<sup>4</sup> Josh. xv. 13, xxi. 11; cf. xiv. 15.

<sup>5</sup> Ewald, *Geschichte*,<sup>3</sup> i. 494 [*History*, i. 344]; Furrer in Schenkel’s *Bibelllexicon*, ii. 628.

<sup>6</sup> Ch. xxxvii. 27; Josh. xx. 7, xxi. 11.

<sup>7</sup> Josh. xv. 13.

<sup>8</sup> See on Num. xiii. 22.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. xiii. 18.

<sup>10</sup> See on xiii. 18.

with the flocks,<sup>1</sup> or from Beersheba';<sup>2</sup> if this last were correct, *R* must have substituted יָבַע for some other verb because of ch. xxii. 19.

Ver. 3. After having bewailed Sarah he sees to the acquisition of a burial-place. He betakes himself<sup>3</sup> to the gate of the city, where all business and legal transactions are settled.<sup>4</sup>

*From before his dead*—from the dead body by which<sup>5</sup> he had mourned. מֵת is used of both sexes.<sup>6</sup>

בְּנֵי הָאֱדֻמִּים—found in the Old Testament only in *A*.<sup>7</sup> For בְּנֵי see ch. x. 15. In ch. xiv. 13 the inhabitants are called Amorites, and in Judg. i. 10 Canaanites, which are both general names for the people of the country. Stade,<sup>8</sup> Budde,<sup>9</sup> E. Meyer, and others know without a trace of doubt that *A* has made a very bad blunder in using the name Hittite here.<sup>10</sup>

Ver. 4. As a stranger residing among them he has no property in land, so he desires to become possessor of a *burial property*, i.e. of land which he may use as a place of burial for his family. Families of consequence all had their hereditary burial vaults.<sup>11</sup>

Ver. 5 f. Obligingly and politely the sons of Heth offer him their own family burial-places. The phrase לֹא אָמַר לוֹ is not in use, and at the best can only be justified by an appeal to Lev. xi. 1, so that here and in ver. 14<sup>12</sup> לוֹ is to be read לָהֶם, as in ver. 13, and to be taken with the verses which follow. In each case לוֹ is construed with the imperative, and not, as in xvii. 18 and xxx. 34, with the imperfect or jussive. The text thus arrived at, *pray hear us*, suits the

<sup>1</sup> Knobel, Keil.

<sup>2</sup> Rashi.

<sup>3</sup> See ver. 10.

<sup>4</sup> Winer,<sup>3</sup> i. 616.

<sup>5</sup> 2 Kings xiii. 14.

<sup>6</sup> Lev. xxi. 11; Num. vi. 6 (Gesenius,<sup>25</sup> 122. 2).

<sup>7</sup> Vv. 5, 7, 10, 16, 18, 20, xxv. 10, xlix. 32. Knobel.

<sup>8</sup> *Geschichte*,<sup>1</sup> 143.

<sup>9</sup> *Urgeschichte*, 347 f.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. also xxvi. 34 f. and xxvii. 46 with xxviii. 1.

<sup>11</sup> Winer,<sup>3</sup> i. 444; Böttcher, *De inferis*, i. p. 41.

<sup>12</sup> Hitzig, *Begriff der Kritik*, 140 f.; Tuch, Knobel, Delitzsch.

polite tone carefully observed by both parties, whereas the reading of the Septuagint and Samaritan,<sup>1</sup> לֹא, *not*, requires also the Septuagint transposition of אֲדֹנָי יִשְׁמְעֵנִי, as in ver. 11.

*A prince of God*—"a prince belonging to God, protected and blessed by Him, and therefore distinguished, glorious."<sup>2</sup>

*In the choice of our graves*—"in the choicest or best of our burial vaults."<sup>3</sup> See ch. xvi. 2 for the use of מָן before קָבֵר. The offer is a token of esteem, for it was not a habit to allow strangers to be interred in a family place of burial."<sup>4</sup>

Ver. 7. Abraham rises and prostrates himself in order to express his thanks; but he does not accept the offer, for he does not wish to mingle with them.

Ver. 8 f. "He therefore asks them to use their influence with their fellow-townsmen 'Ephron, that he may make over to him, at its full value, the cave of Makhpelah, which lay at the end of his field, and might therefore be more readily parted with than a place in the middle."<sup>5</sup> Caves were much used as burial-places in Palestine, where they abound.<sup>6</sup>

*If it is in (apud) your soul*—"if you are minded, if it is your intention."<sup>7</sup>

*To bury my dead*—"The context shows that we must supply among you."<sup>8</sup>

פָּנֵעוּ לוֹ—*approach him, solicit him, for me*. Giesebrecht scents out a late Aramaic expression in this too.<sup>9</sup>

מִכְפֶּלֶה—see ver. 20.

Ver. 10 f. 'Ephron is present in the gathering, and immediately offers the cave and field to Abraham as a gift.

לְכָל בָּנָי—for ל see ch. ix. 10; *in so far as they entered the gate of his city, were in the habit of entering, i.e. his fellow-townsmen*; the ל may be more distributive, like ב in

<sup>1</sup> Egli, *op. cit.* p. 348; Schröding also in *ZWTh.* xxiii. p. 388 f.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Ps. xxxvi. 7, lxviii. 16, lxxx. 11. Knobel; see also ch. xxi. 22.

<sup>3</sup> Isa. xxii. 7.

<sup>4</sup> Knobel.

<sup>5</sup> Knobel.

<sup>6</sup> See *Bible Dictionaries*.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Job x. 13, xxiii. 14.

<sup>8</sup> Knobel.

<sup>9</sup> See, on the contrary, Driver, *Journal of Philology*, vol. xi. 1882, p. 210.

ver. 18, *as many of them as*. The *באי הישער* (ver. 18) or *ינאי הישער* (xxxiv. 24) are the citizens who have the right of entrance to the communal assembly, and a voice in its deliberations.

*ננתה*—ver. 13; see on ch. i. 29.

Ver. 12 f. Abraham refuses the gift (comp. ch. xiv. 23), and presses for leave to purchase. With a display of politeness which outdoes that of 'Ephron, he says, *good, only (or but), if you will, pray hear me*. The optative sentence begun with *אם* is broken off, and the speaker continues with the still more delicate construction with *ל* and the imperative. This, at least, is the Massoretic text. It is not necessary to suppose that some words have fallen out after *אֶתָּה*,<sup>1</sup> nor to take *אם אֶתָּה* as the perf. *Kal* of *אָתָּה*, *if you agree*.<sup>2</sup> But the Septuagint and Samaritan read *אם אֶתָּה לִי*, *ἐπειδὴ πρὸς ἐμοῦ εἴ*.

*The money of the field*—its price.

Ver. 14 f. See ver. 5. "‘Ephron yields the point; *a land of 400 shekels of silver, what is that between you and me*, a piece of land worth so little cannot be a subject of much bargaining between two rich men. In this way he politely indicates the price."<sup>3</sup> The same forms of speech and formulas of politeness are still in general use in the East (Egypt, Syria, etc.) between buyer and seller.<sup>4</sup>

Ver. 16. "Without delay, Abraham weighs out to ‘Ephron the 400 shekels. At that time there were no coins minted by the state, but the requirements of commerce had called into existence pieces of metal of definite weight, and, doubtless, marked accordingly. These pieces were weighed to the seller in order to afford security against cheating."<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Olshausen.

<sup>2</sup> Hitzig, *Begriff der Kritik*, p. 141; see ch. xxxiv. 15.

<sup>3</sup> Knobel.

<sup>4</sup> Lane, *Manners and Customs*, 1871, ii. 13, pop. ed. p. 293; *ZDMG.* xi. 505; Dieterici, *Reisebild*, ii. 168 f.

<sup>5</sup> Knobel. See Winer and Riehm, *sub* "Geld"; for an early example of the practice, *ZA.* iii. 392.



Compare the expressions "aere ad libra" or "per aes et libram."

עֵבֶר לְפָנָי—current with the merchant,<sup>1</sup> passing from one hand to another, accepted by business men, who take nothing which is under weight.

Vv. 17-19. "So Abraham acquired possession of the piece of land in Makhpelah, which lies before Mamre, with the cave in it and all the trees on it. For the use of קִים comp. Lev. xxv. 30, xxvii. 14, 17, 19,"<sup>2</sup> from *A*.

For לְפָנַי the Samaritan has עַל-פָּנַי (comp. ver. 19). In בָּאֵל בְּכָל בָּאֵי the בָּ corresponds to the לְ of ver. 10, and is distributive, as ch. ix. 10 and elsewhere.

Ver. 20. "The legal acquisition of landed property in Canaan was important, hence the repetition.

הַמְּכַפְלָה—found in the Old Testament only in *A*.<sup>3</sup> We learn from him that it was the name of a locality in Hebron in which lay 'Ephron's land with the cave in it. It and 'Ephron's field lay לְפָנַי מִמְרָא or עַל-פָּנַי מִמְרָא, *on the front side*, i.e. east<sup>4</sup> of Mamre. Mamre was therefore west of it." For Mamre as a part of Hebron, see note on ver. 2.

*Hebron*<sup>5</sup>—"eight hours south of Jerusalem, lies in a deep, narrow valley which runs from N.W. to S.E., and is built on both sides of the valley, but principally on the eastern side. The mosque which encloses the cave, and is built on the south-western slope of the eastern ridge, is in the south-east end of the town." It was formerly inaccessible, except to Moslems, but in April 1862 it was opened to the Prince of Wales and his retinue.<sup>6</sup> This visit proved the existence of a great natural (double) cave under the

<sup>1</sup> 2 Kings xii. 5.

<sup>2</sup> Knobel.

<sup>3</sup> Vv. 9, 17, 19; also chs. xxv. 9, xlix. 30, l. 13.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. xvi. 12, xxv. 18; Num. xxi. 11; 1 Kings xi. 7.

<sup>5</sup> See further, regarding the situation, Robinson, *Palestine*,<sup>3</sup> i. 213 f., ii. 73 ff.; von Schubert, *Reisen*, ii. 462 ff.; Ritter, *Erdkunde*, xvi. 209 ff.; especially Rosen in *ZDMG*, xii. 477 ff.

<sup>6</sup> In Nov. 1869 to the Crown Prince of Prussia, and in the year 1882 also to the sons of the Prince of Wales.

Haram.<sup>1</sup> Riant has published an account, which belongs to the Middle Ages,<sup>2</sup> regarding the appearance of the cave in 1119. To all appearance this spot was regarded as the patriarchal burying-place even at an early date. Josephus localises the *μνημεία* of the patriarchs in the little town itself, but the great terebinth tree outside it.<sup>3</sup> There are no reasons for our not accepting this. Mamre, which lay to the west, is probably to be found on the eastern slope of Rumeidi,<sup>4</sup> an elevation to the west which extends as far as the west side of Hebron, and contains a remarkable rock-spring. This elevation is only a spur of the hill-top Ne'ir, the name of which might be compared with עֵינִר.<sup>5</sup> The valley of Eshkol lay somewhat farther north.<sup>6</sup> מִמְרָא may also, however, be compared with *Nimre*, an elevation situated only a short distance north of Hebron, with a spring of the same name.<sup>7</sup> In that case עַל-פְּנֵי would mean simply *in front of, in sight of*. On the other hand, it may be held that the Wadi er-Rame or Ramet el-Chalil, to the north, an hour away from the town, is too far distant to be spoken of as בְּהִבְרִין, and to be regarded as the biblical Mamre. But since patristic times it has been, and is even now, generally assumed to have been Abraham's residence.<sup>8</sup>

### 3. ISAAC'S MARRIAGE WITH REBECCA, CH. XXIV.; FROM C.

Abraham's steward is sent to Mesopotamia, and there in Haran obtains, as bride for his master's son, Rebecca, daughter of Abraham's nephew Bethuel. He brings her to Canaan, and she becomes Isaac's wife. These incidents are

<sup>1</sup> See Rosen in *Zeitschrift für allgemeine Erdkunde*, 1863, p. 369 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Archives de l'Orient Latin*, ii. 411-421; see also ZDPV. vii. 252, viii. 328.

<sup>3</sup> *Wars*, iv. 9. 7; comp. *Antiquities*, i. 14.

<sup>4</sup> Rosen.

<sup>5</sup> Ch. xiv. 13.

<sup>6</sup> Num. xiii. 23.

<sup>7</sup> Mentioned by Rosen, *ZDMG*. xii. 486, and Seetzen, ii. 51.

<sup>8</sup> Von Schubert, Robinson, Seetzen, Ritter. Knobel. See also Baedeker, *Palästina*,<sup>2</sup> p. 173 f.

described by the narrator in a beautiful idyllic story, in which it is his special interest to trace God's guiding hand in all that led up to the marriage. It was God who brought it about that Abraham's envoy at once found the right place and the right maiden, that he forthwith recognised her as the chosen bride, and that, in addition, her family and the maiden herself willingly followed the indications of the divine will. It was by God's guidance that Rebecca became Isaac's wife, and an ancestress of the people of God.

Against *B*'s authorship of the passage there is to be put the absence of any name for Abraham's steward,<sup>1</sup> and the notice regarding Rebecca's nurse, which contradicts ch xxxv. 8. *A*'s authorship is also out of the question. From ch. xxv. 20 we may conclude that he narrated the fact of the marriage without much detail; we cannot say definitely whether between chs. xxiii. and xxv. 19,<sup>2</sup> or between vv. 19 and 20 of ch. xxv.<sup>3</sup> The character and workmanship of the idyll point us to the narrator of ch. xviii. f., and its exalted conception of marriage to the author of ch. ii. 23 ff., that is, to *C*. Other characteristics, especially linguistic, agree with this.<sup>4</sup> Some unevenness in the style<sup>5</sup> may be attributed to errors in the text rather than to the union of two accounts.<sup>6</sup> There may seem more reason for assigning vv. 62–67 to another writer,<sup>7</sup> to *B*, on the ground that the envoy was sent by Abraham (vv. 1–9), but here returns to Isaac, and, besides, calls Isaac his master (ver. 65), and not, as hitherto,<sup>8</sup> Abraham.

<sup>1</sup> Otherwise in ch. xv. 2.

<sup>2</sup> Knobel.

<sup>3</sup> Wellhausen.

<sup>4</sup> *E.g.* the *angel* of Jahve (vv. 7, 40), Isaac the *servant of Jahve* (ver. 14), אֲרָם נְהָרִים (ver. 10), בְּנוֹת הַכְּנַעֲנִי (ver. 3), יֵשׁ with suff. (vv. 42, 49), נָא (vv. 2, 12, 14, 17, 23, 42 f., 45), רַק (ver. 8), אֲוִלִי (vv. 5, 39), חֹסֶד עֲשֵׂה (vv. 12, 14, 49), חֹסֶד וְאֵמֶת (vv. 27, 49), בָּא בִּימִים (ver. 1), רִינָן לִקְרָאתָ (ver. 17), טֹבַת מְרֵאָה (ver. 16), יָדַע (ver. 16), הִקְרָה (ver. 12), הַצִּלָּה (vv. 21, 40, 42, 56), דִּבֶּר אֶל-לִבּוֹ (ver. 45), אֵיב for שִׁנְאָה (ver. 60), יָרַשׁ אֶת-הָאֵשֶׁר (ver. 60), וְהִשְׁתַּחֲוָה (vv. 28, 48), הִשְׁתַּחֲוָה אֶרְצָה (ver. 52), and the use of the name יהוה throughout.

<sup>5</sup> Vv. 22, 29 ff.

<sup>7</sup> Knobel.

<sup>6</sup> Knobel.

<sup>8</sup> Thirteen times.

The words הֵלֵךְ (ver. 65) and אֶרֶץ הַנָּגֶב (ver. 62) are also elsewhere found in *B*. Still what is surprising in these concluding verses (62 ff.), ceases to be so if we reflect that in ver. 1 Abraham's death is approaching, that in ver. 36 Isaac appears already independent and in possession of his paternal inheritance, and that accordingly ch. xxv. 5 and 11b must have preceded ch. xxiv. in *C*.<sup>1</sup> It is sufficient to assume that *R* has made some changes of his own in these verses, especially in vv. 62 and 67. Similarly, but for other reasons, *R* seems to have made some harmonistic additions in vv. 15, 24, 47, and 50.

Vv. 1–9. Abraham's commission to his steward to seek a wife for Isaac among his relatives in Mesopotamia, and the significance of the mission.

Ver. 1. A circumstantial clause preparatory to the principal sentence in ver. 2. בָּא בִימִים in ch. xviii. 11 in *C*. God had blessed *him* in all, hence the wish by his son's marriage to have further heirs to inherit this blessing.

Ver. 2. He desires to commit this mission to his servant, *the oldest in his house*, in standing, not in actual age, who had the management<sup>2</sup> of all his property. In *C* he is unnamed, in *B* the steward is called Eliezer.<sup>3</sup> The matter is one of great moment, for the object is in part to preserve the son of promise from an alien union with the daughters of Canaan around him,<sup>4</sup> in part to prevent his return to the land from which God brought Abraham out,<sup>5</sup> and if it is unattained, the promises will thereby become of no effect. Abraham, therefore, exacts from the servant an oath that he will in every particular fulfil his mission.

*Pray put thy hand under my thigh*—i.e. to take an oath. The custom is mentioned again only in ch. xlvii. 29. The organ of generation as such, because the mark of manly vigour, had a certain sacredness attributed to it by the

<sup>1</sup> Hupfeld, *Quellen der Genesis*, p. 145 f.

<sup>2</sup> Ps. cv. 21.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. xxviii. 2 ff., xxxiv. 1 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Ch. xv. 2 f.

<sup>5</sup> Ch. xii. 1.



ancients, and in the worship of Phallus had every religious veneration paid to it. But the immediate reference here is neither to this nor to any special sacredness due to the ceremony of circumcision,<sup>1</sup> nor to both together.<sup>2</sup> It is from the thighs that one's descendants come, so that to take an oath with one's hand upon the thighs could be equivalent to calling upon these descendants to maintain an oath which has been fulfilled and to revenge one which has been broken. Here as in ch. xlvii. 29 it is a case of ensuring something, the performance of which the exactor of the oath does not live to see or is uncertain of living to see. "A modern instance is recorded of an Egyptian Beduin who in making a solemn asseveration laid his hand upon the organ of generation."<sup>3</sup> Ewald refers to a Kaffir analogue.<sup>4</sup>

Ver. 3 f. "God of the heavens and of the earth," whose knowledge and power nothing can escape.<sup>5</sup> Similarly in ver. 7 "God of the heavens"; comp. xviii. 25 (also xiv. 19, 22).

אֵלֶּיךָ—ch. xxii. 14, xi. 7.

בְּנוֹת הַכְּנַעֲנִי—"here and in ver. 37; *A* speaks of בְּנוֹת כְּנַעַן." <sup>6</sup>

In this passage Abraham plainly does not expect to live long, and makes the steward the executor of his will, so to say. The representation is independent of *A*'s chronology, according to which Abraham had still thirty-seven years to live.<sup>7</sup> For ver. 4 comp. xii. 1.

Ver. 5. The servant raises a difficulty; if no woman will come from there, is he to take Isaac to the spot. ה interrogative.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The Jews, on the authority of Jerome, *Quæstiones*; Targ. Jonathan, Rashi, Schumann, Tuch, Delitzsch.

<sup>2</sup> Von Bohlen, Gesenius, Knobel.

<sup>3</sup> Sonnini, *Voyage*, Germ. tr. ii. 474; Eichhorn, *Allgemeine Bibliothek*, x. 464. Knobel.

<sup>4</sup> Ewald, *Alterthümer*,<sup>3</sup> 26 [*Antiquities*, p. 19, note 6].

<sup>5</sup> Knobel.

<sup>6</sup> Ch. xxviii. 1, 6, 8, xxxvi. 2. Knobel.

<sup>7</sup> Ch. xxi. 5, xxv. 7, 20.

<sup>8</sup> Gesenius,<sup>25</sup> 100. 4.

Ver. 6. Abraham answers the question with an emphatic negative; Isaac would in that case surrender the land of promise.

Ver. 7. "The case put by the servant will, besides, not occur. The God, who led Abraham out from the land of his birth,<sup>1</sup> who has promised him Canaan,<sup>2</sup> and even confirmed the promise by an oath, will also prosper the servant's mission<sup>3</sup> by sending His angel before him to protect him, to bring him to the very place he desires, and to secure him the wished-for reception. Abraham is confident that the goodness and providence of God hitherto manifested will continue."<sup>4</sup>

וְאִשֶּׁר נִשְׁבַּע לִי—if not an insertion by *R* with a reference to ch. xxii. 16, must refer to ch. xv. 17 f.<sup>5</sup>

Ver. 8. Should, however, no woman be willing to come, the servant is released from the obligation of ver. 4. Abraham, therefore, does not regard his plan as willed by God.<sup>6</sup>

For וְנִקִּיתָ see Gesenius,<sup>25</sup> 75A. 7; for וְאֵת, 126. 5A. 1*b*; and for לֹא הָיָשָׁב, ch. iv. 12, and Ewald, § 320*a*.

Ver. 9. The servant takes the oath. For אֲדַנִּי see Gesenius,<sup>25</sup> 124. 1*c*.

Vv. 10-27. He sets off on his journey, and is granted the experience of God's guidance and direction, as Abraham had trusted.

Ver. 10. He takes camels with him for himself and his escort,<sup>7</sup> for the maiden he is to bring, and for her companions,<sup>8</sup> for *all sorts*<sup>9</sup> of *property*, i.e. various articles which he takes as presents,<sup>10</sup> and for the provisions necessary for the journey.—The Septuagint omission of the first וַיֵּלֶךְ in the verse is preferable to the Massoretic text.

*Aram of the two streams*—Sept. Μεσσοποταμία.<sup>11</sup> In any

<sup>1</sup> Ch. xii. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Chs. xii. 7, xiii. 15.

<sup>3</sup> Ver. 40.

<sup>4</sup> Knobel.

<sup>5</sup> Page 55 f.

<sup>6</sup> Knobel.

<sup>7</sup> Vv. 32, 54.

<sup>8</sup> Vv. 59, 61.

<sup>9</sup> Ch. ii. 9.

<sup>10</sup> Vv. 22, 30, 47, 53.

<sup>11</sup> Deut. xxiii. 5; Judg. iii. 8; Ps. lx. 2.

case this is not the country between the Euphrates and Tigris, Babylonia being excluded, though that has been the general opinion.<sup>1</sup> As little is it the region between the Euphrates and the Chrysorrhoas, the river of Damascus.<sup>2</sup> Most probably it is the country which lay between the Euphrates<sup>3</sup> and Chaboras, הַבּוֹר,<sup>4</sup> including also, perhaps, what bordered nearest to it. It may be almost identical with the land of Naharina, so often mentioned in the accounts of the campaigns of the ancient Egyptian kings,<sup>5</sup> but it cannot be admitted that נַהֲרִים is a locative and not a dual.<sup>6</sup> It is more possibly a plural, inasmuch as the Belih and the tributaries of all three rivers are included in the district. Regarding *Paddan Aram*, which *A* writes, see ch. xxv. 20.

The *city of Nahor* is *Ḥarran*; <sup>7</sup> see note on ch. xi. 31.

Ver. 11. He makes his camels lie down in front of the city, by *the* fountain usually found beside a town, and here in *Ḥarran* also.

*Towards evening*—"when the girls and women are accustomed to fetch the water required for the household wants.<sup>8</sup> In the east this is still part of their work,<sup>9</sup> as it was in ancient times."<sup>10</sup>

Vv. 12-14. He asks God to make known to him by a given sign the maiden, among those who come out to draw water, who is destined for Isaac.<sup>11</sup>

הַיָּרֵה—*let it come to pass, bring it about*. So in ch. xxvii.

<sup>1</sup> Still found in Delitzsch<sup>5</sup>; against it see Halévy, *Mélanges d'Épigraphie*, p. 72 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Halévy's view, *op. cit.* p. 81; comp. ZDPV. iii. 224.

<sup>3</sup> See ch. xxxi. 21.

<sup>4</sup> Kiepert, *Alte Geographie*, p. 154.

<sup>5</sup> Brugsch, *Geschichte*, 235 ff.; E. Meyer, *Geschichte des Alterthums*, § 180; Erman, *Aegypten*, p. 680.

<sup>6</sup> E. Meyer.

<sup>7</sup> Chs. xxvii. 43, xxviii. 10; see also Budde, *Urgeschichte*, p. 445.

<sup>8</sup> Shaw, *Travels*,<sup>2</sup> p. 241; Burckhardt, *Bedouins and Waháby*, i. p. 351.

<sup>9</sup> Von Schubert, *Reisen*, ii. 401, iii. 134; Robinson, *Palestine*,<sup>3</sup> i. 473, 549, ii. 33, Germ. tr. ii. 385, 519, 628 f.

<sup>10</sup> 1 Sam. ix. 11. Knobel.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. Judg. vi. 36 ff.; 1 Sam. xiv. 9.

20. "Let it be the one who at his request gives him a drink of water, and then of her own accord waters his camels. The sign is suitably chosen; it must be the most gracious maiden who is to be Isaac's."

נער—in the Pentateuch for נערה also.<sup>1</sup> Similarly הוא is used of both sexes.<sup>2</sup>

הוכיח—see ch. xxi. 25. Here and in ver. 44 in the sense of *evidence, assign*.

For "thy servant," comp. ch. xxvi. 24. בִּי, *by this*, see notes on ch. xv. 6 and 8. The Samaritan and Septuagint add אברהם after אֲדֹנָי.

Ver. 15 f. He had not finished speaking<sup>3</sup> when Rebecca herself appeared. She carries her jar upon her shoulder. "This seems to have been the usual Hebrew custom,<sup>4</sup> but there is also mention of the jar being carried on the head."<sup>5</sup>

אִשֶּׁר יִקְרָה וְנִ—the use of the passive and the designation of Bethuel as "son of Milkah," here and in ver. 24, is surprising, for elsewhere such an appellation is taken from the father's name, not from the mother's,<sup>6</sup> and the intention to distinguish Bethuel as the son of Milkah and not of Reûmah (ch. xxii. 23 f.) is not a sufficient explanation. Seeing that, in addition, Laban is called "son of Naḥor" in ch. xxix. 5,<sup>7</sup> and not son of Bethuel, it is at least probable that לבתואל בן is a later interpolation, and that the original text was אִשֶּׁר יִקְרָה מִלְכָּה.

כֵּלָה—the perfect, objected to by Wellhausen<sup>8</sup> and Gesenius<sup>9</sup> because of ver. 45, is effectually supported by Prov. viii. 25.

טבת מראה—see ch. xii. 1.

<sup>1</sup> Vv. 16, 29, 55, 57, ch. xxxi. 3, 12; Deut. xxii. 15–29; see Gesenius,<sup>25</sup> 2. 5.

<sup>2</sup> E.g. iii. 12; Gesenius,<sup>25</sup> 32A. 6b.

<sup>3</sup> Samar. and Sept. add קָבוּ אֵל, see ver. 45.

<sup>4</sup> Ch. xxi. 14; Ex. xii. 34; Josh. iv. 5.

<sup>5</sup> E.g. xl. 16. Knobel.

<sup>6</sup> Mez, *Harran*, p. 19.

<sup>7</sup> Comp. ch. xxiv. 48 [where the same may be implied of Rebecca].

<sup>8</sup> *Bücher Samuelis*, p. 159.

<sup>9</sup> Gesenius,<sup>25</sup> 107. 1A. 1.



ידע—see chs. iv. 1, xix. 5, 8.

Vv. 17-20. Seeing her appearance to be attractive, the servant makes trial of her, and the sign he had settled on surprises him by its exact fulfilment. "The readiness to oblige a stranger, emphasised in the case of Rebecca, is not however, uncommon on the part of those who draw water.<sup>1</sup> Regarding the water-troughs by the well, see chs. xxix. 3 and xxx. 38."

ררן—"with לקראת, as in ch. xviii. 2."<sup>2</sup>

Ver. 21. Meantime *the man was sunk in* contemplation of her, or *reflection about her*, and *was silent*, put in no word of his, *in order to* see whether the sign was fulfilled spontaneously and entirely, and so to *recognise* whether God had prospered his journey and brought him the one he sought for in the person of this maiden.

השתאה—doubtless only a weakened pronunciation of השתעה,<sup>3</sup> and hardly to be connected with שׂאה, *to be desert*, from which Delitzsch and Keil derive the meaning *lost in astonishment*. The Septuagint has κατεμάνθανε, the Vulgate *contemplabatur*. For the construct before לָהּ, see Gesenius,<sup>25</sup> 130. 1.

מחרש—regarded by Kautzsch-Socin as a gloss, but essential for לרעת וג'.

הנלח—in vv. 40, 42, 56, ch. xxxix. 3, 23, in C.

Ver. 22. Now that the sign has been fulfilled, he prepares the way for further progress by taking out for her, from his baggage, a ring of gold and two golden bracelets. The suffix in יריה scarcely indicates that he presents them to her, or puts them on her;<sup>4</sup> so the original text will be that of the Samaritan, which has after משקלו the words אל אפה וישם אל אפה. We cannot conclude from ver. 47 that משקלם ויקח—originally stood after ver. 24.<sup>5</sup> The things mentioned here were not

<sup>1</sup> Niebuhr, *Reisebeschreibung*, ii. 410; Robinson, *Palestine*,<sup>3</sup> ii. 22, 250.

<sup>2</sup> Knobel.

<sup>3</sup> Isa. xli. 10, 23; Gesenius, *Thesaurus*. Knobel.

<sup>4</sup> Vv. 30, 47.

<sup>5</sup> Ilgen, *Die Urkunden des ersten Buchs des Moses*, p. 147.

the bridal gift, which comes in ver. 53, but a spontaneous acknowledgment of Rebecca's readiness to oblige. The ring, we learn from ver. 47, is a nose-ring.<sup>1</sup>

שָׁקֶל—a half shekel.<sup>2</sup> After עֶשְׂרָה we must supply שָׁקֶל, as in ch. xx. 16.

Vv. 23-25. Up to this point everything has gone as he might have wished, and now, even more wonderful, he learns, in answer to a question about her home, and whether he could pass the night there, that she is one of Abraham's nearest kin.

בֵּית אָבִי—accusative of place, as ch. xii. 15.

בֶּת-בְּחוּאֵל—the original reading we may suppose (see ver. 15) to have been בֶּת מַלְכָּה <sup>3</sup> אָנֹכִי in place of בֶּת בְּחוּאֵל אָנֹכִי בֶּן מַלְכָּה.

Ver. 26 f. Having learned to whose family Rebecca belongs, he is certain that she is the chosen bride,<sup>4</sup> and thanks God for having guided his journey to a prosperous issue.

אָנֹכִי—*casus pendens*, as in ch. iv. 15; it marks an antithesis between himself and his master. He thankfully acknowledges that God has led him *on the way*, i.e. without mistakes or detours, straight <sup>5</sup> to the house of *the brothers*, i.e. relatives <sup>6</sup> of his master.

אָחֵי—Sept. ἀδελφῶν, as in ver. 48, and beyond doubt correct if בְּחוּאֵל in vv. 15 and 24 is not original. Conversely, in ver. 55, the Septuagint has οἱ ἀδελφοὶ αὐτῆς for the Massoretic אָחֵיהָ.

*Love and faithfulness*—as in ver. 49, chs. xxxii. 11, xlvii. 29; Ex. xxxiv. 6, and Josh. ii. 14, none of which passages, it may be held, are from *A*.

Vv. 28-54. The maiden, thus pointed out by manifest divine guidance, is now won from her kinsmen to be Isaac's bride by a simple recital of the events as they occurred.

<sup>1</sup> Regarding it see Winer,<sup>3</sup> ii. 137 f.

<sup>2</sup> As Ex. xxxviii. 26; see comm. on Ex. xxx. 13 [Dillmann].

<sup>3</sup> Cf. ch. xxxiv. 1.

<sup>4</sup> Ver. 48.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. ver. 48.

<sup>6</sup> Chs. xiii. 8, xiv. 14.

Ver. 28. She hastens home with the presents,<sup>1</sup> and relates the occurrence *to the house of her mother*, i.e. to the female portion of Bethuel's household, with whom she lived apart from the men.

Ver. 29 f. Her brother Laban, the son of the house, hastens out to the well. The presents entice him; he is always portrayed in the legend as strongly selfish.

Ver. 29*b* anticipates ver. 30 unendurably,<sup>2</sup> and can only be supposed to have been transferred from its original position after ver. 30*a*, before וַיָּבֵא, by a copyist's error.<sup>3</sup> There is nothing else in the chapter to support the assumption of a doublet due to different sources.<sup>4</sup>

כְּרָאָה—Ewald, § 304*a*; the Samaritan has כְּרָאָהוּ.

הֵנָּה עִמָּךְ—as in ch. xxxviii. 24; Isa. xxviii. 8; Amos vii. 1; Ewald, § 306*d*.

Ver. 31. He presses him to come in, with the assurance that he has prepared the house for his reception. He calls him “blessed of Jahve,” for the servant had named the God of his master in ver. 27, and Rebecca had told of it.<sup>5</sup>

Ver. 32. The servant goes to the house.

וַיָּבֵא—so punctuated, because no אֶת follows, otherwise we should expect וַיָּבֵא,<sup>6</sup> for Laban is, without doubt, subject to וַיָּבֵא, וַיָּתֵן.

For the washing of feet see ch. xviii. 4. The guest is not asked who he is, or what is the purpose of his journey; courtesy forbids it.

Ver. 33. The servant will not partake of the food set before him<sup>7</sup> until he has discharged his mission; so important does he consider it. With epic circumstantiality the author now puts in his mouth a second account of all that has gone before. The facts are intended to speak for themselves, and to secure the wished-for result.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Ver. 30.

<sup>2</sup> Ver. 10 supplies no means of justification.

<sup>3</sup> Ilgen, *Urkunden*, p. 149.

<sup>4</sup> Knobel.

<sup>5</sup> Knobel.

<sup>6</sup> Vulgate, J. D. Michaelis, Dathe, Olshausen.

<sup>7</sup> Ch. xviii. 8.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. ver. 50.

וַיִּשָּׂם—also found in ch. l. 26, but punctuated וַיִּשָּׂם; here the K<sup>re</sup> is וַיִּשָּׂם. In both passages we expect a passive, and therefore, seeing there is no instance elsewhere of a K<sup>al</sup> וַיִּשָּׂם for שָׂם,<sup>1</sup> we must assume either<sup>2</sup> a sharpening of the passive ו to י—,<sup>3</sup> or an error in transcription, in all three passages, by which י has been put for ו.<sup>4</sup>

Ver. 34 f. Comp. ch. xii. 16 and xiii. 2; and for נָרַל, ch. xxvi. 13.

Ver. 36. *After she had become old*; comp. xviii. 11. It is to be observed that the Septuagint read וְקָנְתָה.

וַיִּתֵּן לָוִי—cannot be explained from ch. xxi. 10 ff., but only as a reference to ch. xxv. 5, which must therefore have stood in *C* before this chapter, or, according to Kautzsch-Socin, between vv. 1 and 2.

Vv. 37—41. As vv. 3—8. It need not be supposed that something has dropped out after 41a.<sup>5</sup>

לֹא אִם—literally, *if not*; after the negative sentence its meaning is, *but, on the contrary*; but this is the only instance of such a use, unless, perhaps, Ps. cxxxi. 2, for in Ezek. iii. 6 the reading לֹא אִם is preferable. The Samaritan has אִם אִם. The alternative to this explanation is to take אִם as a particle of asseveration, *truly*.<sup>6</sup>

*To walk before Jahve*—see ch. xvii. 1.

מִאֲלֹהִי—from the oath (Sept. *ἀπά*) which you swore to me. For the difference between אֱלֹהֵי and אֱלֹהִים, ὅρκος, see Ewald, *Antiquities*.<sup>7</sup>

Vv. 42—44. Compare vv. 12—14.

אִם יִשָּׁךְ נָא—compare ver. 49; for the נָא of request in a conditional sentence, see note on ch. xviii. 3, ‘if thou wilt prosper my way, as I ask of thee, it shall happen,’ as described in ver. 43 f.

Ver. 45 f. Compare vv. 15—20.

<sup>1</sup> In Judg. xii. 3 וַיִּשָּׂם is the Mass. reading.

<sup>2</sup> Ewald, § 131d.

<sup>3</sup> Chs. xxiv. 33, l. 24; also Ex. xxx. 32 (וַיִּשָּׂם from וַיִּשָּׂם).

<sup>4</sup> König, *Lehrgebäude*, p. 435 f. <sup>5</sup> Kautzsch-Socin. <sup>6</sup> Delitzsch<sup>5</sup>.

<sup>7</sup> *Alterthümer*,<sup>3</sup> 25 f. [trans. p. 18 f.].

<sup>8</sup> Ewald, § 355b.



אל־לבי—see ch. viii. 21; the prayer in ver. 12 f. was accordingly silent prayer.

Ver. 47 f. Compare vv. 22—27.

בהוואל בן—to be regarded as an addition to the original; see vv. 15 and 24.

ואישם—Ewald, § 232*g*.

בדרך אמת—in a true, *i.e.* *right road*; cf. ver. 27.

אחי—according to the present text of ch. xxiv. used of brother's son as in xiv. 16, xxix. 12.

Ver. 49. Having stated the facts, he asks whether or not, in view of them, *they are willing to show* his master *love and faithfulness* as kinsmen should. In the latter case, he will turn *right or left*<sup>1</sup> to search in other families for the woman he desires.

Ver. 50 f. They recognise from his account that God wills the matter, and they answer in the affirmative. This settles everything; the daughter is not consulted, she is given in marriage as was customary. In this case, however, as ver. 57 ff. shows, the arrangement was concluded with her free consent.

*Evil or good*—nothing at all; not a word.<sup>2</sup>

ובהוואל—must be an interpolation, for in vv. 53 and 55 ff. Bethuel is completely ignored. It is doubtless from the hand which added Bethuel's name elsewhere in the chapter. There is no difficulty in the representation that Laban, as brother, has a voice in the decision,<sup>3</sup> the circumstances of a polygamous household would furnish the explanation, but so complete an obliteration of the father cannot be original.

לפניך—*before you*, at your disposal; see ch. xiii. 9.

דבר—by what took place.

Ver. 52 f. The pious servant first thanks God, “and gives Rebecca gold and silver ornaments and articles of dress in Isaac's name, and in accordance with the custom by which the bridegroom sent presents to the bride before the wedding,

<sup>1</sup> Ch. xiii. 9.

<sup>2</sup> As xxxi. 24, 29; Num. xxiv. 13; 2 Sam. xiii. 22.

<sup>3</sup> So xxxiv. 5, 11, 25; Judg. xxi. 22; 2 Sam. xiii. 22. Knobel.

and thus made the engagement binding.”<sup>1</sup> But the *precious things* which he gives to Rebecca’s brother and mother are the bride’s purchase price.<sup>2</sup>

Ver. 54. Only after that does he partake of food and drink, and he wishes to start next morning, even, in order to reach Abraham again as soon as possible.

Vv. 55—61. The bride herself, with most ready acquiescence, hastens the preparations for her departure.

Ver. 55. The brother and mother ask that the departure should be postponed for *some days*,<sup>3</sup> or *a decade* of days,<sup>4</sup> i.e. as we say, indefinitely, ten days.<sup>5</sup> The reading is, however, uncertain. The Samaritan has ימים או חרש, the Septuagint ἡμέρας ὥσπερ δέκα, the Peshitta ܝܡܝܢ ܬܝܬܝܢ; it is not impossible that a חרש<sup>6</sup> has fallen out before ימים.<sup>7</sup>

Ver. 56. The servant does not wish to be delayed, since, י,<sup>8</sup> God has prospered his journey.

Ver. 57 f. Rebecca herself, when asked, decides for an immediate departure. *Ask her mouth*, ask herself, so that she may say what she thinks on the subject.

Ver. 59. They let her go. The expression, *their* sister, is used because Laban everywhere<sup>9</sup> appears as the principal personage.

*And her nurse*—“there were nurses in families of consequence;<sup>10</sup> they preserved their attachment to their foster children, remained by them, and were held by them in turn in high esteem.”<sup>11</sup> Like Abraham’s servant, the nurse here is

<sup>1</sup> See xxxiv. 12, della Valle, *Viaggi*, Germ. tr. ii. 225; Tavernier, *Voyages* [Eng. tr. 1678, pp. 172, 243], Germ. tr. i. 282; Jaubert [*Voyage*, 1821, p. 301], Germ. tr. 220 f.; Burckhardt, *Bedouins*, i. 109.

<sup>2</sup> See Winer,<sup>3</sup> under *Ehe*.

<sup>3</sup> See note on iv. 3.

<sup>4</sup> Ex. xii. 3; Lev. xvi. 29.

<sup>5</sup> *Eine grosse Woche*; Ewald, *Alterthümer*,<sup>3</sup> p. 131 [*Antiquities*, p. 98, note 4].

<sup>6</sup> Ch. xxix. 14.

<sup>7</sup> Olshausen.

<sup>8</sup> Chs. xv. 2, xviii. 13, 18, xx. 3, etc.

<sup>9</sup> Vv. 50, 53, 55.

<sup>10</sup> 2 Kings xi. 2.

<sup>11</sup> *Odyssey*, ii. 362 ff.; Euripides, *Hippolytus*, 286 ff.; *Aeneid*, vii. 1 ff. Knobel.

nameless in *C*; in *B*<sup>1</sup> she is called Deborah, and comes to Canaan only with Jacob. For מנקה the Septuagint has τὰ ὑπάρχοντα αὐτῆς (?מקנה<sup>2</sup>).

Ver. 60. They give her their blessing, expressed in rhythmical form, which serves<sup>3</sup> at the same time as a benediction on her marriage.

*Thousands of myriads*—mother of innumerable descendants. "This was a Hebrew woman's greatest good fortune;<sup>4</sup> it is still the same in the East."<sup>5</sup>

*The gate of those who hate her*—see ch. xxii. 17.

Ver. 61. "As the daughter of a rich man, Rebecca receives with her a number of girls to be companions and attendants.<sup>6</sup> Laban, on the marriage of his daughters, however, gave each only one maid."<sup>7</sup>

The second part of this verse, as the text now stands, summarises what occurred. But it is not unlikely that originally something stood between it and what goes before,<sup>8</sup> for ver. 62 ff. also show traces of *R*'s hand.

Vv. 62-67. Rebecca reaches Isaac in safety and becomes his wife.

Ver. 62. Introductory circumstantial clause mainly from *R*, rendered necessary because he required to give a later position to xxv. 5 and 11*b*, which in *C* preceded this point. *C*'s original text may have been something like יבא (יצחק) אל מדבר באר לחי ראי.

'בא מבוא ונ'—the general interpretation is *had come from coming to the well*,<sup>9</sup> i.e. had returned from a journey to it. But for a journey one requires נָכַח or a similar word, not

<sup>1</sup> Ch. xxxv. 8.

<sup>2</sup> Schleusner.

<sup>3</sup> Comp. Ruth iv. 11 ff.

<sup>4</sup> See xvi. 2, 4.

<sup>5</sup> *Sharastāni*, trans. by Haarbrücker, ii. 350 (*Geschichte der Religionsparteien und Philosophensekten*); Volney, *Voyage* [ii. 445, Eng. tr. 1787, ii. 485]. Knobel.

<sup>6</sup> Ps. xlv. 15 [14].

<sup>7</sup> Ch. xxix. 24, 29. Knobel.

<sup>8</sup> For conjectures see Kautzsch-Socin, *Genesis* <sup>2</sup> [who suppose that the author related that Abraham's death was found to have meantime taken place].

<sup>9</sup> Clericus, Gesenius, Knobel, Keil.

בוא. There is less objection to translating מְבוֹא *from the direction of*,<sup>1</sup> but one cannot see any reason why we should be told where he came from. The same objection decides against corrections like מַעַם for מְבוֹא,<sup>2</sup> or מִבְּאֵר for בְּאֵר.<sup>3</sup> We expect to be told rather where he was going *to*, or where he was. But we cannot translate בוא מְבוֹא, *il vint d'arriver*, he had just reached Beer,<sup>4</sup> for such an idiom is quite without analogy in Hebrew. We must either strike out מְבוֹא as inexplicable, or set for it מְדִבֵּר, which is a partial adoption of the reading במדבר of the Samaritan and Septuagint. His meaning may be taken to be as follows, "Isaac had reached (the desert of) Beer Lachairoi,<sup>5</sup> and was living there in the Negeb."<sup>6</sup> In this way Beer Lachairoi was the place where Isaac received his bride.<sup>7</sup> The present reading may be due to the unseasonable correction of a reader who, in accordance with chs. xxiii. and xxv. 8 f., wished to make the servant reach Abraham and Isaac in Mamre.

Ver. 63. There Isaac went out *to lament*<sup>8</sup> or *to reflect*.<sup>9</sup>

לָשׁוּב—also translated *to pray*<sup>10</sup> or *to commune with himself*,<sup>11</sup> even *to fetch faggots*.<sup>12</sup> *Lament* is commended by ver. 67 more than *meditate* or *reflect*, whether the subject of reflection is taken to be the care of his flocks,<sup>13</sup> or the matter of his betrothal,<sup>14</sup> or anything else, provided, that is, that 67*b* is in the main original, and not an addition of *R*'s. The reading of the Peshitta לָשׁוּב, *to take a walk*, is worthy of

<sup>1</sup> Delitzsch<sup>5</sup>; cf. בְּאֵכָה, ch. x. 19, 30; לְבוֹא, Num. xiii. 21; מְלוֹבֵא, 1 Kings viii. 65.

<sup>2</sup> Houbigant, following xxv. 11.

<sup>3</sup> Lagarde, *Onomast. sacra*,<sup>1</sup> ii. 95; Olshausen.

<sup>4</sup> Ewald, § 136*h*; Hupfeld, *Quellen*, p. 29.

<sup>5</sup> Ch. xvi. 14.

<sup>6</sup> Ch. xx. 1.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. xxv. 11.

<sup>8</sup> Knobel, Ewald, *Alterthümer*,<sup>8</sup> 271 [*Antiquities*, p. 203]; comp. שִׁיחַ, Ps. lv. 3, 18, cxlii. 3; Job vii. 11, 13; Prov. xxiii. 29.

<sup>9</sup> Sept., Vulg., Clericus, Rosenmüller, Vater, Maurus, Tuch, Baumgarten, Delitzsch.

<sup>10</sup> Targg., Arabic trans., Graec. Venet., Rashi, Luther.

<sup>11</sup> Aquila, Symmachus, von Bohlen.

<sup>12</sup> Böttcher.

<sup>13</sup> Tuch.

<sup>14</sup> Delitzsch, Knobel.



observation; Gesenius<sup>1</sup> calls attention to the ההלך בשרה of ver. 65, and approves of this reading.

לפנות ערב—"about the time of the approach of evening,<sup>2</sup> when the Oriental goes out."<sup>3</sup> Isaac sees the caravan coming.

Ver. 64. Almost at the same time Rebecca sees Isaac, and, without knowing him, but, doubtless, with a presentiment of the truth, *she fell from the camel*, i.e.<sup>4</sup> sprang quickly down from the animal she rode. She did so primarily "as a sign of respect to Isaac, whom she recognised as a man of distinction. The custom is several times mentioned in the Old Testament,<sup>5</sup> and it was the practice among other ancient peoples, e.g. the Romans,<sup>6</sup> and still exists in the East.<sup>7</sup> Jews and Christians are required to dismount when they meet a Moslem of distinction."<sup>8</sup>

Ver. 65. "When Rebecca learned who Isaac was, she covered herself with her veil. The bride appeared before the bridegroom veiled, hence also the expression *nubere viro*. Only after they were alone together was the veil removed. This is still the custom in the East."<sup>9</sup>

אדני—explained by ver. 36 and xxv. 5, even if Abraham's death had not yet been related.

צֶעִיף—in the Old Testament only in ch. xxxviii. 14, 19 besides here.

הַיָּחִיד—the man there, also in xxxvii. 19, in B.<sup>10</sup>

Ver. 66 f. The servant recounts all that happened to him, and then Isaac marries Rebecca.

<sup>1</sup> *Thesaurus*, p. 1322.

<sup>2</sup> Ex. xiv. 27; Deut. xxiii. 12.

<sup>3</sup> Ch. iii. 8. Knobel.

<sup>4</sup> 2 Kings v. 21.

<sup>5</sup> 1 Sam. xxv. 23; 2 Kings v. 21; Josh. xv. 18.

<sup>6</sup> Livy, xxiv. 44.

<sup>7</sup> Niebuhr, *Arabien*, p. 50; *Reisebeschreibung*, i. 239; Joliffe, *Travels*, Germ. tr. p. 174.

<sup>8</sup> Niebuhr, *Arabien*, p. 44; *Reisebeschreibung*, i. 139 f.; Schultz, *Leitung des Höchsten*, iv. 358; Sonnini, *Voyage* [Eng. tr. 1799, ii. 266, 309], Germ. tr. ii. 54, 92; Seetzen, *Reisen*, iii. 190.

<sup>9</sup> Russell, *Aleppo* (1794), i. 287 f.; Jaubert, *Voyage*, p. 303; Burckhardt, *Proverbs*, pp. 137, 139; Carne [*Letters from the East*, p. 92], Ger. *Leben u. Sitte*, i. 88; Lane, *Manners and Customs*, ch. vi., 1890, p. 156. Knobel. Also Munzinger, *Ostafrik. Studien*, p. 147.

<sup>10</sup> Gesenius,<sup>25</sup> § 34; Ewald, § 183b.

ההאלה—the article before the construct cannot be explained.<sup>1</sup> It may be conjectured that יָרָה אָמוֹ is a gloss,<sup>2</sup> to make the connection with ch. xxiii. closer. There is no difficulty in the mention of a special tent belonging to Sarah. “Jacob’s wives have also separate tents (xxxi. 33). Similarly the wives of Beduin chiefs.”<sup>3</sup>

*And he comforted himself, after his mother, i.e. after her decease, and accordingly now ceased to mourn for her; with יָרָה compare לפני in ch. xxx. 30. This may also be a gloss, like יָרָה אָמוֹ.<sup>4</sup> It is equally possible<sup>5</sup> that originally אָבִי stood where אָמוֹ now is, and that somewhere in the narrative, perhaps at ver. 62, Abraham’s death, which had meanwhile occurred, was related. With ch. xxiv. in its present position, preceded by ch. xxiii., Isaac must have mourned for his mother three or four years,<sup>6</sup>—an unusually long time. “Thirty and seventy days, even, were long periods of mourning.”<sup>7</sup>*

4. ABRAHAM’S DESCENDANTS BY KETURAH, HIS DEATH, CH. XXV. 1–11; FROM *R*, FOLLOWING *A*, *C*, AND *B*(?).

Tuch, Knobel, Ewald, and Nöldeke attribute the whole of this passage to *A*. Regarding the authorship of vv. 7–11*a* there can be no doubt. Its statement of Abraham’s age, “the mention of Ishmael as still living with him (ver. 9), the reference to the cave of Makhpelah (ver. 9 f.), the redundant style (ver. 9 f.), the expressions בְּנֵי הָת (ver. 10), נֶאֱכַף אֶל עַמִּי and נָתַן (ver. 8), יָמֵי יִשְׁנֵי הָיִי (ver. 7), as well as אֱלֹהִים (ver. 11),” and the reference of ch. xlix. 31 to ver. 9,<sup>8</sup> furnish the proof. But the case is otherwise with vv. 1–6.<sup>9</sup> In

<sup>1</sup> Ewald, § 290*d*; Gesenius,<sup>25</sup> 127*A*. 4.

<sup>2</sup> Wellhausen, *JBDTh*. xxi. 418.

<sup>3</sup> Arvieux [*Mémoires*, iii. 254], *Merkwürdige Nachrichten*, iii. 214. Knobel.

<sup>4</sup> Böhrmer, *Erste Buch der Thora*, p. 213.

<sup>5</sup> Wellhausen.

<sup>6</sup> Chs. xvii. 17, xxiii. 1, xxv. 20.

<sup>7</sup> Ch. l. 3; Num. xx. 29; Deut. xxi. 13, xxxiv. 8. Knobel.

<sup>8</sup> Knobel.

<sup>9</sup> Hupfeld, Böhrmer, Schrader, Wellhausen.

the first place ver. 5 is secured for *C* by the coincidence with ch. xxiv. 36; ver. 6 is less certain, though it cannot be from *A* in view of the contradiction with ver. 9, where Ishmael still lives with Abraham, and because of the word פִּלְגִּשִׁים. If it were certain that ver. 6 is from *C*, it would follow that *C* also had an account of Keturah; ver. 3 f. cannot at least be from *A*, both because of the use of יֵלֶד and because of the contradiction with x. 7. On the other hand, ver. 1 f., apart from וַיִּסַּף, which *A* does not use, might very well be from *A*, and אִשָּׁה even points with certainty to another author than that of ver. 6. Ch. xvii. 4 f. might also commend *A*'s authorship, though ch. xxv. 9, where only Isaac and Ishmael are mentioned, is rather against it. In addition, seeing that *A* makes Abraham's full age 175 years, the birth of sons to him after Sarah's death, *i.e.* after he was 137 years old, would be least surprising; in *C* the account would have to stand before the birth of Isaac.<sup>1</sup> The words בְּנֵי קֶטוּרָה (ver. 4)<sup>2</sup> may, in particular, be advanced to support *C*'s authorship of vv. 1–6<sup>3</sup> or of 1–5.<sup>4</sup> But the descent of שָׁבָא from Yokshân, while against *A*'s authorship, is also decisive against *C* (ch. x. 28). For these reasons we may best suppose that vv. 1–4 are from *B*, who in ch. xxxvii. 28 and 36, also, mentions Midian instead of *C*'s Ishmael; or that they are an independent contribution from *R* himself, following *B* and *A*. Ver. 6 we must hold to owe its present form to *R*. For ver. 11b see below.

Vv. 1–4. Abraham takes Keturah to be his wife, and has six sons by her, who have become the ancestors of Arab peoples.

Ver. 1. 'וַיִּסַּף אֵב'—due to *R*, connects the narrative with ch. xxiii.

קֶטוּרָה—properly frankincense. Sprenger<sup>5</sup> is of opinion

<sup>1</sup> Chs. xviii. 12 ff., xxi. 7.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. x. 29 f., ix. 19.

<sup>3</sup> Budde, *Urgeschichte*, 225; Kuenen, *Onderzoek*,<sup>2</sup> i. 144, who yet on p. 315 regards the verses as a stray passage picked up by the last redactor.

<sup>4</sup> Kautzsch-Socin.

<sup>5</sup> *Geographie Arabiens*, p. 295.

that the בני קטורה were made the descendants of Keturah because the author knew them as traders in spices. The Arab genealogists of later times do not speak of Keturæan Arabs, but they mention "a tribe Kâtûrâ, which dwelt in the neighbourhood of Mekka, along with the tribe Jurhum."<sup>1</sup> The names of the Keturah tribes also are only in part capable of identification. The list is also given in 1 Chron. i. 32 f., but in an abbreviated form.

Ver. 2. Firstly, six principal tribes, a half dodecad, are given as descended from Keturah.

זִמְרֵן—from זִמְרָא, a species of antelope. The Septuagint has Ζομβρᾶν, Ζεμβράμ. Knobel compares Ζαβράμ, the capital of the Κιναιδοκολπίται, west of Mekka on the Red Sea.<sup>2</sup> Some identify this people with the Kinda, Blau and Sprenger with the Kinâna.<sup>3</sup> Grotius has drawn attention to the Zamareni of Pliny.<sup>4</sup> זִמְרֵן has nothing to do with Shammar,<sup>5</sup> and it is questionable if it is connected with the זִמְרֵי of Jer. xxv. 25.<sup>6</sup>

יִקְשָׁן—Sept. Ἰεξάν, Ἰεζάν; Tuch compares יִקְשָׁן (x. 26), Ewald<sup>7</sup> בִּרְשָׁן (Hab. iii. 7), Knobel the Κασσανῖται of Ptolemy.<sup>8</sup> The last named lived south of the Κιναιδοκολπίται on the Red Sea, and correspond rather to the Ghassân.<sup>9</sup> Arabic genealogists identify יִקְשָׁן with the tribe Yâkish in Yemen,<sup>10</sup> perhaps because in ver. 3 שִׁבְא is descended from it.

קִטְרֵן—of all the descendants of Keturah these are the best known. They were a powerful people down to about the time of the Hebrew monarchy. In Gen. xxxvii. 28, 36 (B) they are engaged in caravan trade with Egypt; in Ex. ii. and xviii. they are found in the peninsula of Sinai; in

<sup>1</sup> See Ibn Coteiba, ed. Wüstenfeld, 14; Ritter, *Erdkunde*, xii. 19 ff. Knobel.

<sup>2</sup> Ptolemy, vi. 7. 5.

<sup>3</sup> *Op. cit.* § 30 ff.; see *ZDMG.* xxii. 663.

<sup>4</sup> *Hist. Nat.* vi. § 138.

<sup>5</sup> Sprenger, *op. cit.* p. 295.

<sup>6</sup> See Delitzsch, *Paradies*, 237.

<sup>7</sup> *Geschichte*,<sup>3</sup> i. 451 [*History*, vol. i. p. 315].

<sup>8</sup> vi. 7. 6.

<sup>9</sup> *ZDMG.* xxii. 668; Sprenger, *op. cit.* §§ 43, 52.

<sup>10</sup> Osiander in *ZDMG.* x. 31.



Numbers<sup>1</sup> they appear in the country east of the Jordan, in conflict with the Israelites; in the time of the Judges their hordes overwhelmed Palestine;<sup>2</sup> even in Isa. lx. 6 they are mentioned as an Arab merchant people.<sup>3</sup>

מַדְיָן—Sept. *Madāλ*, are nowhere else mentioned, for we are entitled to assume that the מַדְיָן of Gen. xxxvii. 36 ought to be identical with the מַדְיָן of ver. 28.<sup>4</sup> Yet it may be thought that the tribes here mentioned alongside of one another were also neighbours. Ptolemy<sup>5</sup> mentions a place *Μαδίανα* on the east coast of the Gulf of 'Aḳaba (as well as<sup>6</sup> a *Μαδιάμα* in Arabia Felix). The *Onomasticon*<sup>7</sup> knows a place *Μαδιανή* there also, and "the Arabic geographers<sup>8</sup> a Madian, which they place five days south of Aila on the east side of the sea."<sup>9</sup> Wetzstein<sup>10</sup> and Sprenger<sup>11</sup> compare a Wadi Medân<sup>12</sup> in the neighbourhood of the ruined city of Dedân.<sup>13</sup> Osiander<sup>14</sup> and Hitzig<sup>15</sup> have drawn attention to a Jurhamite idol named Madân.

יַסְבֻּךְ—wrongly identified by Knobel with Shaubak in the Jebel esh-Shera,<sup>16</sup> which is not heard of till the Middle Ages. It is now believed to have been also found in the cuneiform inscriptions as *Yasbuk*.<sup>17</sup>

שֻׁכִּי—mentioned in Job ii. 11 as a tribe, in the neighbourhood of the land of עֵיץ. The Septuagint has Σωιέ, in Job Σαυχεῖς. It may be taken to be the Suchu of the cuneiform inscriptions,<sup>18</sup> on the right bank of the Euphrates,

<sup>1</sup> Chs. xxii. 4, 7, xxv. 6, 17 f., xxxi. 1 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Judg. vi. ff.

<sup>3</sup> See, further, the Biblical Dictionaries.

<sup>4</sup> Ewald, § 164b.

<sup>5</sup> vi. 7. 2.

<sup>6</sup> vi. 7. 27.

<sup>7</sup> *Sub Μαδιάμα*.

<sup>8</sup> Istachri (ed. Mordtmann, p. 10); Edrisi (trans. by Jaubert, i. 328, 333); Ḳazwini, ii. 173; Abulfida, *Arab.*, ed. Rommel, p. 77 f.; *Marâşid*, iii. 64.

<sup>9</sup> Knobel. Comp. also 1Kings xi. 18, and Ewald, *Geschichte*,<sup>3</sup> ii. 473 f. [*History*, vol. ii. p. 107 f.], also Wetzstein in *Zeitschrift für Allgem. Erdkunde*, 1865, p. 115 f.

<sup>10</sup> In Delitzsch, *Isaiah*,<sup>1</sup> p. 665.

<sup>11</sup> *Geographie Arabiens*, p. 295.

<sup>12</sup> In Yâkût, iv. 445.

<sup>13</sup> See notes on x. 7.

<sup>14</sup> *ZDMG*. vii. 492.

<sup>15</sup> On Prov. vi. 19.

<sup>16</sup> *E.g.* Burckhardt, *Syria*, p. 416.

<sup>17</sup> Fried. Delitzsch in *ZKSF*. ii. 92.

<sup>18</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 91 f.

approximately between the mouths of the Belih and the Chabor.<sup>1</sup> The "Arab tribe Syayhe, east of Aila,<sup>2</sup> or even Şihân, a place in the north of Edom,"<sup>3</sup> cannot be thought of. *Σαύη*, mentioned by Ptolemy,<sup>4</sup> deserves more consideration, but not *Σόακα*.<sup>5</sup>

We cannot say if the enumeration of the Keturæans proceeds from south to north;<sup>6</sup> and the statement of Josephus,<sup>7</sup> that they included Troglodytis and the part of Arabia Felix lying along the Red Sea, is not very reliable.

Ver. 3. Sons and grandsons of Yokshân.

For Shebâ and Dedân see notes on ch. x. 7. The genealogy here seems to be constructed by one with a narrower horizon than that shown in ch. x.

Regarding the three sons of Dedân nothing further is known. Induced by the plural form of the names, even ancient expositors,<sup>8</sup> and more recently Hitzig,<sup>9</sup> have regarded them as appellatives to be interpreted of the occupations or modes of life adopted by certain offshoots of Dedân. Knobel's view was that by the *אַשּׁוּרִים*, who are not, it may be remarked, to be identified with the *אַשּׁוּר* of Ezek. xxvii. 23, or with the corrupt *הַאֲשּׁוּרִי* of 2 Sam. xxix., were to be understood the tribes of the 'Asîr in Tihâma,<sup>10</sup> by the *לְטַשִּׁים* the Banu Laith in the Hijâz,<sup>11</sup> and by the *לְאָמִים* the Banu Lâm,<sup>12</sup> all of which is phonologically impossible. For what the Arabic genealogists made of the last two, see the *ZDMG*.<sup>13</sup> *אַשּׁוּרִי* and *לְטַשִּׁי*, as names of persons, have been read on

<sup>1</sup> Schrader, *KGF*. 142 f., 222; Delitzsch, *Paradies*, p. 297 f.

<sup>2</sup> Burekhardt, *Syria*, p. 594; *Bedouins and Wahâbys*, vol. ii. p. 10.

<sup>3</sup> Burekhardt, *Syria*, p. 414.

<sup>4</sup> V. 19. 5.

<sup>5</sup> Ptolemy, vi. 7. 29; Sprenger, *op. cit.* § 22.

<sup>6</sup> Knobel.

<sup>7</sup> *Antiquities*, i. 15. 1.

<sup>8</sup> Targg., Jerome, *Quæstiones* and *Onomasticon*.

<sup>9</sup> Schenkel, *Bibellæxikon*, sub. Dedân.

<sup>10</sup> Ritter, *Erdkunde*, xii. 983 ff.

<sup>11</sup> Ibn Coteiba, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 32.

<sup>12</sup> Ritter, *Erdkunde*, xii. 913, xiii. 234, 438, 451, 458, xiv. 45.

<sup>13</sup> xx. 175, xxiii. 298.

Nabatean inscriptions.<sup>1</sup> Hommel<sup>2</sup> and Glaser<sup>3</sup> have a peculiar conjecture regarding אִשְׂרִים based on a Minean inscription.

Ver. 4. Five sons or offshoots of the important people of Midian are named.

עֵיפָה—mentioned also in Isa. lx. 6 along with Midian as a tribe engaged in commerce, which brought gold and incense from Sheba, and had great wealth in camels. The Septuagint reads Γεφάρ, in Isaiah Γαιφά. It is now identified with the Ḥayapâ, Ḥâ'âpâ of the cuneiform inscriptions,<sup>4</sup> a people of North Arabia.<sup>5</sup> Halévy reads a personal name עֵפָה in the Safa inscriptions.<sup>6</sup>

עֶפֶר—Sept. 'Αφείρ. Knobel identifies with the Banu Ghifâr of the Kinâna tribe in the Ḥijâz,<sup>7</sup> Wetzstein,<sup>8</sup> with 'Ofr, a place between the hills of Tihâma and Abân;<sup>9</sup> Glaser,<sup>10</sup> with the Apparû of the inscriptions of Asshurbanipal.<sup>11</sup>

תִּנְיָה—perhaps<sup>12</sup> to be explained of Ḥanâkiya, a place three days' journey north of Medina,<sup>13</sup> in the neighbourhood of 'Ofr.<sup>14</sup>

Seeing that עֵיפָה, עֶפֶר, and תִּנְיָה also occur as family names in Judah, East Manasseh, and Reuben, it is quite possible that offshoots from these Midianitish tribes were absorbed in Israel.<sup>15</sup>

Nothing is known of אֲבִירָע and אֲלֶרְעָה, Sept. 'Αβειδά and

<sup>1</sup> ZDMG. xiv. 403 f., 447, 477 f.

<sup>2</sup> Aufsätze u. Abhandlungen, 1890, p. 8 f.

<sup>3</sup> In *Ausland*, 1891, No. 3, p. 48.

<sup>4</sup> Schrader, *KGF*. p. 262 f.; for the phonetic possibility, P. Haupt in *ZA*. ii. 267.

<sup>5</sup> Schrader, *KAT*.<sup>2</sup> 146 f., 613 [*Cuneiform Inscript.* vol. i. p. 132]; Delitzsch, *Paradies*, 304; Hommel, *op. cit.* p. 5, between Mekka and Medina.

<sup>6</sup> *JA*. vii. 10, pp. 394 f., 418, vii. 17, pp. 186, 208.

<sup>7</sup> Ibn Coteiba, p. 32; Abulfida, *Histor. anteislam.* p. 196.

<sup>8</sup> *Zeitschrift für Allg. Erdkunde*, 1865, p. 102.

<sup>9</sup> Yâkût, iii. 688, iv. 750.

<sup>10</sup> *Geog. Arabiens*, ii. 44.

<sup>11</sup> Schrader, *Keilschriftliche Bibliothek*, ii. 223.

<sup>12</sup> Knobel.

<sup>13</sup> Burekhardt, *Arabia*, ii. 396 (Germ. tr. p. 610 f.).

<sup>14</sup> Wetzstein as in note 8.

<sup>15</sup> Nöldeke in Schenkel's *Bibelllex.* iv. 218.

'Ελδαγά. In Sabeian inscriptions אַבִּירֶע is found as the name of a person.<sup>1</sup> The concluding words of the genealogy, as in x. 29.

Ver. 5. Word for word as in xxiv. 36, and therefore from *C*. The Samaritan and Septuagint add בְּנִי after לִיצְחָק.

Ver. 6. Abraham gave Isaac his whole property, and, while yet alive, disposed of the sons of his concubines, Hagar and Keturah, by gifts of servants, cattle, etc.<sup>2</sup> According to *B* (xxi. 20 f.), Ishmael had long left his father's house. Nor can *C* have written this verse, if xvi. 8-10 is a harmonistic interpolation. Seeing, further, that Hagar is called שִׁפְחָה and אִמָּה in *C* and *B*, while Keturah in ver. 1 is even termed אִשָּׁה, and that פִּלְגִישׁ in xxxv. 22, and no doubt also in xxxvi. 12 and xxii. 24, is due to *R*, we are led to the conjecture that *R* has recast this verse wholly or in part.

He dismissed them *eastwards, to the land of the east*, i.e. in general to Arabia, with Arabia Deserta or the Syrian desert included.<sup>3</sup>

Ver. 7 f. Death and burial of Abraham, from *A*.

Ver. 7. חֵי, ch. iii. 22. Abraham's age of 175 years takes him fifteen years beyond the birth of his grandsons Esau and Jacob (ver. 26). His history is nevertheless here brought to its conclusion, as in the similar case in ch. xi. 32.

Ver. 8. וַיָּנוּעַ וַיָּמָת, as in ver. 17 and xxxv. 29. *In a good old age* (ch. xv. 15). For וַיִּצְבֹּעַ the Samaritan and Septuagint have וַשְׁבַּע בִּימִים; comp. xxxv. 29.

*Gathered to his kinsfolk*<sup>4</sup>—i.e. "united to them in Sheol. The expressions בּוֹא אֶל-אֲבוֹתָיו (ch. xv. 15), נָאֵפָה אֶל-אֲבוֹתָיו (Judg. ii. 10), and the frequent עִם-אֲבוֹתָיו שָׁכַב (Deut. xxxi. 16), have the same meaning. They do not simply signify *die*, for נָוַע and מָוַת are frequently used along with them,<sup>5</sup> nor *to be*

<sup>1</sup> ZDMG. xxvii. 648, xxxvii. 399; Glaser, *Arabien*, ii. 449.

<sup>2</sup> Comp. xxi. 10; Judg. xi. 2.

<sup>3</sup> Winer,<sup>3</sup> ii. 107.

<sup>4</sup> See ch. xvii. 14.

<sup>5</sup> Vv. 8, 17, chs. xxxv. 29, xlix. 33; Num. xx. 26; Deut. xxxii. 50.



*buried* in the family burying-place, for the interment often receives separate mention,<sup>1</sup> and they are also used of those not buried beside their ancestors,<sup>2</sup> or of those in whose place of burial only one ancestor already lay.<sup>3</sup> But they were originally used of burial in a common spot, and were then applied, secondarily, to denote arrival in Sheol. In Sheol those who are related are found together.<sup>4</sup> See, further, Böttcher, *De Inferis*.<sup>5</sup>

Ver. 9 f. See notes on ch. xxiii. 20.

Ver. 11. The first part of the verse is still from *A*, as is shown by אֱלֹהִים. The divine blessing which had hitherto rested on Abraham continued with Isaac. The second part agrees with ch. xxiv. 62 in *C*, and was originally a continuation of ver. 5. In *A*, Isaac's residence seems to have been Hebron (xxxv. 27).

בָּאָר לְהִי רֹאִי—see notes on ch. xvi. 14.

## 5. THE DESCENDANTS OF ISHMAEL, CH. XXV. 12-18; FOLLOWING *A*.<sup>6</sup>

Ch. xxv. 11 made the transition to the history of Isaac. But before *A* can quite pass over to it he must add, in accordance with his custom, what was to be said regarding the branch line of Ishmael.<sup>7</sup> Ishmael was a leading character in the patriarchal legends, and he had received such great promises in ch. xvii. 20<sup>8</sup> that it was quite essential to trace their fulfilment, especially as it was also the fulfilment of part of the divine word spoken to Abraham in ch. xvii. 5 f. This in itself leaves no doubt that the passage belongs to *A*,<sup>9</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Ver. 9, chs. xv. 15, xxxv. 29; 1 Kings ii. 10, xi. 43, and frequently.

<sup>2</sup> Deut. xxxi. 16; 1 Kings ii. 10, xvi. 28; 2 Kings xxi. 18.

<sup>3</sup> 1 Kings xi. 43, xxii. 40.

<sup>4</sup> Ch. xxxvii. 35; Ezek. xxxii. 22 ff.; Ps. xlix. 20.

<sup>5</sup> I. 54 ff. Knobel.

<sup>6</sup> Excepting ver. 18.

<sup>7</sup> Comp. xxxvi. 1 alongside of xxxvii. 2.

<sup>8</sup> As in *B* and *C*, chs. xxi. 18, xvi. 10.

<sup>9</sup> Knobel, Nöldeke, Schrader, Wellhausen.

and confirmation is found in the heading, in the statement of Ishmael's age, and in the formulæ and expressions used; comp. also especially ver. 12 with ch. xvi. 3 and 15, ver. 13 (the firstborn) with xxxv. 23, and the twelve princes of ver. 16 with xvii. 20. Hupfeld<sup>1</sup> and Böhmer<sup>2</sup> are wrong in denying to *A*, in the one case vv. 13–16*a* and 18, in the other, all except ver. 17. A separate paragraph, with the heading אֵלֶּה הַלְוִיִּם, yet consisting only of vv. 16*b* and 17, would be singularly wanting in sense. Regarding ver. 18, see below. The list in 1 Chron. i. 28–31 is to be compared with that here.

Ver. 12. See ch. xvi. 3, 15.

Ver. 13. Comp. chs. xxxvi. 10, 40, xlvi. 8. Vv. 13 and 17 are partial headings subordinate to the general heading in ver. 12.

בְּשֵׁמֹתָם—is surprising, and is only saved from being completely superfluous if it be taken closely with the following לְהוֹלִדָּתָם: “after their names, according to their genealogical order,” *i.e.* their names in their genealogical order.

It is reasonable to maintain that the duodecimal number of the Ishmaelite tribes is not simply due to a baseless schematism of *A*'s,<sup>3</sup> or to a transference to Ishmael of a division existing in Israel,<sup>4</sup> but had its historical ground in the fact that political or religious federations divided duodecimally were not infrequent among Hebrew peoples.<sup>5</sup> But we may admit that the Israelite author's preconceptions had pretty free scope when he came to arrange the individual names as parts of the duodecimal whole. It is either this fact or a generalisation of the word Ishmaelite to mean Bedouin or desert Arab,<sup>6</sup> which accounts for the Midianites, who were

<sup>1</sup> *Quellen*, p. 58 ff.; similarly Kayser, p. 22.

<sup>2</sup> *Erste Buch der Thora*, p. 84.

<sup>3</sup> Nöldeke.

<sup>4</sup> Knobel.

<sup>5</sup> Ewald, *Geschichte*,<sup>3</sup> i. 520–532 [*History*, vol. i. pp. 362–371]; Reuss, *Geschichte des Alt. Test.*<sup>1</sup> p. 40 f.

<sup>6</sup> Ch. xvi. 12.

Ḳetureans according to ver. 2, being also named Ishmaelites.<sup>1</sup> It may be concluded, moreover, from the fact that the name Ishmaelite, apart from its artificial resuscitation in Ps. lxxxiii. 1 and Judith i. 13, does not occur after the time of David,<sup>2</sup> that this confederation early lost its individual existence.<sup>3</sup>

נָבִיט and קָדָר are the best known and the most important of the twelve tribes. The former is expressly designated the firstborn, and the two are conjoined in the inscriptions of Assurbanipal<sup>4</sup> and in Isa. lx. 7. Similarly, Pliny<sup>5</sup> mentions the Nabatai along with the Cedrei. The Arabic genealogies<sup>6</sup> make Ḳaidar and Nâbit Ishmael's eldest sons, but they are simply drawn from the Old Testament.

נָבִיט—The only further Old Testament statements regarding Nabaioth are to the effect that Esau made a marriage alliance with them,<sup>7</sup> and that they were a tribe rich in flocks (Isa. lx. 7). They are nowhere mentioned in the history of Israel down to the Persian period, though, doubtless, the same as the Nabitai of the Assyrian monuments.<sup>8</sup>

But in the period which followed the death of Alexander the Great an important part is played by the *Nabateans*. They were an Arab people who occupied Idumea, and Petra its capital, after the Idumeans settled in the south of Canaan.<sup>9</sup> Afterwards, on the decay of the Seleucide monarchy, they made themselves supreme in the country east of the Jordan, and in the Syrian desert,<sup>10</sup> as far as the Ḥaurân and Damascus,<sup>11</sup> while southwards they extended, not merely to Elath, but even a considerable distance into Arabia proper.<sup>12</sup> They were

<sup>1</sup> Judg. viii. 24, comp. vii. 25, viii. 22, 26; Gen. xxxvii. 25, 27, xxxix. 1.

<sup>2</sup> 1 Chron. ii. 17, 27, 30.

<sup>3</sup> Nöldeke, *Amalek*, p. 5.

<sup>4</sup> Schrader, *KAT.*<sup>2</sup> p. 147 [*Cun. Inscript.* vol. i. p. 133].

<sup>5</sup> *Hist. Nat.* v. § 5.

<sup>6</sup> *E.g.* Ibn Coteiba, pp. 18, 30 (ed. Wüstenfeld), and Abulfida, *Historia anteislamica*, p. 192.

<sup>7</sup> Gen. xxviii. 9, xxxvi. 3.

<sup>8</sup> Schrader, *KGF.* p. 102.

<sup>9</sup> Diodorus, xix. 94–100 ff.

<sup>10</sup> 1 Macc. v. 25, ix. 35.

<sup>11</sup> Josephus, *Antiquities*, xiii. 15. 2.

<sup>12</sup> Diodorus, iii. 43; Stephanus Byzantinus, sub *Θαμνὸς*.

so widely spread that all the Arab peoples who then bordered on the Syrians passed for Nabateans,<sup>1</sup> and the whole country from the Euphrates to the Red Sea was called Nabatene.<sup>2</sup> They had kings of their own, and were as warlike as they were distinguished commercially and by their achievements in the other pursuits of peace. The ruins of their principal town, Petra, and the Nabatean coins and inscriptions, which date from the first century B.C. and the first century A.D., are evidences of their culture.<sup>3</sup> Very numerous Nabatean inscriptions have been recently found in North Arabia, especially in el-Ḥijr or Madâin Ṣâlih, and in el-ʿÖla, south of Teimâ.<sup>4</sup> Their empire was destroyed by Trajan,<sup>5</sup> and fresh Arab tribes pressed into the broad territories of their former dominion. It is still a debated question whether these later Nabateans are to be identified with the נַבְיָת. On the Nabatean inscriptions and by the Arabs their name is written نَبْت, but the Talmudic Jews write it with ת as well,<sup>6</sup> and Josephus<sup>7</sup> regards it as identical with נבית (comp. the Targum to Isa. lx. 4). This would not carry us far if it were certain that the later Nabateans were Arameans.<sup>8</sup> But judging from what is contained in the Nabatean inscriptions, it is more probable<sup>9</sup> that they were Arab by race while using Aramaic as a commercial people and in writing. If that be so, the interchange of ת and ט being presupposed, we may still assume that in name and in fact the ancient נבית are found in

<sup>1</sup> Strabo, xvi. 4. 18, 21; Pliny, xii. § 73.

<sup>2</sup> Josephus, *Antiquities*, i. 12. 4; Jerome, *Quæstiones*, *ad loc.*

<sup>3</sup> Ewald, *Geschichte*,<sup>3</sup> i. 451 ff., iv. 458 [*History*, i. 316, v. 351]; Nöldeke in Schenkel's *Bibelles*. iv. 269.

<sup>4</sup> See *Documents épigr. recueillis par Doughty*, Renan, Paris, 1884; Euting, *Nabat. Inschriften aus Arabien*, Berlin, 1885.

<sup>5</sup> Dio Cassius, lxxviii. 14; Ammianus, xiv. 8. 13.

<sup>6</sup> *ZDMG*. xiv. 371, xv. 413, xxv. 123 f.

<sup>7</sup> *Antiquities*, i. 12. 4.

<sup>8</sup> Quatremère in *Journal Asiatique*, 1835; C. de Perceval, *Essai sur l'histoire des Arabes*, i. 35 ff.; Ritter, *Erdkunde*, xii. 128 ff.; Halévy, *Revue Critique*, 1887, No. 32, p. 104; R. Duval, *JA*. viii. 11, p. 107.

<sup>9</sup> Nöldeke, *ZDMG*. xvii. 706 f., xxv. 122 f.; *Semit. Sprachen*, p. 31; Euting, *op. cit.* p. 73 ff.



the more modern נַבְט, who were a blending together of the נְבִית and other Arab peoples, and, doubtless, of Arameans also. But the distinction of the two peoples is insisted on by some.<sup>1</sup>

In any case, the Aramean *Nabatu*, mentioned in the inscriptions of Tiglath Pileser II. and of Sanherib, dwelling in or near South Babylonia,<sup>2</sup> are to be distinguished from the נְבִית, although later the Moslem Arabs also applied the name נַבְט to the peasantry who had a fixed residence in the Aramean lands, especially of Babylonia.<sup>3</sup>

קֶדְר—often mentioned in the Old Testament in the time of the Israelite monarchy, when Midian had now lost its former importance, and especially from the eighth century onwards. They are spoken of as good bowmen, and as the first to be exposed to the attacks of the Assyrians and Babylonians,<sup>4</sup> as dwelling in black tents<sup>5</sup> and open villages,<sup>6</sup> as rich in camels and flocks,<sup>7</sup> and as trading in these possessions.<sup>8</sup> They were situated between Arabia Petrea and Babylonia.<sup>9</sup> In the cuneiform inscriptions the Kidri are mentioned alongside of the Nabaitai, and their principal deity is given as Atar-samain.<sup>10</sup> Their name is used in the Rabbinical writers, like the name Ishmaelite, for Arab in general; the language of Kedar is the Arabic language. Even the Targums explain Kedar by "Arabs," once by נַבְט (Ezek. xxvii. 21).

אֲרַבָּאִי—Sept. *Ναβδεήλ*, identified by Delitzsch<sup>11</sup> and Schrader<sup>12</sup> as the *Idibi'il* of a text of Tiglath Pileser II.<sup>13</sup>

<sup>1</sup> E.g. again by Glaser, *Geschichte und Geographie Arabiens*, ii. 409 f.

<sup>2</sup> Schrader, *KGF*. p. 105 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Nöldeke, *ZDMG*. xxv. 122 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Isa. xxi. 16 f.; Jer. xlix. 28 ff.

<sup>5</sup> Song i. 5.

<sup>6</sup> Isa. xlii. 11; Jer. xlix. 31.

<sup>7</sup> Jer. xlix. 32; Isa. lx. 7.

<sup>8</sup> Ezek. xxvii. 21.

<sup>9</sup> *Onomasticon*, ed. Lagarde,<sup>1</sup> i. 111; Jerome ad Isa. xlii. 10, *regio inhabitabilis trans Arabiam Saracenorum*; cf. also Jer. ii. 10; Ps. cxx. 5, and the comm. of Theodoret; also Suidas, *sub Κηδάρ*.

<sup>10</sup> Schrader, *KGF*. 52 ff. 101 ff.; *KAT*.<sup>2</sup> 147 f. [Eng. tr. vol. i. p. 134]; comp. Glaser, *op. cit.* ii. 439.

<sup>11</sup> *Paradies*, 301 f.

<sup>12</sup> *KAT*.<sup>2</sup> p. 148 [*Cun. Inscript.* i. 135].

<sup>13</sup> Cf. Glaser, *op. cit.* ii. 439.

מִשֵּׁם—Sept. *Μασσάμ*, unknown. In 1 Chron. iv. 25 it is the name of a family in the tribe of Simeon.

מִשְׁמֵעַ—Sept. *Μασμά*, also the name of a Simeonite family.<sup>1</sup> The *Μαισαιμανεῖς*,<sup>2</sup> north-east of Medina, and the place called el-Mismiye in the Lejâ,<sup>3</sup> south of Damascus, have no connection with this name. The maps<sup>4</sup> mark a Jebel Misma' south-east of Kâf, east of the Wadi Sirhân, in the latitude of Idumea, and another farther south, west of the Shammar capital, Hâyel, towards Teimâ, where inscriptions have also been found. It is possible that in one or other of them a trace of מִשְׁמֵעַ remains.

דִּימָה—hardly the Duma situated in the east of the Haurân,<sup>5</sup> but probably *Δούμαθα*,<sup>6</sup> *Domata*, *Δούμεθα*,<sup>7</sup> *Δουμαίθα*,<sup>8</sup> or دوما,<sup>9</sup> “seven days’ journey from Damascus, and thirteen from Medina, on the borders of Shâm (Syria) and Irâk. According to Edrisi,<sup>10</sup> this same place was four days north of Teime, and it has been found there by modern travellers<sup>11</sup> in the district of el-Jauf; its usual name is Dumath el-Jandal,”<sup>12</sup> but it is to be distinguished from the דִּימָה of Isa. xxi. 11. Quite a number of other places of the name Duma are known.<sup>13</sup>

מִשְׁאֵם—usually connected with the *Μασαοί* of Ptolemy,<sup>14</sup> north-east of Duma. In the inscriptions of Assurbanipal, Mas’u also appears along with the Nabaitai and Kîdri.<sup>15</sup> For

<sup>1</sup> 1 Chron. iv. 25; Riehm, *Handwörterbuch*, p. 993.

<sup>2</sup> Ptolemy, vi. 7. 21. Knobel; see *ZDMG*. xxii. 672.

<sup>3</sup> Delitzsch.

<sup>4</sup> E.g. Stieler’s *Handatlas*, No. 70; Euting in *Nabat. Inschriften*, p. 2.

<sup>5</sup> Pointed out by Wetzstein, *Haurân*, p. 93.

<sup>6</sup> Stephanus Byzantinus.

<sup>7</sup> Pliny, vi. § 157.

<sup>8</sup> Ptolemy, v. 19. 7, viii. 22. 3; he puts it at one time in Arabia Felix, at another in Arabia Deserta.

<sup>9</sup> Abulfida, ed. Rommel, p. 89; Yâkût, ii. 625 ff. [Dillmann].

<sup>10</sup> Translation by Jaubert, i. 335.

<sup>11</sup> Niebuhr, *Arabien*, p. 344; Burckhardt, *Syria*, p. 662.

<sup>12</sup> Knobel.

<sup>13</sup> Enumerated in Mühlau, *De prov. Aguri*, 1869, p. 19 f.

<sup>14</sup> V. 19. 2; so by Knobel.

<sup>15</sup> Schrader, *KGF*. 102; *KAT*.<sup>2</sup> 148 f. [*Cuneiform Inscrip.* i. 135].

a refutation of Hitzig's conjectures regarding Massa, see Mühlau,<sup>1</sup> whose own opinion, however, that it was situated near the Duma of the Haurân, has also no good foundation.

תַּרְר—this is the correct reading;<sup>2</sup> the Septuagint has *Xoδδάν*, in Chronicles *Xovδάν*, *Xoδδád*; it is otherwise unknown.

תַּימָא—not Taimâ, three-quarters of an hour from Duma in the Haurân,<sup>3</sup> nor *Θαιμοί* north of the Gherrheans on the Persian Gulf,<sup>4</sup> nor the Banu Taim in the same locality.<sup>5</sup> It is the trading people mentioned in Jer. xxv. 23 and Job vi. 19, whose land (Isa. xxi. 14) is to be identified with the Taimâ'u of the Arabic geographers<sup>6</sup> on the western border of the Nejd, south-east of the northern extremity of the Gulf of 'Akaba; it is also mentioned in the cuneiform inscriptions along with the Mas'u.<sup>7</sup> This Teima has been recently proved by inscriptions found there<sup>8</sup> to have been the seat of an ancient civilisation.

*Yētur* and *Nāphish* were neighbours of Trans-Jordan Israel, which made war on them and on the Hagrites (? in Saul's time), and partially expelled them.<sup>9</sup> Nothing further is known of נַפִּישׁ.

יִטּוּר—The *Itureans*, on the other hand, are frequently mentioned from 105 B.C. onwards. They are spoken of as a rude, wild, mountain people addicted to robbery, and as good bowmen. Their proper home in the Roman period was in the hills of Lebanon and Antilebanon,<sup>10</sup> but in earlier times they may also have occupied districts farther south. The Jewish king, Aristobulus I., took from them part of their

<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 22 f.

<sup>2</sup> Given by the Massora, 1 Chron. i. 30, Samaritan, and Josephus for תַּרְר.

<sup>3</sup> Wetzstein, *Haurân*, p. 94.

<sup>4</sup> Ptolemy, vi. 7. 17.

<sup>5</sup> Yâkût, *Mushtarik*, pp. 310, 352, 413. Knobel.

<sup>6</sup> Gesenius, *Thesaurus*, 600.

<sup>7</sup> Schrader, *KGF*, p. 262 f.

<sup>8</sup> By Huber and Euting, *SBAW*, 1884, p. 813 ff.

<sup>9</sup> 1 Chron. v. 18 ff.; comp. Bertheau on Ezra ii. 50.

<sup>10</sup> Strabo, xvi. 2. 10, 18; Pliny, v. § 81; Josephus, *Vita*, 11; and Dio Cassius, lix. 12.

land, and compelled them to be circumcised or to emigrate.<sup>1</sup> It cannot be proved from any authority<sup>2</sup> that they occupied Trachonitis and the Haurân as late even as the Roman period.<sup>3</sup> It remains, however, possible that the modern Druses are descended from them.<sup>4</sup> Y<sup>e</sup>târ has no connection with Jêdâr.<sup>5</sup>

קְרִמָּה—mentioned nowhere else. The בְּנֵי קְרִם, who are distinguished from Midian and Amalek,<sup>6</sup> and again mentioned alongside of Edom, Moab, and Ammon,<sup>7</sup> are not an individual Arab tribe, but as in 1 Kings v. 10 [iv. 30] and Job i. 3, the Arabs of the East collectively; and the name might also include<sup>8</sup> Amalek, Midian, and Kedar. Compare the קְרִמֹנִי of ch. xv. 19.

The הִנְרָאִים or הִנְרִים, mentioned in the sources of the Chronicler as neighbours of the tribes east of Jordan,<sup>9</sup> in one case along with a separate mention of the name Ishmael,<sup>10</sup> are not here included among the Ishmaelites. In Ptolemy<sup>11</sup> they are set alongside of the Bataneans, and in Eratosthenes<sup>12</sup> occur as Ἀρπαῖοι.<sup>13</sup> It is questionable if the name has any connection with that of Hagar, the mother of Ishmael.<sup>14</sup>

Ver. 16. "These are the sons of Ishmael *in their enclosures and their tenting places*, i.e. who dwell some in permanent villages or small unwall'd towns,<sup>15</sup> others simply in movable encampments.<sup>16</sup> "טִירָה, derived from טִיר, a word

<sup>1</sup> Josephus, *Antiquities*, xiii. 11. 3.

<sup>2</sup> Strabo, xvi. 2. 20 included.

<sup>3</sup> Wetzstein, *Haurân*, p. 90; even the *Onomasticon* regards Ituræa and Trachonitis as identical; see Schürer, *Geschichte*,<sup>2</sup> i. 594 ff. [*History of Jewish People*, Div. i. vol. ii. p. 325 ff.]; Riehm, *Handwörterbuch*, 783.

<sup>4</sup> Knobel.

<sup>5</sup> See Deut. iii. 14, and Wetzstein, *Haurân*, p. 91.

<sup>6</sup> Judg. vi. 3, 33, vii. 12.

<sup>7</sup> Isa. xi. 14; Ezek. xxv. 4, 10.

<sup>8</sup> Judg. viii. 10; Jer. xlix. 28.

<sup>9</sup> 1 Chron. v. 10, 18 ff., xi. 38, xxvii. 31.

<sup>10</sup> 1 Chron. xxvii. 30 f.; comp. Ps. lxxxiii. 7.

<sup>11</sup> V. 19. 2.

<sup>12</sup> Strabo, xvi. 4. 2.

<sup>13</sup> Ἀρπῆς, Dionysius, *Periegetes*, 956.

<sup>14</sup> Baruch iii. 23; Nöldeke, *Amalek*, p. 6 f.

<sup>15</sup> Lev. xxv. 31; Isa. xlii. 11.

<sup>16</sup> Num. xxxi. 10; Ezek. xxv. 4.



related to *דור*, to circle, means camp; a camp is usually pitched in a circular form, and is called *גֵּזֶר*.<sup>1</sup> It is unquestionably a technical expression,<sup>2</sup> just as *אֶמְה* is. Twelve tribal princes; comp. ch. xvii. 20.

*אֶמְה*—a rare word, and more Arabic than Hebrew; purposely used by *A* here and in Num. xxv. 15 of the Arab peoples in question.

Ver. 17. Compare ver. 8.

Ver. 18. The country they occupied. Regarding *Shur in front of Egypt*, see ch. xvi. 7; and for *חִיִּלָּה*,<sup>3</sup> the notes in vol. i. pp. 129 and 382.

*In the direction* <sup>4</sup> *of Asshur*—words in themselves surprising, for Asshur is used in its political signification, and especially so in this context. They are probably a gloss intended to intimate that the Ishmaelites extended nearly as far as the Euphrates.<sup>5</sup> Hupfeld<sup>6</sup> regards them as a corruption of *בְּאֶמְה שׁוּרָה*; <sup>7</sup> Wellhausen,<sup>8</sup> as a dittography of *עֶרְשֹׁר*; while Nöldeke<sup>9</sup> holds that *אשורה* is a corruption of the name of some Egyptian locality.

*עַל־פְּנֵי כָל וְ*—see ch. xvi. 12.

*נָפַל*—*fell* or *alighted*,<sup>10</sup> *i.e.* settled.<sup>11</sup>

The first part of the verse in no case belongs to *A*, who does not use *שָׁבַן*, nor does it attach itself to ver. 17.<sup>12</sup> It is doubtless from *C*, and a continuation of ver. 6. The second part of the verse, where the third personal singular is surprising, appears to be an addition introduced by *R* or a later hand from ch. xvi. 12, with *שָׁבַן* varied to *נָפַל*, because it had been used just before.

<sup>1</sup> See Burckhardt [*Bedouins and Wahābys*, p. 33], Germ. tr. 26. Knobel.

<sup>2</sup> In spite of Giesebrecht.

<sup>3</sup> [Here given by Dillmann as *Chavila* (!=Hawilah), previously transliterated Havila.]

<sup>4</sup> Chs. x. 19, 30, xiii. 10.

<sup>5</sup> Josephus, *Antiquities*, i. 12. 4.

<sup>6</sup> *Quellen der Genesis*, p. 150.

<sup>7</sup> 1 Sam. xv. 7.

<sup>8</sup> *JBDTh.* xxi. 410 (Delitzsch, *Paradies*, p. 131).

<sup>9</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 26.

<sup>10</sup> [Cf. ch. xxiv. 64.]

<sup>11</sup> Judg. vii. 12.

<sup>12</sup> Hupfeld.

#### IV. THE HISTORY OF ISAAC, XXV. 19-XXXVII. 1.

ISAAC occupies a very secondary position in the patriarchal history. No one of the three sources has much to tell of him, and what is told is exactly paralleled in the narratives of the life of Abraham. There is the unfruitfulness of his marriage at first, his wife's exposure to danger, the respect paid him by Abimelech, the strife regarding wells with the people of Abimelech, and even the domestic unpleasantness arising from the dissimilarity of his two sons,—all repetitions of Abraham's history. This remains true, whether or not in an earlier form of the legend Isaac was the original and Abraham only the copy;<sup>1</sup> and our materials are not sufficient to decide such a question. In Genesis, as we now have it, Isaac appears throughout as the pale copy of his father. He is the son of promise, and inherits his position and the possession of the blessings won by his father. He follows in Abraham's footsteps, without his strength of character and purpose. In quietness and patience he faithfully preserves his inheritance, serves his father's God, and in turn, like Abraham, is guided, protected, and blessed by Him. His trials meet him at the hands of strangers, the Philistines, and from his own house also, but he overcomes them by his mild and docile disposition. The localities also, which tradition pointed out as connected with incidents in Isaac's life, are confined to a narrower circle than in the case of Abraham; in the more detailed narratives he is found always in the extreme south and in the oases of the desert, Beër

<sup>1</sup> Wellhausen, *Prolegomena*, 338 [Eng. tr. p. 320]; Kuenen, *Onderzoek*,<sup>2</sup> i. 228 f.

Lachairoi, Gerâr, and Beersheba',<sup>1</sup> though *A* takes him to Mamre,<sup>2</sup> like Abraham, latterly at least. It was in that which remained of the original Abrahamite immigration after the separation of the people of Lot, and of the Ishmaelites and Keturæans, and which now, for a length of time, settled down in these southern steppe lands, that those of later time recognised that part of the Hebrews which best preserved the type of Abraham, and was their own proper ancestry.

The less there was to tell of Isaac the more there was to say of both his sons, Esau and Jacob; *A*'s work is even so planned that their history is part of the Toledoth of Isaac. Jacob-Israel is the real father of the people of Israel, the representative of a fresh immigration of Hebrews from Mesopotamia, from which, in union with the people of Isaac, Israel grew; the scene of his history is in the centre (Bethel, Shekhem) and east (Maḥanaim, Peniël, Sukkoth) of the land. Beside him, as the other principal personage, stands Esau-Edom, brother of Jacob-Israel, and born before him; he became powerful, and grew to be an independent people before Jacob, but afterwards was pushed into the background by the younger and more energetic brother, who served also higher ends. The contest for supremacy between these two related peoples, or men, as they appear in the legend, is a main part of the contents of the Toledoth of Isaac, and it gains an added interest and importance from the fact that Isaac, whose birthplace was in Canaan, stands on the side of Esau, whereas Rebecca, of Ḥarran, is for Jacob. But this contest between Esau and Jacob, of which the underlying national significance, as a picture of the relations of the Edomite and Israelite peoples, is still readily perceptible,<sup>3</sup> does not exhaust the contents of the history of Isaac. The greater part of the history was originally in *B* and *C*, and *R*, in his selection from their material, has been guided by the same principle which he followed in the history of Abraham, where his

<sup>1</sup> Chs. xxiv. 62, xxv. 11, xxvi. 1-33.

<sup>2</sup> Ch. xxxv. 27-29.

<sup>3</sup> Ewald, *Geschichte*,<sup>3</sup> i. 492-504 [*History*, vol. i. pp. 348-359].

chief interest lay in the divine training of the patriarch as a religious hero. He has selected and arranged such narratives as helped him to show how from the first Jacob was destined and fitted to be the heir of the promises, and yet had to pass through a long series of humiliations, trials, and purifications, until at length he became the man with whom God could renew His covenant made with Abraham, and who could succeed at last as Isaac's heir. In the course of the history also the characters of the two brothers are admirably delineated. The one is hearty and straightforward, upright, and good-natured, but yet rude and rough, and heedless of the future and of all that is not at once apparent to him, and so in the end the loser in the contest. The character of the other is ignoble, cunning, and crafty, and he is therefore involved in a tangle of struggles and difficulties; yet with stratagem and strength<sup>1</sup> he strives to the highest ends, and so in the end, after a long course of inward purification, he is the victor.

This section of the history, like that of Abraham, falls into three parts: (1) the history of Isaac and of Jacob's youth to the time of his departure to Haran, xxv. 19–xxviii. 9; (2) Jacob away from home, and the founding of his house in Haran in the midst of strife with Laban, xxviii. 10–xxxii. 3; (3) Jacob's return as one who has successfully contended with God, and before whom Esau must yield, xxxii. 4–xxxvii. 1.

#### A. THE HISTORY OF ISAAC AND OF JACOB'S YOUTH, CH. XXV. 19–XXVIII. 9.

##### 1. BIRTH AND EARLY YOUTH OF THE TWIN BROTHERS, AND PRELUDES OF THEIR FUTURE CONTESTS, CH. XXV. 19– 34; ACCORDING TO *A* AND *C* (AND *B*).

Isaac, after his wife has been barren for twenty years, at length receives twin sons, Esau and Jacob, in answer to his prayer; even at birth the latter seeks to precede the former.

<sup>1</sup> Hos. xii. 4 f.



Esau grows up a huntsman, and his father's favourite; Jacob, a shepherd, and the favourite of his mother. On an occasion Esau returns home hungry, and sells his birthright to Jacob for a dish of lentils.

Beside the headings in vv. 19 f. and 26*b*, there are certainly fragments of *A*'s work in this, as is proved by the chronological statements and the use of the expressions הוֹלִיר, *Paddan Aram*, and *Bethuel the Aramean*. What remains forms a well-connected whole, and in view of the vocabulary,<sup>1</sup> and the resemblance of vv. 24–26 to xxxviii. 27 ff., is to be assigned in the main to *C*.<sup>2</sup> But vv. 25 and 27 contain redundancies, which are doublets from *B*; this is confirmed by the fact that *B* in ch. xxvii. presupposes the essential parts of ver. 27 f., and that Hos. xii. 4 is evidence that ver. 26*a* is part of the tradition of North Israel. We may say, therefore, that *C* has made use of *B* as a source, but that *R* made further additions from *B*, hence the doublets; Kittel<sup>3</sup> assigns vv. 24 and 27 f. to *B* and *C* in common, and vv. 25 and 26*a* to *B*. It is certain, however, that in *C* this whole section did not stand before but after ch. xxvi. (see note on xxvi. 7), and has been transposed by *R* that he might fit it into *A*'s schematism (vv. 19 f., 26*b*).

Ver. 19 f., according to *A*; judging from the form of the sentence, as well as from *A*'s custom elsewhere,<sup>4</sup> it is probable that he also had a brief mention of Isaac's marriage, which, however, has been omitted by *R*.<sup>5</sup> We may suppose that in it, or elsewhere,<sup>6</sup> he also gave some account of Abraham's relation to Bethuel the Aramean; it is too much to say<sup>7</sup> that this would take him out of his way, and ch. xxvi. 34,

<sup>1</sup> יהוה (in ver. 22 f.), עֵתֶר (ver. 21), צַעִיר (ver. 23).

<sup>2</sup> Hupfeld, Schrader, Kayser, Budde, *Urgeschichte*, 217; Kuenen, *Onderzoek*,<sup>2</sup> i. 144.

<sup>3</sup> *Geschichte der Hebräer*,<sup>1</sup> p. 127 [Eng. tr. vol. i. p. 140].

<sup>4</sup> Chs. xxvi. 34, xxviii. 2 ff., xxxvi. 2 f.

<sup>5</sup> See p. 158.

<sup>6</sup> In connection, perhaps, with Abraham's residence in Haran, xi. 31, xii. 4.

<sup>7</sup> Budde, *Urgeschichte*, p. 423 f.

where only Ishmael is in question, does not support the assertion.

הָאֲרָמִי<sup>1</sup>—epithet also applied by *A* in xxviii. 5 to Bethuel<sup>2</sup> and Laban, and to the latter by *B* in xxxi. 10, 24.<sup>3</sup>

פָּרָן<sup>4</sup>—in the Old Testament only in *A*.<sup>4</sup> פָּרָן in Aramaic signifies yoke; in Arabic, where it is a loan word from the Nabatean,<sup>5</sup> it means *oxen for the plough* and their *harness*, and then a certain measure of land, like *jugum* and *jugerum*; <sup>6</sup> it is regarded by Lagarde<sup>7</sup> as Persian. But Rawlinson<sup>8</sup> gives *padanu*, which in the form *padānu* signifies in general *road* or *path*,<sup>9</sup> the force of *ginā*, garden, and *iklu*, field,<sup>10</sup> and it may therefore, even in Assyrian, have had the meaning field or plain. It remains the most probable view that שָׂרָה אֲרָם in Hos. xii. 13 is the Hebrew translation of the expression. In xxiv. 10 it is replaced in *C* by אֲרָם נְהָרִים, and the Septuagint and Vulgate render it by Mesopotamia Syriæ or Mesopotamia.<sup>11</sup> It does not, however, follow that the two expressions are completely identical, still less that Paddan Aram was the district round Harran. Yet it is noteworthy that “the name פָּרָן, which stands without אֲרָם in xlviii. 7 also, survives in the name of a place *Faddān*, and a *Tell Faddān* in the neighbourhood of Harran.<sup>12</sup> The district of Edessa or Harran is, we are told,<sup>13</sup> a plain surrounded by mountains.”<sup>14</sup>

Ver. 21. Rebecca is also barren, like Sarah and Rachel,<sup>15</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Ch. x. 23.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 147 f.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Deut. xxvi. 5; Ewald, *Geschichte*,<sup>3</sup> i. 490 f. [*History*, vol. i. p. 342].

<sup>4</sup> Chs. xxviii. 2, 6 f., xxxi. 18, xxxiii. 18, xxxv. 9, 26, xlv. 15 (xlviii. 7).

<sup>5</sup> Jawālīkī, cxii. 2.

<sup>6</sup> Lane, *Dictionary*, p. 2353; *ZDPV*. ix. 54.

<sup>7</sup> *Prophetæ Chaldaice*, p. 43.

<sup>8</sup> H. Rawlinson, *Cun. Inscript.* 1866, p. 62, line 33.

<sup>9</sup> Schrader, *KAT*.<sup>2</sup> p. 612 [*Cun. Inscript.* ii. 295].

<sup>10</sup> Delitzsch, *Paradies*, 135.

<sup>11</sup> Comp. Curtius, iii. 2. 3, v. 1. 16, *campos Mesopotamiæ*.

<sup>12</sup> *Peregrinatio Sylviæ*, in Gamurrini, p. 72; W. Wright, *Catalog. Syr. MSS.* iii. 1127; Yāḫūt, iii. 355; also Chwolsohn, *Die Ssabier*, i. 304, and Nöldeke in *ZDMG*. xxix. 443; comp. Sachau, *Reise in Mesopot.* p. 222. [Dillmann.]

<sup>13</sup> Edrisi, trans. Jaubert, ii. 153; Wm. of Tyre, x. 29; Buckingham, *Mesopotamia*, pp. 78, 132 f.

<sup>14</sup> Knobel.

<sup>15</sup> Chs. xi. 30, xxix. 31.

for nearly twenty years according to ver. 26. This was to prove Isaac's patience, and to make his offspring the gift of grace and not the fruit of nature. "He prays then to Jahve, and is heard by Him."

לו—"with the passive, as in xiv. 19."

לנכה אשת—literally, *opposite to his wife*, so that she was in view; with regard to her. לנכה only here and in xxx. 38; *A* has נכה.<sup>1</sup>

ויעתר—as in Ex. viii. 4 f., ix. 23, x. 17 f., from *C*.

Ver. 22. She becomes pregnant with twins, who jostle one another in the womb. It is a prelude to the future contests of the men and peoples. "In like manner the brothers Akrisius and Proetus, who were rivals for supremacy, struggled with one another even in the womb."<sup>2</sup>

"If so, why then am I—if that is the way of things, why do I exist? She attributes a sinister meaning to the occurrence."<sup>3</sup> The expression למה זה אנכי is concise, but after all not more so than אם כן. To set אם after זה would necessitate אהיה also, and would not be good Hebrew. It is obvious that זה cannot be predicate,<sup>4</sup> and it is more natural to supply a היה than either הריתי or עתרתתי. In xxvii. 46, also, Rebecca is ready with a similar speech, as if it were better not to live at all rather than to live and see misfortune.

Thus disturbed in mind she goes to make inquiry of Jahve. It is implied that there already existed places where divinely-inspired responses were given,<sup>5</sup> or that there were seers and priests of the true God<sup>6</sup> to whom people might apply for explanation and advice in such circumstances. If ch. xxvi. originally stood before xxv. 21 ff. it naturally suggests itself that the sanctuary here thought of is Beer-sheba.<sup>7</sup> But it does not seem to be the author's intention to trace the *origin* of the oracle in Beersheba.<sup>8</sup>

Ver. 23. The answer or oracle is rhythmical. In its

<sup>1</sup> Knobel.

<sup>2</sup> Apollodorus, ii. 2. 1.

<sup>3</sup> Knobel.

<sup>4</sup> Sept., de Wette.

<sup>5</sup> Ch. xiv. 7.

<sup>6</sup> Ch. xiv. 18.

<sup>7</sup> Wellhausen, *JEDTh*. xxi. 418.

<sup>8</sup> Stade, *Geschichte*,<sup>1</sup> p. 474.

explanation of the children's jostling one another, it describes the relations of the peoples Edom and Jacob as they will be in the far future; the younger is to overcome the elder and make him serve him.<sup>1</sup> We cannot conclude<sup>2</sup> that because the author, otherwise than in xxvii. 40, says nothing of the ultimate independence of the elder brother, he therefore lived before Edom gained its freedom. This was not the place for such an exact description of the future as that given in ch. xxvii.

*From thy womb they will separate from one another*—on leaving the womb they will be at discord (ver. 26).

לָאֵם—in the Pentateuch again only in xxvii. 29.

נָעִיר—as in xix. 31 ff. applied to age; comp. also xxix. 26, xliii. 33, xlvi. 14.

רַב—so Job xxxii. 9. The article may be omitted in poetry.

Ver. 24. Comp. xxxviii. 27.

וַיִּמְלֵא—*became full*, of the passage of time,<sup>3</sup> here the time of her pregnancy.

תֹּאמִים—contracted from תְּאֻמִּים, xxxviii. 27.

Ver. 25. The first boy is born *ruddy*. אֲדָמֹנִי, doubtless not to be understood of red hair,<sup>4</sup> but, as in the case of David,<sup>5</sup> of a reddish-brown complexion. "There are Arabic writers<sup>6</sup> who account for those Orientals who have red hair by their descent from Esau."<sup>7</sup> In any case, the word contains an allusion to the name אֶדֶם; and this fact betrays the presence of a different source, seeing that a different explanation of that name is given in ver. 30. The word is not simply a corruption from some other such as נָעִיר,<sup>8</sup> for the words בָּלוּ כְּאֶדְרָתוֹ שׁ are quite sufficient when alone to explain the name עִשָּׂו; nor is it a gloss,<sup>9</sup> but rather a supplement by *R* from *B*.

<sup>1</sup> Comp. the similar announcement in xxvii. 29, 40.

<sup>2</sup> With Knobel.

<sup>3</sup> As in xxix. 21, l. 3.

<sup>4</sup> Gesenius, Tuch, Knobel, etc.

<sup>5</sup> 1 Sam. xvi. 12, xvii. 42, in harmony with xix. 13.

<sup>6</sup> Ibn Coteiba, p. 19; Abulpharagius, *Hist. Orient.* pp. 22, 42.

<sup>7</sup> Knobel.

<sup>8</sup> Budde, *Urgeschichte*, p. 217.

<sup>9</sup> Kautzsch-Socin, *Genesis*<sup>2</sup>.



*All like a mantle of hair or fur,*<sup>1</sup> i.e. his whole body covered with hair. The word יַעֲרִי contains a play on יַעֲרִי,<sup>2</sup> the hill-country which Esau's descendants inhabited.<sup>3</sup> But the name which it is the intention to explain is עֵשָׂו, the name by which he was known, which would accordingly signify *rough, hairy*. Comparison has therefore commonly been made with אֲעִשֵּׂי, but against phonological law.<sup>4</sup>

Recent writers<sup>5</sup> are of opinion that Esau and Edom were originally gods. Against gods of such a character, eponymous heroes revered as divine, Euhemerus would be in the right after all.

Ver. 26. "The second comes into the world with his hand holding his brother's heel; he seeks to hold back Esau, who is pressing before him, and to be himself the firstborn.

יעֲקֹב—the author takes עֲקֹב as a denominative from עֲקֹב, *heel*, and יַעֲקֹב, as the *catcher by the heel*.<sup>6</sup> But the incident is very improbable. When twins are born the birth of the second child follows as a rule in the course of an hour after the birth of the first, and very often even later.<sup>7</sup> Perhaps יעֲקֹב means *one who follows after*,<sup>8</sup> for the root עֲקֹב signifies *to be behind, follow, track out, work against, employ cunning against*;<sup>9</sup> comp. also the use of the word in xxvii. 36. If, again, יעֲקֹב is contracted for an original יַעֲקֹבָל,<sup>10</sup> other interpretations are also possible.<sup>11</sup>

וַיִּקְרָא—after the וַיִּקְרָא of ver. 25 is surprising, but no doubt to be explained by R's having drawn on A, as he has certainly done in the second part of the verse (comp. xvi. 16),

<sup>1</sup> Zech. xiii. 4.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. xxvii. 11, 23.

<sup>3</sup> Ch. xxxvi. 8.

<sup>4</sup> See Fleischer in Levy's *Neuhebr. Wörterbuch*, iii. 732. Cf. also the Phen. Ὠῤῥῶς (vol. i. p. 37), and Ewald, *Geschichte*,<sup>3</sup> i. 494f. [Eng. tr. i. 344f.].

<sup>5</sup> Wellhausen, *JBDTh.* xxi. 435; Stade, *Geschichte*,<sup>1</sup> p. 120f.; Rob. Smith, *Religion of the Semites*, p. 43; Baudissin, *Studien*, i. 40; Rösch in *ZDMG.* xxxviii. 646; but on the other side, Balthgen, *Beiträge*, p. 10; Nöldeke, *ZDMG.* xlii. 470.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Hos. xii. 4.

<sup>7</sup> According to Busch, *Lehrbuch der Geburtskunde*, § 289.

<sup>8</sup> So Reuss, *Geschichte des Alt. Test.*<sup>1</sup> p. 52. [Dillmann.]

<sup>9</sup> Knobel.

<sup>10</sup> See p. 4.

<sup>11</sup> Balthgen, *Beiträge*, p. 158.

for *A* must also have had an account of the birth of these sons.

בָּלֶרֶת—Ewald, § 304*a*.

Ver. 27 f. As Esau grows up<sup>1</sup> he becomes an expert hunter, *a man of the field*. אִישׁ שָׂדֶה means huntsman, one who traverses the fields in pursuit of game; it is not the same as the אִישׁ אֲרָמָה of ix. 20. He was therefore his father's favourite, *for venison was in his mouth*, according to his taste; Isaac was fond of venison.<sup>2</sup> כָּפִי would have another meaning, and it is no improvement to refer the suffix to Esau, "because he was a venison eater, had always much venison."<sup>3</sup>

הָם—in the present context can neither mean morally blameless nor ἀπλαστος, ἀπλοῦς, *simplex*, simple, unsophisticated;<sup>4</sup> for Jacob, in what follows, appears always, on the contrary, as sly and cunning. It must be nearly equivalent to ἡμερος,<sup>5</sup> and parallels are found in the use of the German *fromm* (pious), meaning quiet or peaceful in antithesis to wild, and in the development of the word שָׁלֵם from a similar significance to that of peaceable.

Jacob is called *a dweller in tents*, not as being *domesticated* (Sept.), but as a *shepherd* (comp. iv. 20), because of his occupation. "Hunting when engaged in for sport, as by Esau, and not in self-defence or because of necessity, is regarded by the author as something savage, inhuman, and barbarous, especially in contrast with the life of a shepherd, which was much esteemed by the Hebrews."<sup>6</sup>

It is to be noted that אִישׁ שָׂדֶה alongside of יָדַע צִיד, as well as אִישׁ הָם alongside of יֹשֵׁב אֶהְלִים, are most probably doublets from the other source already noted in ver. 25.

Vv. 29–34. A first outbreak of the contest which the

<sup>1</sup> Ch. xxi. 8, 20, xxxviii. 14.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. xxvii. 5. 7.

<sup>3</sup> Abulwalid, see *J.A.* iv. 16, p. 231; Böttcher.

<sup>4</sup> Septuagint, Aquila, Theodotion, Vulgate.

<sup>5</sup> Philo, Gesenius, *Thesaurus*; Ewald, *Geschichte*,<sup>3</sup> i. 505 [*History*, vol. i. p. 352, note 4].

<sup>6</sup> Knobel.

brothers carry on against one another. The verses are also a contribution to the delineation of their characters.

Ver. 29 f. "Esau returns home hungry one day, from the hunt, just as Jacob is preparing a dish (of lentils, ver. 34), and wishes to 'swallow some of the red stuff.' In his hungry eagerness he does not say **אכל** but **לעט**, swallow,<sup>1</sup> and he cannot at once give the lentils their proper name, but calls them, just as they appear, 'red stuff,' or a *φουικιδιον*.<sup>2</sup> This is said to have been the origin of his name Edom."<sup>3</sup> "But should we not read **האֵדָם**? The Arabic **أدام**<sup>5</sup> is still a common expression in the East for anything eaten along with bread, and it is clear from ver. 34 that **נִזְרַע עֲדָשִׁים** was an *idām* of this kind. The Septuagint translation, *ἔψημα*, seems to have understood it in this way."<sup>4</sup> This seems, in fact, to be the best explanation.<sup>5</sup>

Ver. 31. "Jacob selfishly demands in return Esau's resignation of his rights as eldest son. These involved, with other things, a more respected position in the family and tribe, and a larger inheritance.<sup>6</sup> The author has specially in mind the fact that the divine promises belonged to those in the direct line of descent, as exemplified in Shem, Abraham, and Isaac."<sup>7</sup> Ch. xxvii. 27 ff. gives the best explanation of what was involved.

**מָכְרָה**—see Gesenius,<sup>25</sup> 48. 5.

**כִּיּוֹן**—now, *at this moment* (Isa. lviii. 4); here, and frequently elsewhere, in antithesis to a later time = *first of all, in the first place*.<sup>8</sup>

Ver. 32. Esau is willing. *I am going to die*, must die, *sc.* if I do not get something to eat now;<sup>9</sup> or, perhaps better,

<sup>1</sup> See Gesenius, *Thesaurus*.

<sup>2</sup> As Crates in Diog. Laert. vii. 1. 3.

<sup>3</sup> Knobel.

<sup>4</sup> Thomas D. Anderson, Edinburgh, in a letter of 26th June 1883.

<sup>5</sup> Proposed previously by Boysen in *Symb.* p. 13 (see Schleusner, *Novus Thesaurus*, ii. 595).

<sup>6</sup> Chs. xliii. 33, xlvi. 13 ff., xlix. 3; Deut. xxi. 17.

<sup>7</sup> Knobel.

<sup>8</sup> Ver. 33; 1 Sam. ii. 16, ix. 27; 1 Kings i. 51, xxii. 5 (Gesenius, *Thesaurus*, 584; Wellhausen, *Bücher Samuelis*, 37).

<sup>9</sup> Schumann, *Tuch*<sup>2</sup>.

my manner of life, as a huntsman, leads me into constant danger, and, sooner or later, to my death ;<sup>1</sup> why then should I desire advantages I cannot fully enjoy ?

Ver. 33. "Only after the birthright has been assured to him by oath does the prudent Jacob hand over his dish of lentils. It is a thing he attaches importance to, whereas Esau, as the author adds in censure, despises it.

בזה occurs in the Pentateuch again only in Num. xv. 31."<sup>2</sup> Comp. Ps. xlviii. 6 for the word painting by means of five successive verbs.

Esau here shows himself a man of shortsighted heedlessness, ruled by his desires and carried away by the impulse of the moment ; one without any apprehension for higher things, and a man of common grain,<sup>3</sup> therefore one lightly to cast away that which is really best in life. Jacob acts selfishly and immorally, inasmuch as he takes advantage of his brother's need ; but his cunning and cleverness are directed to higher ends, and he thereby proves himself to be the fitter for God's purposes if only he were purified from his faults. The brothers are presented as typical representatives of the characters they exemplify. But the incident has no further significance. Jacob does not afterwards anywhere claim the birthright because of it, nor does his father take any account of it, still less God. It was an actual fact that Jacob in time not only wrested from Esau a superior national position, but also became the heir and mediator of the promises, God's chosen. But tradition made Esau indubitably the elder, so that when Jacob was chosen the right of the firstborn was not regarded as before.<sup>4</sup> This had to be explained, and it is done in various ways. According to *C*, in ver. 22 f., Jacob's pre-eminence was foreordained by God ; according to *B* and *C*, in ch. xxvii., it was a consequence of the paternal blessing<sup>5</sup> which Jacob got by guile ; according to *A*, Isaac himself gives

<sup>1</sup> Rosenmüller, Vater, Knobel.

<sup>2</sup> Knobel.

<sup>3</sup> Heb. xii. 16.

<sup>4</sup> Mal. i. 2 f.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. xlviii. 8 ff., where Ephraim is preferred to Manasseh.



the preference to Jacob, because Esau married foreign wives (xxvii. 46, xxviii. 9), and his choice is confirmed by God (xxxv. 9 ff.). Here, however, the explanation refers essentially to the character of the peoples as they are typically represented in the persons of their ancestors.<sup>1</sup>

2. ISAAC MOVES FROM PLACE TO PLACE; HIS TROUBLES; GOD'S BLESSINGS AND PROMISES TO HIM, CH. XXVI. 1-33; CHIEFLY ACCORDING TO *C* (AND *R*).

"In consequence of a famine in the country, Isaac journeys to Gerâr, is the recipient there of a divine promise, gives out that his wife is his sister, engages in agriculture with great success, and becomes so rich and powerful that the Philistines envy him and request his departure. He moves towards the Nachal (Wadi) Gerâr, and digs there two wells, regarding which there follows a quarrel with the herdsmen of Gerâr. Thereupon he journeys still farther off and digs a well, which is left him this time uncontested. Finally, he settles in Beersheba', where he worships Jahve, and again receives a divine promise. He digs a well there, and is visited by Abimelech, with whom he concludes a treaty of friendship. Hence the name Beersheba'."<sup>2</sup>

This account contains all that is ever told us of Isaac himself apart from the history of his sons. We might therefore suppose that it contains contributions from all the different sources in union. In fact, however, we find that almost everything is from *C*;<sup>3</sup> Kittel alone minimises *C*'s share.<sup>4</sup> It is indeed certain that *A* also had some history of Isaac; he related, in particular, a theophany of אל שרי which

<sup>1</sup> Comp. ix. 20 ff., xvi. 12.

<sup>2</sup> Knobel.

<sup>3</sup> Hupfeld, Schrader, Kayser, Wellhausen, Kuenen, Kautzsch-Socin.

<sup>4</sup> Assigning him only vv. 1 f., 12-14, 16 f., 19-22; the rest he regards as the work of *R*, who has here inserted parts of *B*'s history of Abraham, e.g. vv. 7 ff., 26, 28-33; *Geschichte*, pp. 127, 138 f. [*History*, vol. i. pp. 140 note 4, 153 note 4].

appeared to him;<sup>1</sup> and *B*, too, must have had some account regarding his stay in the Negeb, in Beersheba' in especial.<sup>2</sup> But *R* has adopted nothing from their narratives, and has rested content with *C*'s account. There is a good deal indeed, which in expression reminds us of *B*;<sup>3</sup> but this is sufficiently explained by the use which *C* himself had already made of *B*'s work, and by the fact of his incorporation of much from it in what he wrote. Apart from this, the vocabulary is plainly that of *C*,<sup>4</sup> and the account of Rebecca's danger,<sup>5</sup> and of the origin of the name Beersheba',<sup>6</sup> can only be due to him, even though it be possible that *B* also related how Abimelech continued to hold with Isaac the friendly relations he had with Abraham.

At the same time, vv. 1-6 do not contain *C*'s narrative without admixture.<sup>7</sup> Ver. 2*b* is inconsistent with 3*a* and 1*b*,<sup>8</sup> and cannot simply be an addition made by *R* on his own account. It indicates that *C*'s text has been united with another, to which יהי רעב בארץ in 1*a* also belongs (see note). According to this second source, Isaac intends to leave the country for Egypt because of a famine in the land, but is instructed by God to remain in a place He will tell him of; so he remained in Gerâr. It is found in the first three words of ver. 1, in ver. 2 from ויאמר onwards, and in ver. 6, and is to be attributed to *B* (comp. ver. 2*b* with xxii. 2*b*). On the other hand, ver. 1*b*, the first three words of ver. 2, and ver. 3*a* go together as *C*'s account; in harmony with xxiv. 62 and xxv. 11, it begins by telling that Isaac changed his place of abode. The theophany in Gerâr can only be from *C*, for in *B* Isaac receives God's instruction in Canaan; but the words of the promise in

<sup>1</sup> See xxxv. 12; Ex. vi. 3.

<sup>2</sup> Ch. xlvi. 1-4.

<sup>3</sup> *E.g.* ver. 10 of xx. 9, ver. 28 of xxi. 22, ver. 29 of xxi. 23; particularly על-אדות, ver. 32 (xxi. 11, 25), and the names of ver. 26.

<sup>4</sup> *E.g.* יהוה ; טובת מראה (ver. 7), השקיף (ver. 8), אלה (ver. 28), ברוך יהוה (ver. 29), ויקרא בשם יהוה (ver. 24).

<sup>5</sup> Vv. 7-11 compared with ch. xx.

<sup>6</sup> Vv. 25-33 compared with ch. xxi. 22 ff.

<sup>7</sup> Already Hitzig, *Begriff der Kritik*, p. 169 ff.

<sup>8</sup> Knobel.

vv. 3b-5 are due to a later expansion (see below), probably from *R*<sup>d</sup>, just as, of course, the words מִלְכָּר—אֲבִרָהֶם in 1a are from *R*. Of the verses which follow, 15 and 16 are also redactional insertions to secure harmony with ch. xxi.

It is unmistakably clear that in *C* ch. xxvi. stood before xxv. 21 ff. (see note on ver. 7).

Vv. 1-6. Isaac journeys to Abimelech in Gerâr; the promises of Jahve to him.

Ver. 1. וַיְהִי רַעַב בְּאֶרֶץ—from *B*, for בְּאֶרֶץ cannot well mean anything except “in Canaan,” and in *C* Isaac is not in Canaan but in לְחֵי רָאִי.<sup>1</sup>

מִלְכָּר—for לְכָר מֶן;<sup>2</sup> mostly in *A* and *R*.<sup>3</sup> This reference to the famine in Abraham’s time (xii. 10 ff.) can only be an insertion of *R*’s, for up to this point *B* has recorded none.

וַיֵּלֶךְ וְ—from *C*, a continuation of xxv. 11. In *B* Abimelech belongs to Abraham’s time,<sup>4</sup> in *C* to Isaac’s; but it does not follow that there were two different individuals of the name,<sup>5</sup> only that there are variations in the legend. Nor does Ps. xxxiv. 1 prove that Abimelech was a common name of the kings of Gerâr, still less a royal title. Are we to be asked also to believe that Phikhol (ver. 26) was a standing name for the leader of the royal troops? Regarding *Gerâr* and the *Philistines*, see notes on xx. 1 f.

Ver. 2. Isaac must not go to Egypt. The intention to do so is not previously intimated. The words are a fragment from a narrative differing from that of *C*, from *B*’s namely (see above). For the phrase וְאִשְׁרָאֵל, comp. xxii. 2.

Ver. 3a presupposes that Isaac is already in Gerâr, and therefore connects itself with 1b. גֵּר is found, for example, in xii. 10 and xix. 9 [in *C*], but also in xx. 1 and xxi. 23 [in *B*].

וַיֹּאדְהִי עִמָּךְ—see note, xxi. 20.

<sup>1</sup> Chs. xxiv. 62, xxv. 11.

<sup>2</sup> Ewald, § 276h; Gen. xlvi. 26.

<sup>3</sup> Also in Deut. iv. 35, xxviii. 69; Josh. xxii. 29.

<sup>4</sup> Ch. xii. 10 ff.

<sup>5</sup> Knobel.

Ver. 3*b* gives a reason for obeying the injunction in the assurance of *all these lands* to Isaac and his descendants. By all these lands is meant Canaan and the districts bordering on it. The plural אֲרָצוֹת, elsewhere used of real countries,<sup>1</sup> signifies the different parts of the future land of Israel only here and in ver. 4, as it does in 1 Chron. xiii. 2 and 2 Chron. xi. 23. It is a late usage, and proves, along with ver. 5, that the passage has been worked over by a more recent hand.<sup>2</sup> The special purpose appears to have been to secure that Isaac's history also should contain an explicit assurance that the land in its widest sense would belong to his descendants.<sup>3</sup> But the Septuagint and the Book of Jubilees here and in ver. 4 have only *πασαν γῆν γῆν ταύτην*. For אֶרֶץ see note on xix. 8.

וְהִקִּמְתִּי—here in the sense of *maintain*.<sup>4</sup> The *oath* referred to is found in xxii. 16 ff. (xv. 17 ff.).

Ver. 4. As xv. 5, xxii. 17, and xii. 3, xxii. 18; הַתְּפִלָּה in especial, as xxii. 18.

Ver. 5. Isaac and his descendants enjoy this favour because of Abraham's fulfilment of God's will in all respects. The same principle is exemplified in Ex. xx. 6, 2 Kings viii. 19, xix. 34.<sup>5</sup> When it said that Abraham kept God's commandments, laws, and directions,<sup>6</sup> the picture of the patriarchal period is obtained by transferring to it features and circumstances as they existed under the Mosaic law. But this is the only passage of the kind, and that, along with the redundant style,<sup>7</sup> leads us to conclude the presence of a late redactor, *R*<sup>d</sup>.

For עַקב אִשָּׁר see xxii. 18, and for מִשְׁמֶרֶת, the commentary<sup>8</sup> on Num. i. 53. After אַבְרָהָם the Septuagint and Samaritan add אַבְרָם.

<sup>1</sup> Chs. x. 5, 20, 31, xli. 54.

<sup>2</sup> Who had xxii. 17 f. before him.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. xv. 18-20.

<sup>4</sup> As Lev. xxvi. 9; Deut. viii. 18; cf. note on vi. 18.

<sup>5</sup> Knobel.

<sup>6</sup> See, in contrast, xvii. 1, xviii. 19.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. e.g. Deut. xi. 1; Lev. xxvi. 46.

<sup>8</sup> [Dillmann's.]



Ver. 6. Accordingly he remained in Gerâr.

Vv. 7-11. In Gerâr he and Rebecca have somewhat similar experiences to those which Abraham and Sarah had there and, earlier, in Egypt. See notes on xii. 10 ff.

Ver. 7. The people of the district<sup>1</sup> asked him regarding<sup>2</sup> his wife. He professed that she was his sister<sup>3</sup> in order not to be murdered<sup>4</sup> on her account.<sup>5</sup> The incident is plainly conceived of by the author as occurring in the first period of Isaac's wedded life, and in *C* it certainly stood before xxv. 21 ff.<sup>6</sup> *R* changed its position because of the discrepancy of ver. 18 with *A*'s chronology in xxi. 5, xxv. 7, 20, 26.<sup>7</sup>

For מוכח מראה see xxiv. 16, and for פ, iii. 22.

Ver. 8. The secret reveals itself, however, after Isaac has been some time in Gerâr.

ארכי—the Kal found again only in Ezekiel.<sup>8</sup>

השקף—comp. xviii. 16 and xix. 28.

חלן—see viii. 6.

מצהק את—*playing*<sup>9</sup> with Rebecca, in a way natural to husband and wife, not to brother and sister. There is a play on the name יצהק also. The author no doubt conceived of Isaac and Rebecca as in a garden beside the king's house, and not of the king's looking in through the window of Isaac's house (!).<sup>10</sup>

Ver. 9 f. Abimelech reproaches Isaac. He is represented, as in ch. xx., as a God-fearing king, desirous of maintaining justice and virtue in his land.

אף—so she is *after all* your wife, though you told us otherwise. Found elsewhere in *C*<sup>11</sup> and also in *B*.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. xx. 11 [their character].

<sup>2</sup> Chs. xxxii. 30, xliii. 7; Samaritan, על.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. xx. 5.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. xii. 12.

<sup>5</sup> על as in ver. 9 and xx. 3.

<sup>6</sup> Hupfeld, *Quellen der Genesis*, p. 155.

<sup>7</sup> Riehm in *St. Kr.* 1872, p. 304.

<sup>8</sup> See, further, Num. ix. 19, 22.

<sup>9</sup> Ch. xxi. 9.

<sup>10</sup> Böhmer.

<sup>11</sup> Chs. xviii. 32, xxix. 14, xliv. 28.

<sup>12</sup> Chs. xx. 12, xxvii. 13, 30.

כמעט שכב—Ewald, § 135*d*; שכב את, see note on xxxiv. 2.

הבאתי, as in xx. 9, only that here in *C* the technical legal term אָשָׁם is used.

Ver. 11. All molestation of Isaac and his wife is forbidden, on pain even of death.

This verse is strong evidence against the alleged<sup>1</sup> greater age of this variation of the legend compared with that of xx. 2 ff.

Vv. 12–17. Isaac is greatly blessed in every respect by God, becomes increasingly wealthy, and so incurs the enmity of the Philistines, in the face of which he withdraws to the Wadi Gerâr.

Ver. 12. Isaac sowed in the land of Gerâr, and that same year, the year of his sowing, he obtained one hundred measures, *i.e.* reaped a hundredfold, a most unusual yield. So rich a harvest is not unknown at the present day, at least in the Haurân.<sup>2</sup> The Septuagint and Peshitta wrongly read יָעָרִים. The expression “in that year” cannot well refer to the year of the famine in ver. 1 in view of ver. 8, unless, that is, we assume ver. 12 to have been at one time more closely united to ver. 6. “Jacob<sup>3</sup> also, but not Abraham, is said to have engaged in agriculture. Many Arab nomads similarly combine agriculture and the breeding of cattle.”<sup>4</sup>

Ver. 13 f. Thus, blessed by God, Isaac became greater and greater<sup>5</sup> till he became very great, *i.e.* very powerful, because rich in cattle and servants, and the Philistines in consequence envied his prosperity and good fortune.

<sup>1</sup> Wellhausen, *Prolegomena*, p. 338 [Eng. tr. p. 320]; Kuenen, *Onderzoek*,<sup>2</sup> i. 228 f.

<sup>2</sup> Burckhardt, *Syria*, p. 296 f. Knobel. Wetzstein, *Reisebericht*, p. 30; *ZDPV*. ix. 51.

<sup>3</sup> Ch. xxxvii. 7.

<sup>4</sup> Burckhardt, *Syria*, p. 273 f.; *Bedouins and Wahâbys* [vol. i. p. 22], Germ. tr. p. 17; Berggren, *Reisen*, i. 325; Robinson, *Palestine*,<sup>3</sup> i. 53; Buckingham, *Syria*, 1825, p. 9; Seetzen, i. 339, 409, ii. 335; Ritter, *Erdkunde*, xiv. 978 ff. Knobel.

<sup>5</sup> For the idiom, comp. viii. 3, 5, xii. 9; and for the use of גָּדַל, xxiv. 35, xlviii. 19; 2 Sam. xix. 33 [32].

For the participle instead of the infin. absol., comp. Judg. iv. 24.<sup>1</sup> The collocation **מְקִנָּה בָּקָר** and **מְקִנָּה צֹאן** occurs again in the Pentateuch only in xlvii. 17 f.

**עֲרִכִּי**—also in xlix. 10.

**עֲבָדָה**—only here in the Pentateuch; recurs in Job i. 3. It is a collective to **עָבָד**; see commentary on Isa. iii. 25.<sup>2</sup>

Ver. 15 attached without waw consecutive is a redactional addition preparatory to ver. 18. It explains that the wells dug by Abraham had been destroyed by the Philistines to make it impossible for Isaac to move about as a nomad in their neighbourhood. "Such a device was used in war,<sup>3</sup> and the Arabs fill up the wells on the pilgrimage (hajj) road if they do not receive the toll they demand."<sup>4</sup>

**סְתָמוֹם** and **יְמִלְאִים** with masculine suffix, as in ver. 18 and ch. xxxiii. 13; see Gesenius.<sup>5</sup>

Ver. 16 continues ver. 14. Abimelech also shares the jealous feeling, and goes so far as to bid Isaac take his departure, on the ground that he has become too powerful for them.

Ver. 17. In consequence of the command of the king, and not because of the filling up of the wells, which affected also his new place of residence (ver. 18), Isaac leaves for the Wadi Gerâr.

Regarding the topography, see note on ch. xx. 1. "Sozomen knows a monastery *ἐν Γεράροις ἐν τῷ χειμαρρῷ*."<sup>6</sup>

**יִתֵּן**—as in ch. xxxiii. 18.

Vv. 18-22. Isaac's stay in the wadi of Gerâr, and his digging of wells there.

**בְּאֵרוֹת**—the punctuation as in Deut. x. 6; otherwise in Gen. xiv. 10.

Ver. 18. Isaac redigs<sup>7</sup> his father's wells, which the Philistines had filled up after Abraham's death (ver. 15), and

<sup>1</sup> Ewald, § 280b.    <sup>2</sup> [Dillmann's.]    <sup>3</sup> 2 Kings iii. 25; Isa. xv. 16.

<sup>4</sup> Von Troilo, *Reisbeschreibung* [1676], p. 682; Niebuhr, *Arabian*, p. 382. Knobel.

<sup>5</sup> 135, 5A. 1.

<sup>6</sup> *Hist. Eccles.* vi. 32, ix. 17. Knobel.

<sup>7</sup> Gesenius, 120. 2a.

gives them their old names. In the history of Abraham nothing is said regarding such wells in the Wadi Gerâr, but it is nevertheless probable that *R* possessed some account of them in one of his sources (*B*), without, however, inserting it in his general narrative at the point where he found it. Another of his sources (*C*) referred these wells to Isaac, so he compromised between the two statements in his own way, with the result in the text. His reading of the history in this way makes it clear how he conceived of the possibility of a double origin to the name Beersheba' (given in ver. 33 and in xxi. 31). But then the three wells, also, of vv. 19-22 are not to be thought of as quite new,<sup>1</sup> but simply as repaired,<sup>2</sup> for we do not read, *then he proceeded further to dig*, etc.

בִּיטִי—Sept. Samar. Vulg. and Book of Jubilees read עֲבָרִי.

Vv. 19-21. "In the case of two of the wells Isaac's men have strife with the shepherds of Gerâr, who demand them for their own use.<sup>3</sup> For this reason he names them עִשְׁק, *strife*, and שִׁטְנָה, *enmity*."

מֵיִם חַיִּים—"living water, *i.e.* moving, flowing water as opposed to standing water; here spring water is intended."<sup>4</sup>

Ver. 22. Isaac journeys further "and digs a well, regarding which there is no dispute; he names it רְחֹבֹת, *wideness*, because God has made it wide for them, *i.e.* given them room, and they are able to be fruitful, *i.e.* to multiply, in the land."<sup>5</sup>

הָעֵתִיק—see ch. xii. 8.

רָבִי—accented on the ultimate because of the following ע.<sup>6</sup>

כִּי—causative, or possibly particle of quotation; compare ch. xxix. 32 f.

<sup>1</sup> Delitzsch.

<sup>2</sup> Keil.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. xiii. 7 f.; also Ex. ii. 17; Burckhardt, *Syria*, p. 368, Germ. tr. 628; *Bedouins and Wahâbys*, vol. i. p. 146, Germ. tr. p. 118.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Lev. xiv. 5; Jer. ii. 13; Zech. xiv. 8; Song iv. 15. Knobel.

<sup>5</sup> Knobel.

<sup>6</sup> Ewald, §§ 63c, 193b.



The well has been usually<sup>1</sup> identified with Ruḥaibe, a place about three hours south of Elusa, and eight south of Beersheba', where there are remains of wells.<sup>2</sup> When we consider the words ויעתק כוֹשֶׁם and compare ver. 23, this identification is quite possible. שִׁטְנֶה may even be the Wadi Shutnet er-Ruḥeibe.<sup>3</sup> 'Esek cannot be found.

Vv. 23—25. From there Isaac *goes up* to Beersheba' and receives again divine promises in a vision by night.<sup>4</sup> As in ver. 5, they are given him for Abraham's sake, the servant of God. In Genesis, Abraham is so designated only here, but compare נָבִיא in ch. xx. 7.

Ver. 25. "The theophany leads Isaac to build an altar, and Beersheba' is thereby consecrated as a place of worship.<sup>5</sup> It is surprising that he should build the altar before setting up his tent;"<sup>6</sup> but we cannot therefore conclude, with Knobel, that vv. 24 and 25, as far as יהוה, are an interpolation from C, for the text of C is certainly continued in what immediately follows. It is rather, we may think, intended to represent Isaac's permanent settlement in the place as a consequence of the vision which appeared to him on the first night.

וַיֵּט אֹהֶל—xii. 8, xxxiii. 19, xxxv. 21.

כרה—as in ch. l. 5 f. (Ex. xxi. 23; Num. xxi. 18); elsewhere in this chapter always חפר.<sup>7</sup> It is incorrect to say that כרה means *set about digging*, and חפר, *dig out completely*;<sup>8</sup> it is more nearly true to say that חפר is *dig for*, search by digging, and כרה, *hollow out, dig out*.<sup>9</sup>

Vv. 26—33. Abimelech's covenant with Isaac and the

<sup>1</sup> Knobel and others.

<sup>2</sup> Robinson, *Palestine*,<sup>3</sup> i. 196 f.; Russegger, *Reisen*, iii. 69; Palmer, *Desert of Exodus*, p. 384 f.

<sup>3</sup> Given by Palmer, p. 385; and perhaps the same as the Wadi Shutein, Robinson, i. p. 200.

<sup>4</sup> See ch. xv. 1; more frequent in B, see xx. 3, 6, xxi. 14, xxii. 1, xxxi. 11, 24, xlvi. 2.

<sup>5</sup> See xxi. 33, xii. 7.

<sup>6</sup> Knobel.

<sup>7</sup> Vv. 15, 18 f., 21 f., 32.

<sup>8</sup> Böhmer.

<sup>9</sup> Delitzsch in *ZKW*. iii. 452.

explanation of the name Beersheba'.<sup>1</sup> It is not the case that the narrative here is simpler and, therefore, *older* than that of ch. xxi. 22 ff.<sup>2</sup> In xxi. 27 ff. the form in which the parties pledge themselves is more antique, and in xxvi. 26 the *journey* of the Philistine king (!) from Gerâr to Beersheba' has little motive.

Ver. 26. Abimelech comes from Gerâr to Isaac in Beersheba' with Phikhol<sup>3</sup> and Ahuzzath his מַרְע, *i.e.* his friend, "confidant, who stood by him ready to give him counsel or render him other services."<sup>4</sup> מַרְע is found only here in the Pentateuch. אֶהְיֶה is of the same form as נָלִיתָ.

Ver. 27. See vv. 14 and 16. For the ך in וְאַתָּם, see note on xxiv. 56.

Ver. 28. יהוה עִמָּךְ, compare xxi. 22.

אָלָה—oath, see ch. xxiv. 41; here equivalent in meaning to a covenant confirmed by solemn curses, as in Deut. xxix. 11, 13; Ezek. xvi. 59.

בִּינֹתַי—no doubt intentionally used to vary the form בִּינֵי which follows; compare, further, ch. xlii. 23.

Ver. 29. אֵם, as in xxi. 23, xiv. 23. תַּעֲשֶׂה for תַּעֲשֶׂה.<sup>5</sup>

When it is said that they had shown Isaac *only good*, their dismissal of him from the country,<sup>6</sup> בְּשָׁלוֹם,<sup>7</sup> it is true, is disregarded; the redactional additions of vv. 15 and 18 are, of course, not part of the situation.

*Thou art indeed blessed of Jahve*—and therefore it is desirable to be on good terms with you; also in ch. xxiv. 31.

Vv. 30—33. "Isaac and his guests partake together of a covenant feast,<sup>8</sup> and next morning swear to one another the covenant oath. After this the visitors return to Gerâr, and Isaac sees them on their way. The same day Isaac receives news that his servants, who were digging the well (ver. 25), have found water; he therefore names the well שִׁבְעָה, *i.e.*

<sup>1</sup> Cf. xxi. 22—31.

<sup>2</sup> Kuenen, *Onderzoek*,<sup>2</sup> 229.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. xxi. 22.

<sup>4</sup> 1 Kings iv. 5; 1 Chron. xxvii. 33.

<sup>5</sup> Gesenius, 75A. 17; Ewald, § 224c; König, *Lehrgebäude*, p. 831.

<sup>6</sup> Vv. 16, 27.

<sup>7</sup> As in ver. 31, xxviii. 21.

<sup>8</sup> See ch. xxxi. 54.

according to our author's interpretation *oath*, for he takes it to be equivalent to שָׁבַעָה. This was the origin of the name Beersheba'; ch. xxi. 31 contains another legend regarding its origin."<sup>1</sup>

על-אדות—ch. xxi. 11, 25.

3. THE CAUSE OF JACOB'S DEPARTURE TO MESOPOTAMIA; HE IS BLESSED BY ISAAC, CH. XXVI. 34–XXVIII. 9; FROM A AND B, C.

Esau marries two Hittite wives to the discontent of his parents (xxvi. 34 f.). Jacob, helped by his mother, cheats Esau of his father's blessing, and to escape his revenge must decide on a journey to Harraṇ (xxvii. 1–45). At Rebecca's instigation Isaac sends Jacob to Paddan Aram to bring back a wife for himself. Esau marries once more, now a daughter of Ishmael (xxviii. 1–9).

The first and the last of the sections thus marked out<sup>2</sup> belong to one another, and contain A's account of the occasion and object of Jacob's journey. This follows, without doubt,<sup>3</sup> from the unadorned character of the narrative, from the mention of Esau's age, and from the vocabulary.<sup>4</sup> Ver. 46 in ch. xxvii. (see below) forms the transition from what precedes to ch. xxviii. 1 ff.; comp. also ואל-אמי in xxviii. 7. Between the divided parts of A's narrative is interpolated the detailed account of how Jacob filched from Esau his father's blessing (xxvii. 1–45). It not only gives another reason for Jacob's departure from home, his deceit, namely, and Esau's hate, and even a different account of the paternal blessing, it does not agree with A in its statements about Isaac's age, blindness, and approaching death,<sup>5</sup> for in A Isaac

<sup>1</sup> Knobel.

<sup>2</sup> Ch. xxvi. 34 f. and xxviii. 1 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Tuch, Knobel, Hupfeld, Schrader, Kayser, Wellhausen.

<sup>4</sup> אֵל שָׁרִי and אֵל שָׁרִי (xxviii. 1, 6, 8), פֶּרֶן אֲרָם (vv. 2, 5 ff.), בְּנוֹת כְּנָעַן (ver. 3), מְגֵרִים and אֱלֹהִים (ver. 4), הָאֲרָמִי (ver. 5).

<sup>5</sup> Vv. 1 f., 7, 10, 41.

is not much over middle age. This is sufficient to prove that it must be from an author other than *A*, who, moreover, speaks nowhere of the brothers being at enmity. This conclusion is confirmed by the linguistic evidence. *C* has been generally designated the author,<sup>1</sup> but we know<sup>2</sup> that *B* also had an account of Jacob's flight from Esau, and the passage contains a number of doublets.<sup>3</sup> It must therefore be a combination from *B* and *C*.<sup>4</sup> Their accounts were, without doubt, very like one another, and *R* was therefore able to content himself with introducing into each some differences as to matters of fact found in the other. An accurate separation of the component parts is no longer possible, but following the indications which we have,<sup>5</sup> we may assign, *e.g.*, vv. 7, 15\*, 20, 24–27, 29*b*, 30*a* (as far as אֶת־יַעֲקֹב), 35–38, and 45, to *C*; and vv. 1*b*, 4*b*, 8*a*, 11–13, 16, 18, 19, 21–23, 28, 30*b*, 31*b*, 33 *f.*, 39, 42, and 44, to *B*. This analysis differs little from those of Kautzsch-Socin and Kittel.<sup>6</sup>

The significance and purpose of the narrative are found in the explanation it offers of how Jacob was able to gain precedence of his brother, and so, in particular, to secure a better land and greater power, and even to exercise sovereignty over him. The explanation lies in the efficacy of the paternal blessing,<sup>7</sup> and in so far there is resemblance

<sup>1</sup> Tuch, Knobel, Hupfeld, Schrader, Kayser.

<sup>2</sup> From ch. xxxii. (see) and xxxv. 3, 7.

<sup>3</sup> Especially vv. 24–27*a* alongside of 21–23; ver. 30*a* and 30*b*; vv. 35–38 alongside of 33 *f.*; vv. 44*b* and 45*aa*.

<sup>4</sup> Wellhausen.

<sup>5</sup> *E.g.* יהוה, vv. 7, 20, 27; הָקָרָה, ver. 20; כְּאִשֶּׁר כָּלָה, ver. 30; אָמַר, ver. 41; the house, ver. 15; אֶרְרִיךְ וְנִי, ver. 29*b* (xii. 3),—indicate *C*'s presence; while *B* is revealed by, *e.g.*, הָאֱלֹהִים, ver. 28; אָף, vv. 13 (unlike xix. 9, xxiv. 8), 30; בְּטָרֶם, vv. 4, 33 (contrast לִפְנֵי, vv. 7, 10); בַּעֲבוּר, vv. 4, 19, 31 (contrast לִמְעַן, ver. 24); הִקְטִין, vv. 16, 42; וְשָׁמַע בְּקוֹל, vv. 8, 13, 43, the mode of address in ver. 1*b* and ver. 18 like xxii. 2, 7, 11, xxxi. 11 (Wellhausen); עֶדְמָאֵד, ver. 33 *f.* (at least never found in *C*).

<sup>6</sup> *Geschichte*, pp. 127, 139 [*History*, vol. i. pp. 141, 154]; comp. B. W. Bacon, *Hebraica*, vii. 2, p. 143 ff.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. vol. i. p. 304.



to *A*'s account in ch. xxviii. 3 f. But the blessing is here obtained by underhand and deceitful means, in accordance with Jacob's name, the crafty. It may appear surprising that a writer with *C*'s capacity of moral judgment should relate such a popular legend without a word of disapproval, and should attach importance to a blessing obtained thus deceitfully. But it is evident that in *C*'s estimation Isaac's blessing accomplished the designs of a higher will. God willed that Jacob should be exalted over Esau; the history of the two peoples up to this time put it beyond dispute. In the accomplishment of His will God makes use even of men's sins (ch. I. 20). Isaac in blessing Jacob against his desire, in place of Esau, is no more than God's instrument; and Rebecca's preference for Jacob is of more than merely earthly origin (in *C*, ch. xxv. 23). Still Rebecca's fraudulent deceit and Jacob's sin are not unpunished. The after blessing of Esau (ver. 40), still more Jacob's flight and the separation of mother and son, and the many struggles, anxieties, disappointments, and humiliations which all at once descend on Jacob, are the just punishments of their sin. They are at the same time the means of Jacob's education, by which his ignoble nature is to be done away and himself made worthy of being one in the line of those who inherit the promises. Viewed in this light the occurrence is the effective impulse to the course of education on which Jacob now started. The part which Isaac plays in it, of one who must serve the advancement of God's purposes against his will, is indeed less honourable; but in all the legend he is, after all, no more than Abraham's feeble duplicate.

Ch. xxvi. 34 f. Esau in his 40th year, and so in Isaac's 100th year,<sup>1</sup> marries two Hittites. See notes on ch. xxxvi. 2 f. They were a *bitterness of spirit*, a subject of sorrowful displeasure and grief, to his parents, who did not desire alliance with the natives of the land.

<sup>1</sup> Ch. xxv. 26.

וְתַהֲיִי—comp. xix. 33 and xxvii. 1.

Ch. xxvii. 1-4. Isaac, who is old, nearly blind, and not far off his death, asks Esau to hunt some venison for him and prepare it. After partaking of his favourite dish,<sup>1</sup> he will impart his blessing to him.

*His eyes were gone out (extinguished), dim,<sup>2</sup> away from seeing,<sup>3</sup> so that they no longer saw.<sup>4</sup>* Isaac's blindness in *B* and *C* is what renders the deception possible.

הַנְּהִינָא—see ch. xii. 11.

תָּלָה—"only here, from תָּלָה, to hang, and so literally a *pendant*; used of the quiver, which is suspended on one's person,<sup>5</sup> not of the sword,<sup>6</sup> which is girded on. Bows and arrows were the usual weapons of the Hebrew huntsman."<sup>7</sup>

צִידָה—elsewhere *provision*, here *nomen unitatis*<sup>8</sup> to the collective צִיד which stands in vv. 5, 7, and 33, and which, according to the *Kerê*, ought to be read here also.

מִטְעָמִים—literally, *something tasty*, and so a dainty or savoury dish.<sup>9</sup> Isaac desires to impart his blessing only after he has been gratified and attuned to it by the dish of venison.

בַּעֲבוֹר—as in xix. 31, xxi. 30, xlvi. 34; in ver. 10 לְמַעַן בַּעֲבוֹר אִשָּׁר.

Vv. 5-13. Rebecca overhears Isaac's request, and proposes to Jacob that he should endeavour to secure the blessing by bringing to her two kids, which she will prepare as venison, and which he will then offer to his father as such.

שָׁמַעַת ב—as in 1 Sam. xvii. 28.

לְהַבִּיא—in harmony with vv. 4 and 7 the Septuagint reads לְאָבִיו.

Ver. 6. *Her son*—as in ver. 5 *his son*, "as we also say

<sup>1</sup> Ch. xxv. 28.

<sup>2</sup> Deut. xxxiv. 7; Zech. xi. 17.

<sup>3</sup> Ch. xvi. 2, xxiii. 6.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. xlviii. 10 ff.

<sup>5</sup> Sept., Vulg., Graec. Venet., Targ. of Jonath., Ibn Ezra, Kimchi.

<sup>6</sup> Onkelos, Pesh., Pers., Arpenius' Arabic, Rashi.

<sup>7</sup> Isa. vii. 24.

<sup>8</sup> Tuch, Ewald, § 176a.

<sup>9</sup> Prov. xxiii. 3, 6.

his father's, or his mother's, boy, *i.e.* darling; <sup>1</sup> comp. ch. xxv. 28." But the Septuagint here has τὸν υἱὸν αὐτῆς τὸν ἐλάσσων.

Ver. 7 לפני יהוה—*Jova præsente ac teste*; comp. 1 Sam. xxiii. 18. Stade <sup>2</sup> is of opinion that an image of Jahve in Isaac's house is implied.

Ver. 8a as vv. 13 and 43a; *B, D, and R* write שָׁמַע בְּקוֹל. In the next clause the preposition is לְ, לְאִשְׁרֵי וְנִי, *to that which I bid you*, and it is in *C* elsewhere that לְ שָׁמַע is found (iii. 17, xvi. 2).

יָדַי—Ewald, § 212b.

*I shall make them a savoury dish*—prepare <sup>3</sup> them as such.<sup>4</sup> "The repast is a bountiful one in honour<sup>5</sup> of the head of the family who is to give his blessing."

Ver. 11 f. "The only scruple that Jacob has is due to his foresight that Isaac may recognise him by feeling his neck and hands, which are not rough with hair like Esau's,<sup>6</sup> but smooth, and may then curse him, as one who makes sport of (from תַּעַץ) his half-blind father. He is not afraid of being treated as guilty of imposture, only as guilty of mockery; for he would not avow more than his intention to carry out a jest."<sup>7</sup> But Rebecca takes on herself his curse,<sup>8</sup> *i.e.* its consequences; for she is convinced because of ch. xxv. 23 that Jacob must, and will, have the blessing.

Vv. 14-17. "She prepares the kids, gives Jacob Esau's holiday attire to dress in, covers his neck and hands with goat-skin, and having thus made him ready, sends him to his father with the food."

"With תְּכָתִית we must supply בִּגְדֵי; Esau's better clothes,<sup>9</sup> which he used on festive occasions, are what is meant." A Jewish interpretation in Jerome, *Quæstiones*, makes it his priestly dress. "Esau's clothes had an odour of the fields

<sup>1</sup> [In German, *des Vaters, der Mutter Sohn*.]

<sup>2</sup> *ZATW*. xi. 182.

<sup>4</sup> Gesenius,<sup>25</sup> 117. 5c.

<sup>6</sup> Ch. xxv. 25.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. xvi. 5.

<sup>3</sup> עִשָּׂה, as in xviii. 7 f.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. xviii. 6, xliii. 34.

<sup>7</sup> Knobel.

<sup>9</sup> Judg. xiv. 12 f.

about them (ver. 27), while those of Jacob smelt of the flocks and herds."

בית—"The Jahvist (*C*) speaks of Isaac's house, not of his tent; in xix. 2 ff., similarly, Lot dwells in a house; and Jacob (xxxiii. 17) builds a house at Sukkoth."<sup>1</sup>

בנה הקטן—appears, in view of xxix. 16, 18, to belong to *B*, as the whole of ver. 16 does. It is in *B* that the blind father satisfies his doubts by feeling Jacob's neck and hands, and ver. 16 is his on that account.

Vv. 18—29. Jacob carries out the scheme, satisfies Isaac's suspicions, and receives the blessing.

For וַיִּבֶּא in ver. 18 the Sept. and Vulg. read וַיָּבֵא מֵהָר in ver. 20 expresses by circumlocution an adverb in our idiom, just as שָׁב in xxvi. 18. הִקְרָה, as in xxiv. 12.

Ver. 21 ff. Isaac's suspicion is roused by the early return of the supposed Esau, and by his voice; but it is allayed when he comes to feel him.

וַיְבָרְכֵהוּ—does not mean "and he greeted him<sup>2</sup> by invoking on him a blessing,"<sup>3</sup> which would be out of place after all that has gone before; but, "so he blessed him then." After this we expect the blessing itself.

Vv. 24—27*a*. But, instead, we are told how Isaac, reassured by Jacob's asseveration, partakes of the repast, and by eating and drinking, by Jacob's kiss and the smell of his garments, is put in a fitting mood to impart the blessing, as he then does. It is true that all this does not form a bad continuation of vv. 21—23; but the last word of ver. 23*b*, וַיְבָרְכֵהוּ, nevertheless makes it clear that we have here an addition from another source. That source must be *C*, as ver. 27*b*, its continuation, is (יְהוָה), and in view of בית in ver. 15; contrast also לָמַעַן in ver. 25 with בַּעֲבוּר in vv. 4 and 19.

Ver. 24. *You here are my son Esau?* Without particle of interrogation, as in xviii. 12;<sup>4</sup> וְהִנֵּה, as in ver. 21. Jacob simply answers in the affirmative; contrast ver. 19.

<sup>1</sup> Knobel.

<sup>2</sup> Ch. xlvii. 7, 10; 2 Kings iv. 29.

<sup>3</sup> Knobel.

<sup>4</sup> Gesenius, 150. 1.



Ver. 25. The Septuagint, Vulgate, and Book of Jubilees for *מְצִיר בְּנֵי מִצְרַיִם* have *בְּנֵי מִצְרַיִם*.

Ver. 26. *וַיִּשָּׂקָה*—see ch. ii. 12.

Vv. 27b-29. The blessing itself, partly from *C*, partly from *B*. *יְהוָה* in ver. 27b and *אֱלֹהֵי יְהוָה* in ver. 29b point to *C*; *הָאֱלֹהִים* (ver. 28) and *יְהוָה* (ver. 29a), to *B*. It is in poetical form, because of its higher strain.<sup>1</sup>

The odour of his son's raiment still lingers in Isaac's sense, and supplies his starting-point; he compares the smell, which was that of a hunter who roams the fields,<sup>2</sup> to the smell of a field which Jahve has blessed, *i.e.* richly decked with glorious plants, with fragrant herbs and flowers in especial.<sup>3</sup> The Samaritan, Septuagint, and Vulgate add *מִלֵּא* to *יִצְחָק*.

Ver. 28. As suggested by this thought, his first wish for his son is a land in which the dew from heaven and a fruitful soil beneath will in union bring forth a rich yield of corn and new wine. Canaan is the land thought of; regarding its great fruitfulness, see Ex. iii. 8.<sup>4</sup>

*יְהוָה*—optative, not future; compare *יְהוָה* in ver. 29.

*מִן*—*מִן*, partitive, as in iv. 4, xxviii. 11, xxx. 14. "In Palestine dew represents rain during the rainless summer, and is the principal condition of a fruitful season; for this reason it is here mentioned in place of rain."<sup>5</sup>

*מִן*—not from *מִן* (Dan. xi. 24), but necessarily, because of the sense and the parallelism, for *מִן*,<sup>6</sup> a portion of the fat, *i.e.* fruitful,<sup>7</sup> places, or fertile fields of the earth.

Ver. 29. The second wish has a reference to the future position of Jacob among the nations.

*May nations serve you, and peoples bow down to you*—be subject to you, and pay you homage. The wish was realised

<sup>1</sup> Cf. iv. 23 f., ix. 25 f., xiv. 19 f., xxiv. 60.

<sup>2</sup> Ch. xxv. 27.

<sup>3</sup> Hos. xiv. 7; Song iv. 11.

<sup>4</sup> Also Winer, *Realencyclopædie*,<sup>3</sup> ii. 188.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. xlix. 25; Deut. xxxiii. 13, 28; Hos. xiv. 6; Zech. viii. 12. Knobel.

<sup>6</sup> Ewald, § 83a.

<sup>7</sup> Isa. v. 1, xxviii. 1.

from Joshua's time, still more from that of David. **לְאֵמִים**, see xxv. 23. **יִשְׁתַּחֲוּ**, anomalous for **יִשְׁתַּחֲוּוּ**, as in xliii. 28.

*Be a lord to your brethren, and may your mother's sons bow down to you.* "We must, of course, think of Jacob's descendants as possessors of this lordship, and therefore of Esau's descendants, the Edomites, as being the brethren in question. They were subdued in David's time,<sup>1</sup> and long remained under Israelite rule; see ver. 40."<sup>2</sup> Comp. Ps. l. 20 for the rhythmic interchange of **אֶחָיִךְ** and **בְּנֵי אִמְךָ**.

**הָיָה**—North Palestinian (Isa. xvi. 4) and late Hebrew; only here in the Pentateuch, although the Samaritan has it also in Gen. xii. 2, xxiv. 60, and elsewhere; but comp. Ex. iii. 14.

**נָבִיר**—also only found poetically, here and in ver. 37.

The third wish is that people may be cursed or blessed according as they behave towards Jacob; comp. ch. xii. 3. For the singulars **אָרִיר** and **בָּרִיקָה**, comp. Ex. xxxi. 14; Lev. xix. 8; Num. xxiv. 9; Deut. vii. 10; Gesenius, 145. 5.

Vv. 30-40. Immediately afterwards Esau appears, but too late. Isaac's blessing is given beyond recall, and Esau's requests and entreaties can only procure him an after blessing.

Ver. 30. *R* begins with a sentence from *C*,<sup>3</sup> but then gives a still more exact definition of time from *B*.

**אֵף**—only, just, *i.e.* scarcely, had Jacob gone out, when Esau came.<sup>4</sup>

Ver. 33. Isaac is greatly startled when he discovers the deceit, but can change nothing. "The author regards the patriarchs as men of God,<sup>5</sup> and attributes the same effect to their sayings as to the divine mandates of the prophets. A divine word once spoken is a power which inevitably and unchangeably accomplishes that which it declares. God's word cannot fail of its effect."<sup>6</sup> Isaac views it as having

<sup>1</sup> 2 Sam. viii. 14; 1 Kings xi. 15 f.; Ps. lx. 2.

<sup>2</sup> Knobel.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. **כָּלָה** in xviii. 33, xxiv. 15, 19, 22, 45, xliii. 2.

<sup>4</sup> Ewald, § 341*d*.

<sup>5</sup> Ch. xv. 1, xx. 7.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. ix. 18 ff.; Num. xxii. 6; 2 Kings ii. 24; Isa. ix. 7 f. Knobel.

been God's will that it should be so. He does not become angry, but submits in patience.

For מְבֹרָךְ, Kautzsch-Socin conjecture אֲבֹל. עַד מְבֹרָךְ only here and in ver. 34 in the Pentateuch. *He shall also be blessed*, remain so; נִם at the beginning of the sentence, as in xlv. 10, 1 Sam. xii. 16, and xxviii. 20.

Ver. 34. Without copula; compare xlv. 3. But probably we should insert וַיְהִי<sup>1</sup> as the first words, with the Septuagint and Samaritan;<sup>2</sup> it may easily have dropped out after the יהיה of ver. 33. It is not probable that the present reading has arisen<sup>3</sup> or been moulded<sup>4</sup> from an original—וַאֲבֹרְכֵהוּ וַיְהִי נִם בְּרוּךְ וַיְהִי—for it is insufficient<sup>5</sup> to say, *and I have also really blessed him*.

“Esau is passionately grieved at his father's statement. With patriotic satisfaction the author pictures the deep distress then experienced by the ancestor of the people of Edom.”

נִם אֵי—comp. ver. 38, ch. iv. 26; Num. xiv. 32; Prov. xxii. 19.<sup>6</sup>

Vv. 35—38 connect themselves again with ver. 32 and give C's account in supplement to vv. 33 and 34 in order to include his special reference to ch. xxv. 29—34, and also his interpretation of יַעֲקֹב.

Ver. 36. Esau says that his brother has not without reason been named יַעֲקֹב. The word is taken in the sense of one who *overreaches* another, or *uses artifice* against him, not as in xxv. 26.

הָיָה—*is it that* he has been called?<sup>7</sup> Isn't it likely that he has been called Jacob seeing that he overreached me, was destined to overreach me, now, *i.e.* already,<sup>8</sup> two<sup>9</sup> times?

Ver. 37f. “In reply to Esau's question whether he had

<sup>1</sup> Ch. xxiv. 30, 52, xxix. 13, xxxix. 13, 15, 19.

<sup>2</sup> Schumann, Tuch.

<sup>3</sup> Hitzig, *Begriff der Kritik*, 127.

<sup>5</sup> Delitzsch<sup>5</sup>.

<sup>7</sup> As in xxix. 15; Ewald, § 324b.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. xxv. 31 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Geiger, *Urschrift*, p. 377.

<sup>6</sup> Gesenius,<sup>25</sup> 135. 2.

<sup>8</sup> Ch. xxxi. 38, 41.

not *put aside*, i.e. reserved, a blessing for him, Isaac replies that he has made Jacob his lord, and given him all his brethren, the Edomites, to be his servants, as well as assigned to him the most fertile land; "1 what then could there be remaining?

סֹמֵךְ with double accusative, Ewald, § 283b.<sup>2</sup> For לָכֵה, see ch. iii. 9.

Ver. 38. Esau is at one with Isaac in the assumption that the blessing once given cannot be recalled, but thinks there must be more than one.

נִשָּׂא קוֹל—as xxi. 16, xxix. 11.

Ver. 39 f. Isaac is persuaded to give an after blessing, which is, however, more of the nature of the contrary, and is therefore not in the form of a wish or prayer, but of a prophecy. "The expressions of the previous blessing are used, but in another sense."<sup>3</sup> כִּן here is not partitive<sup>4</sup> but privative,<sup>5</sup> as is clear from vv. 37 and 40.<sup>6</sup>

*Away from the fertile regions of the earth your dwelling shall be, and away from the dew of heaven from above.*<sup>7</sup> "You will dwell remote from the lands which have a fertile soil and a productive climate, and debarred from them. Palestine is especially referred to; it was from it that Esau withdrew to Mount Se'ir,<sup>8</sup> which was, in general, an arid, rocky, and sterile region.<sup>9</sup> According to Shaw,<sup>10</sup> Edom is a bare, lonely wilderness; and, according to Burekhardt,<sup>11</sup> we may shortly describe the tableland north of 'Aḳaba a stony desert."<sup>12</sup> Of course it is only a general distinction

<sup>1</sup> Knobel.

<sup>2</sup> Ps. li. 14; Judg. xix. 5.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. vv. 13 and 19 of ch. xl. Tuch.

<sup>4</sup> Vulg., Luther, etc.

<sup>5</sup> As Num. xv. 24; Prov. xx. 3; Job xi. 15, xxi. 9, and elsewhere.

<sup>6</sup> Tuch, Baumgarten, Knobel, Ewald, Delitzsch.

<sup>7</sup> Ch. xlix. 25.

<sup>8</sup> Ch. xxxvi. 8.

<sup>9</sup> Strabo, xvi. 4. 21, describes it as being, beyond the neighbourhood of Petra, χώρα ἔρημος ἢ πλείστη, καὶ μάλιστα ἢ πρὸς Ἰουδαίαν. Diodorus, ii. 28, speaks of the Nabatean country as χώραν τὴν μὲν ἔρημον, τὴν δὲ ἀνυδρῶν, ὀλίγην δὲ καρποφόρον.

<sup>10</sup> *Travels*,<sup>2</sup> 1757, p. 438.

<sup>11</sup> [*Syria*, p. 436] Germ. tr. 723.

<sup>12</sup> Knobel.



that is drawn between Palestine and the land of Edom. The fact that there are fertile wadis in the latter<sup>1</sup> and barren spots in Palestine, is not taken account of. There is no reference to Mal. i. 3.

Ver. 40. Because of the unfruitfulness of the land he will *live upon his sword*, i.e. "support himself by his sword,"<sup>2</sup> live by war, plunder, and robbery. So Ishmael in ch. xvi. 12, and the tribes who now inhabit the old land of Edom."<sup>3</sup> The last clause of the blessing does not, indeed, recall the necessity of subjection to his brother, but it grants a limitation of its continuance, and that is of evil omen for Jacob. *When you exert yourself you shall break his yoke from your neck.*<sup>4</sup> The reference is to the reign of King Yoram, in which Edom freed itself from Judah for the first time;<sup>5</sup> it was, indeed, again subdued under Amaſyah (2 Kings xiv. 7), 'Uzziah, and Yotham;<sup>6</sup> but it finally gained its freedom under Aſhaz.<sup>7</sup>

רוֹד—in the sense of roaming about masterless and unbridled, which it has,<sup>8</sup> is inappropriate here, even if it be granted that Num. xxvii. 14 covers the use of כֶּבֶשׂ;<sup>9</sup> a yoke is not broken by mere roaming about, and it is already broken when one can roam at liberty. The translation, *to be refractory*,<sup>10</sup> gives a better sense; but, after all, every conquered people is unsubmissive, yet does not gain its liberty. So we should rather render,<sup>11</sup> *career about*, i.e. *make exertions, put forth an effort*; comp. רָדָה and רָדָה and Arabic *râda* iv.<sup>12</sup> The word has not the meaning *shake*.<sup>13</sup> The versions have הוֹרִיד, רָדָה, and מָרַד in mind, but had no other reading

<sup>1</sup> E.g. Robinson, *Palestine*,<sup>3</sup> ii. 154.

<sup>2</sup> Deut. viii. 3; Isa. xxxviii. 16.

<sup>3</sup> Burekhardt, *Syria*, p. 507 f.; Ritter, xiv. 266 ff. Knobel.

<sup>4</sup> Isa. x. 27.

<sup>5</sup> 2 Kings viii. 20 ff.

<sup>6</sup> 2 Kings xiv. 22; Isa. ii. 16, xvi. 1, 5.

<sup>7</sup> 2 Kings xvi. 6.

<sup>8</sup> Jer. ii. 31; Hos. xii. 1.

<sup>9</sup> Knobel, Delitzsch.

<sup>10</sup> Tuch, Hupfeld on Ps. lv. 3.

<sup>11</sup> In spite of Nöldeke, *ZDMG.* xxxvii. 540.

<sup>12</sup> De Dieu on Jer. ii.; Rosenmüller, Winer in *Lexicon*; Ewald, *Geschichte*,<sup>3</sup> i. 159 [*History*, vol. i. p. 108, note 1].

<sup>13</sup> Hengstenberg, Keil.

than תריר or תרר; the Samaritan תאדר, also in the Book of Jubilees, is evidently only an emendation.<sup>1</sup>

Vv. 41–45. The immediate results of the whole incident, Esau's deadly hatred of Jacob, and Rebecca's advice to the latter to flee to Haran.

Ver. 41. אמר אל-לבו found in l. 15, in *B*; שטם, comp. viii. 21.

*The days of mourning for my father*—not, my father's days of mourning, as if Esau wished to avenge himself on his father also by slaying his brother.<sup>2</sup> He intends to wait till his father's death, which is not far off (vv. 4 and 7), and so spare him the sorrow of his deed; but he will not delay so long as till the conclusion of the usual period of mourning.<sup>3</sup>

Ver. 42 f. "Esau doubtless gave verbal expression to his intention, and so Rebecca learned of it."

For the accusative with a passive, see ch. iv. 18. With the Hithpael הִתְנַחֵם, to console one's self by taking vengeance, compare the Niphal in Isa. i. 24. For הִרְנָה, see xi. 31.

Ver. 44. "He will have to remain in Haran only *some days*, i.e. quite a short time. Rebecca speaks in this minimising way to persuade him the more easily."

אֲחֵרִים—as in ch. xxix. 20; and Dan. xi. 10; ch. xi. 1 is different.

Ver. 45. The words עַד-שׁוּב וְנִי are unnecessary merely as an explanation of 44*b*, and seem to have been incorporated from the other source, not for their own sake, but because of their sequel וְנִשְׁכַּח וְנִי.

גַּם שְׁנֵיכֶם—she would lose *both* on one day, i.e. at one time, inasmuch as Esau as a murderer would be liable to suffer at the hands of the avengers of blood (ch. ix. 6).

Ver. 46 is the transition to xxviii. 1 ff., and doubtless an insertion by *R*.<sup>4</sup> "Rebecca tells Isaac that Esau's Hittite

<sup>1</sup> See Gesenius, *De Pentat. Samarit.* 38.

<sup>2</sup> Luther.

<sup>3</sup> Ch. xxiv. 67.

<sup>4</sup> Böhrer, Kuenen, *Onderzoek*,<sup>2</sup> p. 315; Kautzsch-Socin.

wives poison the pleasure of her life, and that if Jacob makes a similar marriage she wishes to live no longer.”<sup>1</sup> The reference to xxvi. 34 f. is plain; but it does not follow, therefore, that the verse is from *A*,<sup>2</sup> or even from *A* and *C*.<sup>3</sup> Nor are the expressions *בנות הארץ*<sup>4</sup> and *בנות חת* any proof so long as *A*, in chs. xxviii. 1, 6, 8, and xxxvi. 2, writes throughout *בנות כנען*; they might be imitations of *A* by *R*; *C* uses *בנות הכנעני*.<sup>5</sup> On the contrary, in ch. xxvi. 35 these wives of Esau were a grief to both his parents; and while Rebecca’s initiative is quite in accordance with the representation of the writers of ch. xxvii., Isaac in *A*, xxviii. 1 ff., acts independently; *למה לי חיים*, too, finds its analogy in ch. xxv. 22. “Moreover, the conjunction of the expressions *מבנות הארץ* and *מבנית חת* arouses suspicion; the Septuagint omits the former.”<sup>6</sup>

Ch. xxviii. 1-9. *A*’s account of how Jacob was sent to Paddan Aram for his marriage, and how he was blessed by Isaac.

Ver. 1. Isaac blesses Jacob, and gives him a charge. For *בנות כנען*, see note on ch. xxiv. 3 [xxvii. 46, above].

Ver. 2. *פָּדְנָה אֶרֶם*—see ch. xxv. 20. For the construct in *הַ*, comp. xx. 1 and *ביתה* here; for the *־הַ*, ch. xiv. 10; for the accentuation of *הַ* before *אֶרֶם*, Ewald, §§ 216*c* and 63*c*; similarly *קָמָה* in xxvii. 45, *הִקְבָּה* in xxix. 21, etc.

Ver. 3 f. “The blessing consists in the desire that God may prosper him with fruitfulness and a numerous posterity, and may give him and his descendants the land granted to Abraham.”

*אֶל שְׂרֵי*—see ch. xvii. 1. *קָהַל עַמִּים*, as in xxxv. 11, xlviii. 4, in *A*. *עַמִּים* is also used of the tribes of Israel, *e.g.* in Deut. xxxiii. 3; see also Gen. xvii. 14, xxv. 8. Abraham’s blessing, in ch. xvii. 8, where also see for *מְנָרִים*.

<sup>1</sup> Knobel.

<sup>2</sup> Knobel, Schrader, Kayser, Wellhausen, Kittel.

<sup>3</sup> Delitzsch.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>4</sup> For *בני חת* see ch. xxiii. 3.

<sup>5</sup> Ch. xxiv. 3, 37.

<sup>6</sup> Olshausen.

Ver. 5. Jacob obeys and departs. For ארמי, see note on xxii. 23.

Vv. 6-9. Esau learns from the example; and in order to gain the satisfaction and good pleasure of his parents, and in some measure to repair his error, he marries again; in this case a relative, a daughter of Ishmael's, and granddaughter of Abraham's.

וישלה—instead of וישלח may be explained by its dependence on כי, though farther on, in ver. 7, we find וישמע, which is also still dependent on כי וירא in ver. 6.

ואל-אמו—probably due to R, and inserted with reference to xxvii. 43 f.

Ver. 8. וירא introduces a second consideration.

Ver. 9. The expression, *he went to Ishmael*, does not imply that Esau now left his father's house entirely;<sup>1</sup> on the contrary, see ch. xxxvi. 6 f.; he went only to obtain a wife. Ishmael was accordingly still alive; and this agrees very well with xxv. 26 and xxvi. 34 (comp. xxv. 17 and xvii. 24 f.). Apart from devotion to a chronology compiled by harmonistic devices,<sup>2</sup> there is no reason for discovering that Ishmael means the family of Ishmael, or for going the length of striking out אל-ישמעאל, as in the Samaritan text. Regarding the chronology, see note at the conclusion of ch. xxxv.

*Sister of Nebayoth*—comp. note on xxiv. 50.

*Up to his wives*—in addition to them, xxxi. 50; Lev. xviii. 18.

Regarding Machalath, see note on ch. xxxvi. 3.

## B. JACOB AWAY FROM HOME, AND THE FOUNDING OF HIS HOUSE, CH. XXVIII. 10-XXXII. 3.

### 1. JACOB'S DREAM AT BETHEL, CH. XXVIII. 10-22; FROM B AND C.

Jacob leaves Beersheba', passes the night at Luz, there dreams of the ladder reaching to heaven, receives divine

<sup>1</sup> Tuch.

<sup>2</sup> Delitzsch, Keil, Köhler, *Geschichte*, i. 135.



promises, names the place Bethel, and makes a vow regarding it. He had been destined by his father's blessing to be heir and transmitter of the promises, but now for the first time receives confirmation of it from God. His journeyings are beginning, and the period of his education also; so the certainty of the divine protection and of his exalted destiny is given him to go with him as the guiding star of his wanderings. It was the same in Abraham's case, xii. 1 ff., and in Isaac's, xxvi. 2 ff. The origin also of the sanctity of Bethel is here made clear.

The passage connects itself with xxvi. 23 ff. and xxvii. 43 by the *מבאר שבע* and *חרנה* of ver. 10. The use of *יהוה*, the contents and expression of the promises in vv. 13–16,<sup>1</sup> and the words *נָצַב עָלַי* (ver. 13), *פָּרַן* (ver. 14), and *אֲדַמָּה* (ver. 14 f.), reveal the hand of *C*. Vv. 11 f. and 17–22, however, have *אלהים*; and while ch. xxxv. 9–15 prohibits our thinking of *A*'s authorship, the later reference to the verses in xxxi. 13 and xxxv. 3, 7 proves that they belong to *B*;<sup>2</sup> this is confirmed by the expressions *פָּנַע בּוֹ* (ver. 11)<sup>3</sup> and *הַשִּׁנִּים בְּבֶקֶר* (ver. 18),<sup>4</sup> as well as by the mention of tenths in ver. 22 and the dream of ver. 12.<sup>5</sup> *R*, accordingly, has worked together a narrative of *B*'s whose special interest was in the sanctity of Bethel and of the stone of Jacob, and in Jacob's vow; and one of *C*'s, which laid emphasis on God's promises to Jacob. In the case of ver. 19*a* we may be in doubt to which source to assign it; probably it belonged to both, for neither can do without it; *B*, in particular, in xxxi. 13 and xxxv. 3, presupposes the name Bethel to be already in existence.<sup>6</sup> But the use of *הָאֲדָמָה* and the needlessness of ver. 16 alongside of ver. 17 prevent our attributing ver. 15 f. to *B*.<sup>7</sup> It is just this parallelism of vv. 16 and 17

<sup>1</sup> Cf. xiii. 14, 16, xii. 3, xviii. 18.

<sup>2</sup> Knobel, Hupfeld, Böhmer, Schrader, Wellhausen, Kittel, Kautzsch-Socin.

<sup>3</sup> Ch. xxxii. 2.

<sup>4</sup> Chs. xx. 8, xxi. 14, xxii. 3.

<sup>5</sup> Ch. xx. 3 and frequently.

<sup>6</sup> Contrary to Hupfeld's view.

<sup>7</sup> Knobel.

which proves, also, that two sources have been conjoined, and that it is not simply a narrative of *B*'s worked over by *R*,<sup>1</sup> or by the harmonist of *JE*.<sup>2</sup> The contents, too, of ver. 16 are too naïve for *R* or *JE*, and *C* in xxxii. 13 has a reference to xxviii. 14 (cf. also xxxii. 10 with xxviii. 15). In ch. xii. 8, in *C*, it is not Bethel itself, but only a place in its neighbourhood, which is consecrated by Abraham. Ver. 19*b* is from *R*; 21*b* is either from *C*, or owes its present form to *R*.

Ver. 10, from *C*, attaches itself, though not directly, to ch. xxvii. 45. In *A*, Jacob's departure has been already recounted xxviii. 5 (7). In *B*, his destination is given a different name (xxix. 1).

מבאר שבע—Isaac's place of residence, according to *C*.<sup>3</sup>

Ver. 11 f. from *B*, though *C* also must have had something corresponding. Jacob hits on *the (sacred) spot*.<sup>4</sup> מקום is better so translated than <sup>5</sup> by *the place* suited for passing the night. This very coincidence was itself a divine providence. He takes *of the stones*<sup>6</sup> one (ver. 18) and lays it *at his head-place*,<sup>7</sup> the place where he laid his head, at his head. This was already some days' journey from Beersheba.<sup>8</sup>

Ver. 12. In the night, in a dream,<sup>9</sup> he sees a ladder resting on the earth and reaching to the sky; the angels of God<sup>10</sup> are climbing *up and down* on it. The author does not say down and up, the angels are already below when he sees them; they ascend, and afterwards return. "This ladder symbolises the thought that heaven and earth, God and men, stand in communication;<sup>11</sup> that God sways the earth from heaven by the agency of His Spirit, and guides the destinies of men." It suggests to the dreamer the double conviction that, though he is a fugitive and lonely wanderer, God's

<sup>1</sup> Böhmer.

<sup>3</sup> Ch. xxvi. 23 (also xxv. 21 ff.).

<sup>5</sup> As in 5th ed.

<sup>7</sup> Ewald, § 160*b*.

<sup>9</sup> Ch. xx. 3.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. ix. 17.

<sup>2</sup> Kuenen, *Onderzoek*,<sup>2</sup> pp. 145, 247.

<sup>4</sup> See xii. 6.

<sup>6</sup> Chs. iv. 4, xxvii. 28.

<sup>8</sup> Ch. xxii. 4.

<sup>10</sup> Ch. xxi. 17.

angels are already with him to protect and support him,<sup>1</sup> and that this place where he rests is a true Divine sanctuary,<sup>2</sup> where there is communication between heaven and earth. The communication is by means of a ladder, because the angels were not at first thought of as having wings.<sup>3</sup>

Vv. 13-15, from *C*. This author narrated a Divine manifestation, and the giving of a promise to Jacob during his sleep (ver. 16), but nothing of any dream of a heavenly ladder. *R*, by his insertion of the account here, intends God's words to be taken as an interpretation (ver. 15) and expansion (ver. 13 f.) of what was implicit in the dream of the heavenly ladder.

עָלִי—generally translated <sup>4</sup> up above *on it*, the ladder; but the *up above* is the very thing not expressed, and it is impossible to see why Jahve should *stand* on the ladder. Besides, the whole verse is from *C*, so translate *Jahve stood above* (before) *him*.<sup>5</sup>

God of the patriarchs Abraham and Isaac, cf. xxvi. 24. I give you the land, as xii. 7, xiii. 15, and frequently. As the dust of the earth, see xiii. 16. וּפְרַעַת, xxx. 30, 43; Sept. and Book of Jubilees have וּפְרִיץ וְנָה, see xiii. 14. וּנְבִרְכּוּ, xii. 3, xviii. 18.

וּבֹרֵךְ—does not make the impression of being a subsequent addition <sup>6</sup> more than וְלֹרֵךְ in ver. 13; <sup>7</sup> see note on ii. 9.

Ver. 15. God also expressly promises His protection to Jacob during the period of his wanderings, *wherever* he goes.

עַד אִשֶּׁר אֵם—*until that, when*, Num. xxxii. 17; Isa. vi. 11; shorter in xxiv. 19.

Ver. 16, from *C*. Jacob on awaking is astonished that Jahve is present in this place, and not merely in the sacred seats where Isaac worshipped Him, *e.g.* at Beersheba', xxvi. 24 f.

<sup>1</sup> Ch. xxiv. 7.

<sup>2</sup> Ver. 17 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. also Enoch lxi. 1.

<sup>4</sup> As by Sept. Vulg. Pesh.

<sup>5</sup> As in xviii. 2, xxiv. 13, xlv. 1; cf. xviii. 8, xxiv. 30. Tuch, Hupfeld, etc.

<sup>6</sup> Wellhausen, *JBDTh*. xxi. 421; Kautzsch-Socin.

<sup>7</sup> Also, however, regarded by Wellhausen as a supplement.

To his joy he has learned that his separation from home has not yet carried him from the sphere of Jahve's presence.

128—in *truth*, elsewhere in the Pentateuch only in Ex. ii. 14.

Ver. 17. *B*'s statement of the impression the vision made on Jacob. The place is sublimely awful, a true abode of deity (ver. 19), the gate of heaven, where, as is proper in a real sanctuary (abode of deity), heaven opens to men, and true intercourse with the upper world is possible.

Ver. 18, from *B*. In *C* and *E* the patriarchs erect altars, where theophanies have appeared to them. Similarly, Jacob here sets up the stone he slept on as a memorial or monument, and sprinkles it with oil to consecrate it.<sup>1</sup> Stade<sup>2</sup> finds in this a rudimentary form of sacrifice to a spirit dwelling in the stone.

This Jacob-stone in Bethel was regarded by the patriarch and his house as deeply sacred.<sup>3</sup> Sacred stones are not spoken of in the history of Abraham, but for the first time in that of Jacob, whose home was in central Palestine, and then several times.<sup>4</sup> This leaves the impression that the need felt for such signs of the Divine presence belonged, after all, to a later stage of the religious development, and was not independent of Canaanite affinities. But the stones are not revered as deities, they are only sacred stones, stones to mark the sanctity of a place. It was an ancient custom to erect stones in memory of remarkable events, and especially in memory of miraculous Divine help.<sup>5</sup> In the case of theophanies it was a natural addition to the custom to consecrate the stones themselves, and to reverence them as sanctuaries or places of sacrifice where Divine worship was paid.<sup>6</sup> More than this is not said of the Jacob-stone.

<sup>1</sup> See Comm. on Ex. xxx. 30.

<sup>2</sup> *Geschichte*,<sup>1</sup> i. 460–494 f.; but see Hermann, *Gottesdienstliche Alterthümer*,<sup>2</sup> p. 139.

<sup>3</sup> See also xxxv. 14, and comp. xlix. 24.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. xxxiii. 20.

<sup>5</sup> Ch. xxxi. 45; Josh. iv. 9, 20, xxiv. 26 f.; 1 Sam. vii. 12.

<sup>6</sup> Ver. 22.



Memorial stones of this kind long continued beside the sanctuaries of the Israelite cultus, especially in the northern kingdom;<sup>1</sup> even to Isaiah<sup>2</sup> they are not objectionable as memorials of Jahve. Among the Canaanites, however, they were inseparably bound up with the worship of Baal, and the popular consciousness readily thought of them as Baal pillars. For this reason even laws<sup>3</sup> and prophets<sup>4</sup> of early date are opposed to them, and Deut. xvi. 22<sup>5</sup> directly forbids such Masseboth to be placed beside the altars of Jahve. Stones holy in another sense, namely, stones which had Divine honours paid to them as being deities in corporeal form, or stones animated by deity, or which were applied to all kinds of magical purposes, are of frequent occurrence among heathen peoples, not only in Canaan and among the Syrians and Arabs, but elsewhere in the East and in the West. They are termed “*λίθοι λιπαροί* or *ἀλληλιμμένοι*, *lapides uncti*.”<sup>6</sup> They include also the so-called *βαίτυλοι*, *βαιτύλια*, *baetyli*,<sup>7</sup> of Western Asia, which were, in part, aërolites; there were instances of these in Pessinus, in Phrygia,<sup>8</sup> among the Phoenicians,<sup>9</sup> among the Syrians in Heliopolis<sup>10</sup> and Emesa,<sup>11</sup> among the Egyptians<sup>12</sup> and the Arabs,<sup>13</sup> e.g. in Nabatean Petra,<sup>14</sup> and in Mekka, the black stone of the Kaaba.”<sup>15</sup> We do not know whether the Hebrews, like the other Semites, once

<sup>1</sup> Hos. iii. 4, x. 1 f.; cf. Ex. xxiv. 4.

<sup>2</sup> Ch. xix. 19.

<sup>3</sup> Ex. xxiii. 24, xxxiv. 13; Lev. xxvi. 1.

<sup>4</sup> Mic. v. 12.

<sup>5</sup> See Comm. *ad loc.* [Dillmann's].

<sup>6</sup> Pausanias, x. 24. 6; Minucius Felix, iii. 1; Apuleius, *Florida* (at begin.); regarding their religious veneration, see Theophrastus, *Characteres*, 16; Lucian, *Alex.* 30, *Conc. deor.* 12; Clem. of Alex. *Strom.* 7 (p. 713, ed. Sylburgius); Arnob. *Adv. gent.* i. 39.

<sup>7</sup> Pliny, xxxvii. § 135.

<sup>8</sup> Herodian, i. 11; Livy, xxix. 11.

<sup>9</sup> Sanchuniathon, ed. Orelli, p. 30.

<sup>10</sup> Photius, *Biblioth.* pp. 557, 568.

<sup>11</sup> Herodian, v. 3.

<sup>12</sup> Gale on Jamblicus, *De Mysteriis*, p. 215.

<sup>13</sup> Maximus Tyrius, *Disser.* 38; Arnobius, vi. 196.

<sup>14</sup> Suidas, sub *Θεοσάφης*.

<sup>15</sup> Knobel. Cf. Winer,<sup>3</sup> ii. 521; Riehm, *Handwörterbuch*, 1330 f.; Ewald, *Alttheuimer*,<sup>3</sup> 158 ff. [*Antiquities*, p. 118 f.]; *JB.* x. 17 f. and v. 287 f.; Grimmel, *De lapidum cultu apud patriarchas*, 4<sup>o</sup>, 1853; Ph. Berger in *JA.* vii. 8, p. 253 ff.; Halévy in *JA.* vii. 18, p. 252 ff.

practised this stone worship. If *βαίτυλος* be identified as *בֵּית אֵל*, it is not a far-fetched assumption that Jacob's Bethel stone was originally a stone fetish of this character,<sup>1</sup> which *B* only transformed into a *מַעֲבָה* in the sense above described. But the connection of *βαίτυλος* and *בֵּית אֵל* is at least very questionable;<sup>2</sup> there is no stone worship in the public worship of Israel in historical times;<sup>3</sup> the *מַעֲבָה*, whose origin the writer here wishes to relate, was undoubtedly still in existence in his time as a *מַעֲבָה*, and its shape must have been that of a *מַעֲבָה*, not of a stone fetish.

Ver. 19*a*—essential to *C*'s narrative, but also suitable in *B* (comp. ver. 17), and in expression rather from him.<sup>4</sup> Ver. 19*b* is doubtless a gloss from *R*. Jacob names the place Bethel; in *A* he does not do so till his return (xxxv. 15).

*וְאֵלִים*—as in xlvi. 19; Num. xiv. 21; Ex. ix. 16.

*בֵּית אֵל*—see xii. 8. The statement that Bethel was earlier called Luz,<sup>5</sup> is to be understood in the sense that the more modern Bethel lay in the neighbourhood of the more ancient Luz. The place where Jacob passed the night was also not *in* Luz, but near it.<sup>6</sup>

Ver. 20 ff., from *B*. Further, Jacob vows that if God protect him, and bring him home again safe and sound,<sup>7</sup> he will make the stone a sanctuary, etc. The apodosis begins with *וְהָיָה*,<sup>8</sup> not with ver. 22,<sup>9</sup> as even the order of the words shows. But we must regard the words *וְהָיָה לִי לְאֵלֵהִים*, in which he binds himself to venerate the god who has appeared to him, as an interpolation of *R*'s (? from *C*). For the expression, see xvii. 7. The stone is to be a *house of God*, i.e. a place of Divine worship; it is made so in xxxv. 7, when Jacob erects an altar there.

<sup>1</sup> Dozy, *Israeliten zu Mekka*, 1864, p. 18 ff.; Nöldeke in *ZDMG.* xlii. 482.

<sup>2</sup> See Grimmel and Halévy as just quoted.

<sup>3</sup> Isa. lvii. 6 is different.

<sup>4</sup> See note on xxxii. 31.

<sup>5</sup> Chs. xxxv. 6, xlvi. 3; Judg. i. 23; cf. Josh. xviii. 13.

<sup>6</sup> Ewald, *Geschichte*,<sup>3</sup> i. 435 f. [*History*, vol. i. p. 304].

<sup>7</sup> Ch. xxvi. 29, 31.

<sup>8</sup> Sept. Pesh. Vulg.

<sup>9</sup> Tuch, Hengstenberg.

Jacob's words now take the form of address to the god. He will give Him the tenth of all that God gives him.<sup>1</sup> The sequel is not related, perhaps it was omitted by *R*. It is not clear how the author thought of the tenth, perhaps in the form of an offering or of a tithe to a priest (comp. Book of Jubilees, ch. xxxii.). What the story of the vow chiefly has in view is in any case the time in which Bethel really was an Israelite sanctuary,<sup>2</sup> where tithes also were paid.

2. JACOB IN HARRAN WITH LABAN, CH. XXIX. F.;  
FROM *B* AND *C*.

Jacob arrives in the country of the sons of the east, meets Rachel (Raḥel), Laban's daughter, even before he reaches Harran, and goes to live in Laban's house (xxix. 1-14). He serves him as shepherd for seven years to obtain Rachel as his wife, but is overreached by Laban and given Leah, the elder daughter, whom he does not love. After the wedding with Leah is over, however, he receives Rachel also, in return for a promise of seven years of further service (xxix. 15-30). By Leah, by Rachel's maid, by Leah's, and, lastly, by Rachel herself, he obtains in all eleven sons and one daughter (xxix. 31-xxx. 24). He now wishes to return home. But Laban is unwilling to let him go, for he has been of much service to him. Jacob agrees to serve him longer for what is apparently an insignificant wage, but by his cunning he so increases it that in a short time he acquires very large possessions (xxx. 25-43).

The leading thought in the narrative remarks the presence of God's protection and blessing (xxviii. 15) which follow Jacob everywhere, in his contest with Laban's cunning and selfishness as well as in the rest. But Jacob's merited punishment for the deceit he had practised at home is also brought to notice, though less prominently, in the service to

<sup>1</sup> See xiv. 20.

<sup>2</sup> Judg. xx. 18, 26 ff.; 1 Sam. x. 3; 1 Kings xii. 29.

which he must submit, extended by Laban's fraud to double its original length, and in the long continued barrenness of his favourite wife. The punishment as well as the protection are to be the means of teaching him to cling closely to his God. But the standpoint is more national than it is ethical; Jacob is glorified as the ideal of a Hebrew shepherd, and an account is given of the origin of the Hebrew tribes. The narrow limits of these two chapters, supplemented in ch. xxxi., contain in a compressed form the essential points regarding Jacob's deeds and contests in Mesopotamia. Oral tradition at one time told the story more fully. Some features of that story are still plainly recognisable in the condensed account. Examples are the contest in which Hebrew and Aramaean cunning are matched against one another, and Jacob's many discoveries in the contrivances of a shepherd's skill (xxx. 37 ff.). Other features have almost vanished beyond recognition, *e.g.* the representation of the hero's giant strength (xxix. 10, cf. xxxii. 25 ff.). In the written sources, also, this part of the Jacob legend was at one time more fully detailed. Ch. xxx. 35-42, for example, presents all the appearance of being an extract from a fuller narrative.<sup>1</sup> It was *B*, without doubt, who gave the fuller description of these events (cf. ch. xxxi.). Even *C*, who was acquainted with *B*'s work, laid less stress on such merely secular materials; *R*, above all, made the ethico-religious points of view so dominant that he did not consider it worth his while to record much of the secular tradition.

The present text is from *C* and *B*, and is worked together in a way similar to that of ch. xxvii. Only chs. xxix. 24, 29,<sup>2</sup> xxx. 22*a*, remind us of *A*; ch. xxx. 4*a* and 9*b* might possibly also be from him. In analysing what remains, Wellhausen<sup>3</sup> makes xxix. 1-30 essentially the text of *B*. But we cannot fail to recognise an artificial transition in ver. 15; ver. 16 f. proceeds as if Rachel had not hitherto

<sup>1</sup> Cf. notes on iv. 17 and vi. 1-4.

<sup>2</sup> Knobel, Wellhausen.

<sup>3</sup> *JBDTh.* xxi. 425 f.



been mentioned. It will therefore be more accurate, while giving xxix. 1 to *B* (see note), to assign xxix. 2–14 or 15*a* to *C*,<sup>1</sup> and xxix. 15*b*–30<sup>2</sup> in the main, without vv. 24 and 29, and without ver. 26, because of *נעירה* and *בכירה*, to *B*. In xxix. 31–xxx. 24, which relates the birth of Jacob's children, the foundation narrative is in the main from *C*, as *יהוה* and *שפחה* make plain; in xxix. 31–35 and xxx. 9–16 he is the only source, but in xxx. 1–3*a* (*אלהים*, *אמה*) there is a characteristic description from *B*, and in vv. 6 and 8 two etymologies substituted for *C*'s; in xxx. 17–24 the thread of the narrative, even, belongs to *B* (*אלהים*) and the divergent etymologies of *C* (vv. 20*b* and 24), and one or two fragments from the same source (vv. 21, 22*c*) are inserted in his text.<sup>3</sup> *R*'s procedure shows that the course of the narrative and its material were very much the same in both sources; that they were, in fact, essentially alike except for certain noticeable variations in the etymologies, so that either *B* or *C* might be drawn upon in *R*'s compilation. The concluding paragraph, xxx. 25–43, telling of Jacob's acquisition of flocks of his own, is decisively *C*'s, as is proved by the want of agreement with *B*'s chronology<sup>4</sup> and with his parallel statements in xxxi. 6 ff., as well as by the linguistic evidence.<sup>5</sup> But here also parallels have been worked in from *B*,<sup>6</sup> and isolated expressions of his are found which have been adopted by *C* or inserted by *R*, *e.g.* *רָהֲטִים* (vv. 38, 41 in contrast to xxiv. 20), *תַּיִשׁ* (ver. 35), *עָקָר* (ver. 35). It is to be remarked that the text in this concluding paragraph is in several instances distorted. The analysis given of the whole is followed in almost every particular by Kittel and Kautzsch-Socin.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *אִשָּׁר ל* (ver. 9), *רִוּן לַקְרָאָה* (ver. 13), *עֲצָמִי וּבִשְׁרִי* (ver. 14).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *מִשְׁכַּבְתָּ* (ver. 15), *גְּדֹלָה* and *קִטְנָה* (vv. 16, 18), *יֵשֶׁת חָאָר וִיפֹת*, *מֵרָאָה* (ver. 17).

<sup>3</sup> Regarding *שִׁפְחָתִי* in xxx. 18, see note there.

<sup>4</sup> See note on xxx. 25.

<sup>5</sup> *אִם-נָא מִצְאָתִי חֵן וְנ'* and *בְּגִל* in ver. 27, *פְּרִין* in vv. 30, 43.

<sup>6</sup> Vv. 26, 28; hardly 32–34, as Wellhausen thinks.

Ch. xxix. 1-14. Jacob safely reaches his relatives in H̄arran.

Ver. 1. He *lifted his feet*, *i.e.* continued his journey, which was a long one, and *went*, not came, to the land of the *sons of the east*. נִשָּׂא רגְלָיו only here. The Septuagint at the end of the verse has a long harmonising addition, πρὸς Ἀβράν, κ.τ.λ.

בני קרם—see notes on xxv. 15. The expression is surprising in itself, because it nowhere else designates the inhabitants of Mesopotamia, which might, however, be termed an ארץ קרם,<sup>1</sup> and because it offers a third variant to the וילך פדנה ארם of xxviii. 7 and the וילך חרנה of xxviii. 10. The Septuagint reads ארץ קרם without בני. The sentence does not belong to C,<sup>2</sup> but along with xxviii. 20 ff., to B, who accordingly differed somewhat from A and C in his ideas regarding the place of residence of Jacob's kinsmen.<sup>3</sup> This makes it the less possible to lay down the rule<sup>4</sup> that C only writes city of Nahor<sup>5</sup> and not H̄arran.<sup>6</sup>

Ver. 2 f. The journey itself is not described, any more than in ch. xxiv. But Jacob is just as fortunate as Abraham's steward was in the other case. He arrives at once at the right well, and finds kinsmen there. It is not, however, the city well of H̄arran, as in ch. xxiv. 10 f. Three flocks were lying at the time beside the well, from which it was the custom to give them water at certain times. The<sup>7</sup> stone, with which wells were habitually covered,<sup>8</sup> was large, in order that only those who had a right, and these altogether, might be able to use the well.

The perfects in ver. 3 with waw consecutive are co-

<sup>1</sup> Num. xxiii. 7; cf. Gen. xi. 2.

<sup>2</sup> Delitzsch<sup>5</sup>.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. xxxi. 21 and 23.

<sup>4</sup> Wellhausen, *JBDTh.* xxi. 426.

<sup>5</sup> Ch. xxiv. 10.

<sup>6</sup> Chs. xxvii. 43, xxviii. 10, xxix. 4.

<sup>7</sup> See xiv. 13.

<sup>8</sup> Robinson [*Palestine*,<sup>3</sup> i. 490], Germ. tr. ii. 414.

ordinate with יָשָׁן, and express custom or habit.<sup>1</sup> The description is given with a view to ver. 10. "Such scenes at the well were usual,<sup>2</sup> and are so still.<sup>3</sup> Troughs of stone are set up beside the wells, and the rule is that the first comer waters his flocks first.<sup>4</sup> Among the Beduin Arabs the wells belong to particular tribes or families. Strangers may only use them in return for presents, in effect a payment;<sup>5</sup> they are therefore often the occasion of contention.<sup>6</sup> The Arabs are skilled in covering them over<sup>7</sup> so that they remain unperceived by strangers."<sup>8</sup>

Vv. 4-6. Jacob inquires of the shepherds regarding Laban; they point him out his daughter Rachel, who is just approaching with her flock.

*My brothers*—see ch. xix. 7.

*Nahor's son*—בֶּן must be son in the widest sense, i.e. grandson;<sup>9</sup> but as a matter of fact in *C's* original narrative Laban was really Nahor's son.<sup>10</sup>

*Is he well?*—see xliii. 29 f.

Ver. 7 f. Jacob thinks they have driven the cattle together (אָסַף) for the night, and proposes that they should water the sheep and then pasture them, *for the day is still large*, i.e. it is still a long time till evening. They reply that they must wait till all are together to be able to roll away the heavy stone by their united strength.

הָעֵרִירִים—the Septuagint reading ἡρώεις is easier; the Samaritan reads the same in ver. 3 also.

Ver. 9. Meanwhile Rachel arrives at the well (for the perf. comp. xxvii. 30). She is a shepherdess. Among the

<sup>1</sup> Gesenius,<sup>25</sup> 112. 3.

<sup>2</sup> Ch. xxiv. 11 ff.; Ex. ii. 16 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Robinson, *Palestine*,<sup>3</sup> i. 201, 204, ii. 22, 26, 35, 226.

<sup>4</sup> Schubert, *Reisen*, ii. 453; Burckhardt [*Syria*, 1821, p. 63], Germ. tr. 128 f.

<sup>5</sup> Burckhardt, *Bedouins*, i. p. 228 f.; Robinson [*Palestine*,<sup>3</sup> ii. 99], Germ. tr. iii. 7; cf. Num. xx. 17, 19, xxi. 22.

<sup>6</sup> Ch. xxvi. 19 ff.

<sup>7</sup> Diodorus, ii. 48, xix. 94.

<sup>8</sup> Knobel.

<sup>9</sup> 2 Kings ix. 20 and ix. 14; Ezra v. 1 compared with Zech. i. 1.

<sup>10</sup> See xxiv. 15, 24, 47, 50.

Arabs of Sinai it is the rule that the unmarried daughters drive the cattle to pasture.<sup>1</sup>

For the form of the sentence, see Ewald.<sup>2</sup> לֹא־אִשָּׁר, as in xl. 5, in *C*.

Ver. 10 f. "One look at Rachel affects and inspires Jacob; with determination and strength he singly rolls away the stone, and with willing hands waters her cattle. The thrice repeated אָחִי אֲמָנִי is an indication that he gave his service as her cousin."<sup>3</sup>

The interpretation just given is of the present text; in the background we may justifiably find the representation to be that Jacob was a man of herculean strength; comp. ch. xxxii. 26. "Jacob, as Rachel's cousin, may also kiss her openly, as a brother his sister."<sup>4</sup> His tears are those of joyful emotion, as in xlv. 14 and xlvi. 29."<sup>5</sup> For נִשָּׂא קוֹל, see xxi. 16.

Ver. 12. Brother = cousin, as in ver. 15, xiv. 16, xxiv. 48.

Ver. 13 f. Laban at the *news* of him, *i.e.* of his arrival, hastens to meet him, embraces and kisses him much and long,<sup>6</sup> takes him to his house, and, from what he learns, convinces himself that Jacob is really *his bone and flesh*, *i.e.* his blood relative or kinsman.<sup>7</sup> "The expressions of the passage recall ch. ii. 23, and רִוּן לְקִרְבָּתָא, xviii. 2 and xxiv. 17. Jacob remains with Laban *a whole month's time*."<sup>8</sup> There is nothing which requires us to attach this last statement to ver. 15, *i.e.* to *B*, as is done by Kautzsch-Socin.

נִשָּׂא—with ל, as xxxi. 28, xxxii. 1, xlviii. 10; in xxxiii. 4 with accusative.

וְאֵל—only, *i.e.* no other than; see also note, xxvi. 9.

<sup>1</sup> Burckhardt, *Bedouins*, i. 351 f.; see, further, on Ex. ii. 16. Knobel.

<sup>2</sup> *Syntax*, § 341d.

<sup>3</sup> Knobel.

<sup>4</sup> Canticles viii. 1.

<sup>5</sup> Knobel.

<sup>6</sup> Piel.

<sup>7</sup> Ch. xxxvii. 27; Judg. ix. 2; 2 Sam. v. 1, xix. 13 f.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. xli. 1; Num. xi. 20 f. Knobel. For יָמִים, see Gesenius,<sup>25</sup> 131. 2c.



Vv. 15–30. Jacob marries two wives, sisters. In this respect he is not a model for Israel (Lev. xviii. 18), but the double marriage was at least not of his own choice; one of the sisters was forced on him by the cunning of Laban, and so the marriage has more the aspect of a Harran custom. See note on ch. xx. 12 regarding the consanguineous marriages of the patriarchs. While, however, the excuse lies in Laban's deceit, there is also perceptible the ethical consideration that Jacob's own fraud on Esau and Isaac is avenged by the deception he himself must now suffer.

Ver. 15. A small gap is here visible, inasmuch as it has not been said that Jacob has entered Laban's service as shepherd, or even that he wished to do so. Laban's offer of wages is apparently unselfish; but, in truth, is doubtless due to his observation of Jacob's skill as a shepherd, and to his desire to retain his service.

*Ought you to serve me for nought when you are my brother?*—to whom more rather than less is given. הָכִי, as in xxvii. 36. Kittel therefore makes ver. *a* still *C*'s. Jacob is asked to choose his own reward. מִשְׁכָּר, as in xxxi. 7, 41; elsewhere שָׂכָר, e.g. xxx. 28, 32 f., xxxi. 8.

Ver. 16 f. Circumstantial clauses regarding Laban's daughters required to make the answer in ver. 18 comprehensible. "The narrator who had already spoken of Rachel in ver. 9 ff. could not very well introduce both daughters as is done here."<sup>1</sup> Probably *R* here extracts from his other source.

רָחֵל—*eve* (Raḥel).

לָאָה—perhaps *gazelle* (oryx leucoryx), like Arabic *la'at*.<sup>2</sup> Paul Haupt<sup>3</sup> makes it *mistress*, in view of Assyrian *līat*.

נָרַל and קָטַן—as in xxvii. 15, 42. The younger is beautiful in figure<sup>4</sup> and appearance,<sup>5</sup> the elder had *weak* (lit. tender) eyes, "without brightness or brilliancy of lustre. Among Orientals, and especially Arabs, the chief point of a woman's

<sup>1</sup> Knobel.

<sup>2</sup> But see Noldeke, *ZDMG*. xl. 167.

<sup>3</sup> *GGN*. 1883, p. 100.

<sup>4</sup> Ch. xxxix. 6, xli. 18.

<sup>5</sup> Ch. xii. 11; טוֹבַת מְרָאָה, xxiv. 16, xxvi. 7.

beauty consists in bright, fiery, clear, and expressive black eyes, the eyes of a gazelle.”<sup>1</sup>

Ver. 18 f. “Jacob is willing to serve Laban as shepherd seven years, and asks in return his loved Rachel to be his wife. Laban is content, for he prefers to give his daughter to a kinsman rather than to a stranger (אֲחֵרִי<sup>2</sup>). Among all Beduin Arabs a cousin has a prior claim;<sup>3</sup> the Druses in Syria always prefer a relative to a rich stranger.<sup>4</sup> When cousins are married they often address one another as such, even after marriage.”<sup>5</sup> Jacob’s service represents the customary *bride price* for the woman.<sup>6</sup> Modern parallels are to be found.<sup>7</sup>

Ver. 20. “The seven years of service are like *a few days*<sup>8</sup> to Jacob, for he is happy because near Rachel; and time passes quickly when one is happy.”<sup>9</sup>

Vv. 21-24. At the end of the time he asks for<sup>10</sup> his wife, for his days, *i.e.* his time of service, are full, have expired.<sup>11</sup> Laban acquiesces, and prepares the customary wedding-feast; but he puts Leah, not Rachel, in the marriage chamber. The deception was possible in the evening, especially as Leah came veiled.<sup>12</sup> She receives only one maid for her service; Rebecca had more.<sup>13</sup>

Ver. 24, like ver. 29, is loosely attached, and unrequired by xxx. 2, 4, 9 f.; the style of both reminds us of *A*, and they are to be regarded as introduced from him by *R*.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Hamasa*, i. pp. 557, 584, 596, 622; Hartmann, *Ideale*, p. 77 ff. Knobel.

<sup>2</sup> As Jer. vi. 12, viii. 10.

<sup>3</sup> Burckhardt [*Bedouins*, i. 272], Germ. tr. 219.

<sup>4</sup> Volney [*Voyages*, ii. 74, Eng. tr. ii. 80], Germ. tr. ii. 62.

<sup>5</sup> Burckhardt, *Bedouins*, i. 113; *Proverbs*, p. 218; Layard, *Ninewh and Babylon*, 1853, p. 294; Lane, *Manners and Customs*, ch. vi. pop. ed. p. 143. Knobel.

<sup>6</sup> Winer,<sup>3</sup> i. 296 f.

<sup>7</sup> Ritter, *Erdkunde*, xv. 674; Burckhardt, *Syria*, 297 f. Knobel.

<sup>8</sup> Ch. xxvii. 44.

<sup>9</sup> Knobel.

<sup>10</sup> הָבָה, xxviii. 2.

<sup>11</sup> Ch. xxv. 24, l. 3.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. xxiv. 65.

<sup>13</sup> Ch. xxiv. 61. Knobel.

<sup>14</sup> Knobel, Wellhausen; cf. xlvi. 18, 25.

Ver. 25 f. Laban excuses the deception by the custom of the country,<sup>1</sup> which was not to give a younger daughter in marriage before an elder. This was law in India,<sup>2</sup> and is known sporadically elsewhere.<sup>3</sup> But Laban had said nothing of this before.

צעירה and בבירה, as xix. 31 ff., xxv. 23.

Ver. 27. But Jacob will obtain Rachel also in return for further service of seven years.

*Make full the week of this (one)*—complete the celebrations of your marriage week with this one. The wedding festivities usually lasted a week.<sup>4</sup>

*We will give*—"I and my family";<sup>5</sup> but the Septuagint and Samaritan have ואתן.

Vv. 28-30. At the end of the week he obtained Rachel, who also was given a maid with her. He thus married two wives within eight days. For ver. 29, see ver. 24. He went in to Rachel also, and loved her more than Leah, preferred her to Leah.

וְגַם-אֶת-רָחֵל—the גַּם, we are told, is simply to emphasise רָחֵל,<sup>6</sup> or along with כֵּן to express "*etiam, still, more than.*"<sup>7</sup> Either explanation is against usage. Nor can it belong to וַיֵּאָהֵב as if it were: he did not merely go in to her, but loved her also.<sup>8</sup> The only translation possible is, he loved Rachel also, not only Leah, and more than Leah. But this contradicts ver. 31, therefore omit גַּם, as do the Sept. and Vulg.

Ch. xxix. 31-xxx. 24. Jacob's eleven sons and one daughter by these two wives and their maids. The account is short and bare. The explanation given of the sons' names is a chief feature; in some cases two interpretations are given. The children are named by the mothers in each instance, as elsewhere in *B*, etc. But the narrative has also an ethical

<sup>1</sup> Ch. xxiv. 7; 2 Sam. xiii. 12.

<sup>2</sup> *Manu*, 3. 160.

<sup>3</sup> *E.g.* Lane, *Manners and Customs*, ch. vi. pop. ed. p. 144; Book of Jubilees, ch. 28, wishes even to make it the law for Israel.

<sup>4</sup> Judg. xiv. 12; Job xi. 18.

<sup>5</sup> See xxiv. 50. Knobel.

<sup>6</sup> Gesenius, *Thesaurus*, 294.

<sup>7</sup> Delitzsch.

<sup>8</sup> Knobel; see against this xxxi. 15, xlvi. 4; 1 Sam. i. 6.

content. Where there are two wives it is not right to prefer one to another. Jacob does that, and is corrected by God through the long-continued barrenness of his favourite wife; the other is also compensated for the want of her husband's love by the number of her children. Joseph, too, the best of his sons and the most populous of the tribes, is, like Isaac and Esau-Jacob, born only after long waiting, as a specially precious gift from God. The arrangement of the sons is as in *A* in xxxv. 23 ff., except that the maids' four sons are interpolated between the first four and the last two by Leah. All the sources are at one in their division of the twelve sons among the four wives.<sup>1</sup>

Ver. 31. **שְׁנֵי**—because of ver. 30, to be understood relatively, less loved.<sup>2</sup>

*Opened her womb*, made her pregnant, and a mother.<sup>3</sup> By this God restored the balance between the sisters; for a wife is valued by her husband if she has children.<sup>4</sup>

Ver. 32. She names her son **רְאוּבֵן**. The word in appearance means, *see a son*, but is presented as an allusion to **ראה** **בעני**, for Leah said, Jahve has seen my need,<sup>5</sup> for now my husband will love me. The original meaning of the name is not clear. No result is got by deriving it from Arabic *ra'aba*.<sup>6</sup> It is more possibly a variant of **רְאוּבֵל**.<sup>7</sup> In that case its meaning would be *lion* or *wolf*, like Arabic *ri'bāl*; the *el* is sufficient to exclude its being a name of deity.<sup>8</sup>

For **כִּי** after **אָמְרָה**, comp. ver. 33 and xxvi. 22. **יֹאֲהֲבֵנִי**, see xix. 19.

Ver. 33. **שָׁמָעַן**—*hearing* (favourably); Jahve heard and took notice that she was unloved. Ewald<sup>9</sup> conjectures that

<sup>1</sup> This alone disposes of Stade's remarks, *Geschichte*,<sup>1</sup> i. 145 ff.; Reuss is more cautious (*Geschichte des Alt Test.* § 63).

<sup>2</sup> Deut. xxi. 15; Matt. vi. 24.

<sup>3</sup> See xvi. 2.

<sup>4</sup> Ch. xvi. 4.

<sup>5</sup> Ch. xvi. 11.

<sup>6</sup> As **יִרְבֵּן** from **יָרָר**, Baethgen, *Beiträge*, 159.

<sup>7</sup> Lagarde, *Onomastica sacra*,<sup>1</sup> ii. 95; it is the substitute of Josephus, Pesh., Arabic, and Ethiopic versions and Greek MSS. (*Ρουβίν*, *Ρουβήλ*).

<sup>8</sup> Kuenen, *ThT.* v. 291.

<sup>9</sup> § 167a.



the word is a diminutive from *יִשְׁמַעֵאל*; Hitzig<sup>1</sup> and Robertson Smith,<sup>2</sup> that it comes from Arabic *sim'u*, a cross between wolf and hyena.

Ver. 34. *לִי*—*adherent*, for Leah hopes that from now her husband will adhere to her in affection. It is regarded by many<sup>3</sup> as a *nomen gentile* from Leah; Lagarde<sup>4</sup> interprets the name of foreigners who *joined themselves* to Israel, or alternatively of the *attendants* and escort of the ark of the covenant; Hommel<sup>5</sup> draws attention to a supposed Minnean word *lau'an*, priest. See further regarding Levi, Kuenen.<sup>6</sup>

*הַפֶּעַם*, as in ii. 24. קרא should be read קראָה, with the Peshitta, Samaritan, and Septuagint (ἐκάλεσε not ἐκλήθη); comp. ver. 35.

Ver. 35. *יְהִידָה*—*subject of laud and praise*,<sup>7</sup> for Leah praised<sup>8</sup> God for him. The name is taken as a Hophal derivative.<sup>9</sup> Steinthal<sup>10</sup> tried to prove the existence of a God *יהיד*.

Leah now paused from bearing;<sup>11</sup> the interval is doubtless to be put at not less than a year,<sup>12</sup> to be noticeable as such.

Ch. xxx. 1–8. Birth of Dan and Naphtali, by Bilhah.

Ver. 1 f. “Rachel, jealous<sup>13</sup> of her sister’s fertility, demands children from her husband, otherwise she will die of grief. He angrily checks her with the words, *Am I in God’s place*, who is the cause of death and life,<sup>14</sup> and can alone grant such a request? The same words occur in l. 19, from the same author.”<sup>15</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Geschichte*, 47.

<sup>2</sup> *Journal of Philology*, ix. 80, 96.

<sup>3</sup> Wellhausen, *Prolegomena*, 150 [Eng. tr. p. 145]; Stade in *ZAth.* i. 112 ff.; cf. *Literar. Centralblatt*, 1879, p. 828; Nöldeke in *ZDMG.* xl. 167.

<sup>4</sup> *Orientalia*, ii. 20 f.

<sup>5</sup> *Aufsätze und Abhandlungen*, 1890, p. 30.

<sup>6</sup> *Volksreligion*, 1883, p. 312 ff.

<sup>7</sup> Delitzsch.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. xlix. 8.

<sup>9</sup> For the ה, cf. Ps. xxviii. 7, xlv. 18; Neh. xi. 17.

<sup>10</sup> In *Die Nation*, 1891, No. 46, p. 716.

<sup>11</sup> See xvi. 2.

<sup>12</sup> Knobel.

<sup>13</sup> קנא, as in xxvi. 14.

<sup>14</sup> Deut. xxxii. 39; 1 Sam. ii. 6; 2 Kings v. 7.

<sup>15</sup> Knobel.

Ver. 3. Rachel helps herself as Sarah had done (xvi. 2 f.), and gives Jacob her maid Bilhah to be his wife, that she may bear children on Rachel's knees, who will thus also be built up by her. The last clause is from *C* (cf. xvi. 2). עִירְבָרְבִי, Rachel will take the children on her lap,<sup>1</sup> and acknowledge them as her own.<sup>2</sup>

אמה—as in xx. 17, xxi. 10, 12 f., from *B*.

Ver. 4a. Because of its repetition of ver. 3 and its use of שפחה from *C*, or perhaps from *A*, who speaks of Hagar also as Abraham's אִשָּׁה (xvi. 3). So ver. 9b.

Ver. 6. דִּן—*judge*, is the name she gives the child, for God has judged her, *i.e.* decided her case as she wished. Kuenen<sup>3</sup> here also conjectures a name of deity.

שָׁמַע בְּקוֹל—as iii. 17, xxi. 12, xxvii. 13.

Ver. 7, from *C*; at least one cannot see why בְּלָהָה שִׁפְחָתָהּ should be an addition to the original text<sup>4</sup> when לִפְנֵי רַחֵל should be an addition to the original text<sup>4</sup> when לִפְנֵי רַחֵל שִׁפְחָתָהּ in ver. 12 is not.

Ver. 8. נִפְתָּלָי—*combatant*, for she has contended with Leah in a wrestling match of *God*, and has come off the victor. The genitive אֱלֹהִים does not express the idea that the contest was of divine importance, as the founding of Israel was,<sup>5</sup> nor that God brought it to a decision,<sup>6</sup> but that it was one for God's grace and blessing;<sup>7</sup> cf. xxix. 31, xxx. 2.

Vv. 9-12. Leah, also, now gives her maid to Jacob, seeing she obtains no more children,<sup>8</sup> and Gad and Asher are the fruit of the marriage. For ver. 9, see note on ver. 4.

Ver. 11. נֶדֶר—*child of fortune*; she says בְּנֶדֶר,<sup>9</sup> with good fortune, עַל טוֹכָא;<sup>10</sup> comp. בְּאִשְׁרֵי in ver. 13; the Massorettes would read בָּא נֶדֶר, *fortune is come*; <sup>11</sup> so at least the Targums

<sup>1</sup> Job iii. 12.

<sup>2</sup> Ch. l. 23; cf. Stade in *ZATW.* vi. 143 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *ThT.* v. 291.

<sup>4</sup> Wellhausen, *JBDTh.* xxi. 427.

<sup>5</sup> Knobel.

<sup>6</sup> Hengstenberg.

<sup>7</sup> Tuch, Delitzsch.

<sup>8</sup> Ch. xxix. 35.

<sup>9</sup> בְּנֶדֶר, pausal.

<sup>10</sup> Sept.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. Isa. lxxv. 11 and the name Baal-gad in Josh. xi. 17, xii. 7.

and Peshitta; the Samaritan בסור, and Graecus Venetus ἡκαί στερδάνεσμα, interpret as in xlix. 19. There was a god of good fortune, Gad, *Τύχη*, whose worship was widely spread among the Aramæans.<sup>1</sup>

Ver. 13. אִשֶּׁר — of even tenor, *i.e.* both fortunate and propitious, *lucky*; comp. אִשְׁרָה, the goddess of fortune; as one may the star of fortune for Gad. Leah says, *with my good fortune, i.e.* it is my good fortune, for daughters <sup>2</sup> *call me happy*, as the mother of many children. אִשְׁרוֹנִי, perfect of certainty.<sup>3</sup>

Vv. 14–20. Birth of Leah's fifth and sixth sons. Vv. 14–16 give C's explanation of the name Issachar (Yissakhar), and "tell the story of the דִּנְיָאִים,<sup>4</sup> which Reuben, still a young child, found in the fields and brought home in the days of the wheat harvest,<sup>5</sup> *i.e.* in May."

דִּנְיָאִים—"according to the versions, the yellow apple-shaped fruit of the *Mandragora vernalis* or mandrake, a shrub which is common in Palestine, or in Galilee, and so was well known to the Hebrews. Its fruit is the size of a nutmeg, and has been found ripe by travellers as early as the month of May.<sup>6</sup> They say that the Arabs are fond of it, and believe that it inclines to love, and gives vigour in the production of children.<sup>7</sup> Its roots were used in love-potions,<sup>8</sup> and, according to Hesychius, *Μανδραγορίτις* was among the names of the goddess of love. It is therefore to be rendered *amatoria*, love-apples, from דִּנְיָ." <sup>9</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. on Isa. lxx. 11; see Lagarde, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, 16; *Symmicta*, i. 87; Mordtmann in *ZDMG.* xxxi. 89 f.; Halévy, *Mélanges de critique*, 183, 212; Siegfried in *JPTH.* 1875, p. 361 ff.; Baethgen, *Beiträge*, 77, 159 f.; Nöldeke, *ZDMG.* xlii. 474, 478 f.

<sup>2</sup> Song vi. 9, ii. 2.

<sup>3</sup> Gesenius,<sup>25</sup> 106. 3b.

<sup>4</sup> Song vii. 14.

<sup>5</sup> Judg. xv. 1.

<sup>6</sup> Mariti, *Viaggi*, Germ. tr. 564; Schultz, *Leitungen des Höchsten*, v. 197; Hasselquist [Eng. tr. *Travels*, 1766, p. 160]; Seetzen, ii. 98; Von Schubert, ii. 457.

<sup>7</sup> So also Maundrell, *Narration*, p. 82.

<sup>8</sup> Dioscorides, iv. 76. Theophrastus, *Hist. plant.* ix. 10.

<sup>9</sup> Ewald, § 189g. See further Tuch, Gesenius, *Thesaurus*; Chwolsohn, *Die Ssabier*, ii. 725 f. Knobel. Wetzstein in Delitzsch, *Hohelied u. Koheleth*, 439 ff.; also Winer,<sup>3</sup> i. 43; Riehm, *Handwörterbuch*, 48.

Rachel wishes some of these love-apples in order to use this means also to attain her object. Leah at first refuses: *is it too little to have taken my husband, who preferred Rachel's company, that you wish to take the mandrakes also?* But she finally gives her some in return for Rachel's renunciation of their husband for the following night. Leah's words to Jacob in ver. 16 are an obvious allusion to the name Issachar, *hired*.

וְלָקַחְתִּי—the infinitive expresses intention more decisively than the more obvious perfect with *waw* consecutive וְלָקַחְתָּ; and to take = and you wish to take? See xx. 16.

בְּלִילָה הוּא—see xix. 33.

Rachel's second expedient also fails, she does not become pregnant. But Leah does. The result, however, is not said to be a consequence of eating the love-apples. On the contrary, ver. 17 continues, *God heard Leah*, which presupposes the offering of a prayer of which there has been no account. *R* is therefore now quoting from a different source, namely, from *B*. Knobel advances שָׂכַר אֵל as evidence for *A*, but the expression is occasionally found in the other writers also;<sup>1</sup> the mention, also, of the fact that this was Leah's fifth son,<sup>2</sup> was almost a necessity imposed by the interval from here back to xxix. 35.<sup>3</sup>

Ver. 18. יֵשׁ שָׂכָר<sup>4</sup>—i.e. שָׂכָר, *there is a reward*;<sup>5</sup> God has given her her reward because<sup>6</sup> she gave her maid to her husband (ver. 9 ff.); plainly not the same reference of שָׂכָר as that given in ver. 16. Ewald<sup>7</sup> interprets the name as *reward*; Wellhausen,<sup>8</sup> as אִישׁ שָׂכָר.

שִׁפְחָתִי—must have been altered by *R*, or a copyist, from אֲמִתִּי; so in xxxi. 33 in the Samaritan.

Ver. 19 f. Two explanations are also given of the name Zebulun. In *B* Leah says, *God has gifted me with a good gift*;

<sup>1</sup> Chs. xvi. 11, xxi. 17, xxxix. 10.

<sup>2</sup> So ver. 19, the sixth.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. xxix. 34.

<sup>4</sup> For another punctuation, see Baer's *Genesis*, p. 84.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Jer. xxxi. 16.

<sup>6</sup> Chs. xxxi. 49, xxxiv. 13, 27.

<sup>7</sup> § 273a; *Lohnding*.

<sup>8</sup> *Samuel*, p. 95 f. and preface.



the זכר of זכר<sup>1</sup> is made equivalent to ל.<sup>2</sup> In *C* she says, *this time*<sup>3</sup> *my husband will dwell (lie) with me*;<sup>4</sup> Zebulun is thus given a meaning like *neighbour* or *borderer*, comp. xlix. 13. An Assyrian root has led to the proposal<sup>5</sup> of the meaning *will exalt (esteem) me*, but it has been contested.<sup>6</sup> The Septuagint renders freely αἰετιεῖ με. Regarding the termination נ, see Stade.<sup>7</sup>

Ver. 21. The mention of Jacob's daughter Dinah is inserted in preparation for ch. xxxiv.; other daughters are presupposed in xlvi. 7 (*A*) and xxxvii. 35 (*C*), but without their names being anywhere given. Though *A* speaks of Dinah (ch. xxxiv., cf. xlvi. 15), the present notice is not from him, for in his narrative it is always the father who names his children.

Vv. 22–24. At last Rachel also receives a son, though not by her human devices, but by God's grace and favour.

Ver. 22*a* is at least unrequired alongside of וישמע אליהם;<sup>8</sup> it certainly reminds one of *A*,<sup>9</sup> and may be regarded as from him, while ver. *b a* is from *B* and *b β* from *C*. For וישמע, see ver. 17, and for ויפתח, xxix. 31.

Ver. 23 *f. God has taken away my reproach* of childlessness;<sup>10</sup> from *B*, who thus interprets יוסף as יוסף. *May Jahre add to me another son*,<sup>11</sup> is from *C*, and gives Joseph the meaning *more*. Sayce<sup>12</sup> thinks יסף = Assyrian *asipu*, soothsayer. See also p. 4 (Yosefel).

Vv. 25–43. Jacob continues to serve Laban under a new contract. The wage agreed upon is in appearance small, but Jacob by cunning and skill so increases it that he

<sup>1</sup> See Gesenius, *Thesaurus*, p. 401.

<sup>2</sup> For the interchange, see Gesenius, *Thesaurus*, p. 727, and Ewald, § 51*b*.

<sup>3</sup> Ch. xxix. 34 *f*.

<sup>4</sup> For the accus., see Judg. v. 17; Prov. viii. 12; Ps. v. 5, cxx. 5; for a parallel to the thought, xxix. 34.

<sup>5</sup> St. Guyard in *JA*. vii. 12. 225; Fried. Delitzsch, *Hebrew Language*, 38, and *Prolegomena*, 62 (Delitzsch<sup>5</sup>; Kautzsch-Socin).

<sup>6</sup> Halévy, *REJ*. 1885, p. 299; Nöldeke in *ZDMG*. xl. 729.

<sup>7</sup> *Lehrbuch*, § 298.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. xxi. 1 and xxvii. 44 *f*.

<sup>9</sup> Knobel; see note on viii. 1, but cf. also 1 Sam. i. 19.

<sup>10</sup> Ch. xvi. 14.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. xxxv. 18.

<sup>12</sup> *ZA*. iv. 387 *f*.

succeeds in possessing himself of a great part of the wealth of his selfish father-in-law and becomes very rich.

Ver. 25 f. After Joseph's birth Jacob asks to be permitted to return home.

מקומי—comp. xxix. 22 and 26.

*B*'s chronology as given in xxxi. 41 cannot be assumed here. Jacob's first child was born in the first year of his second period of service, and if the other births followed in the order in which they are enumerated in this chapter it is impossible that Leah could have borne her six sons and Rachel afterwards Joseph<sup>1</sup> by the end of the period, so that the new contract could be made at the beginning of the 15th year. We must therefore either insert xxx. 1 ff. before xxix. 35 and xxx. 9 f. before ver. 7,<sup>2</sup> and so achieve the possibility, or we must allow the births to occur in part in the third period of service.<sup>3</sup> The latter alternative is the more natural, and has nothing against it in the text; for the expression, my service, *i.e.* my time of service, need not necessarily be restricted to the seven years of ch. xxix. 18 and 27. It is thus clear that this verse is not from the author of xxxi. 41.

Ver. 26 coincides in its contents with vv. 25*b* and 29*a*, and is a doublet from *B*; so ver. 28*a*, which is coincident with 31*a*.

ואת ילדי—subordinate, *with* my children.

Ver. 27. Laban does not wish to allow the departure of his valuable servant. His selfishness makes him polite, and his perplexity occasions his speaking brokenly or stammeringly.

אִם־נָא וְ—as in xviii. 3; the apodosis, do not leave me, is omitted, and Laban proceeds, recovering his self-possession, *I have observed the omens*,<sup>4</sup> the auguries are good, to the effect that that (your departure) will not be, *and Jahve has blessed me on your account*,<sup>5</sup> so that I must be very desirous

<sup>1</sup> The אָחִי of ver. 21 leaves Dinah out of the reckoning.

<sup>2</sup> Keil, Knobel.

<sup>3</sup> Book of Jubilees; Delitzsch, partially. See also note on xxxvii. 3.

<sup>4</sup> Ch. xlv. 15.

<sup>5</sup> See xii. 13.

that you should stay. It is wrong to translate, *I have observed unmistakably that Jahve has blessed me*; <sup>1</sup>נָחַשׁ would not have been required, and it is not simply יָרַע.

Ver. 28. Starting afresh, he bids Jacob name his wage for further service. עָלֵי, because there will be an undertaking imposed on him in consequence. But וַיֹּאמֶר is surprising in itself, hence omitted by the Septuagint, and the request is repeated in ver. 31a; so the verse is from *B* (see ver. 26).

Ver. 29 f. From *C*, containing Jacob's answer to ver. 27. He does not hesitate to remind Laban in express terms of the value of his service, and makes it also clear to him that he must now exert himself <sup>2</sup> in the interests of his own family.

אִתִּי—with me, under my charge. וַיִּפְרֵן, as xxviii. 14. *At (following) my foot, in every step of mine.*<sup>3</sup>

Ver. 31. In reply to Laban's question Jacob says, with a show of disinterestedness, that Laban need give him nothing if he accepts the following proposal.

וְשֹׁב, as in xxvi. 18. אִשְׁמֶר has to be taken as an intensification of אֶרְפָּה,<sup>4</sup> but is doubtless only a variant from *B*;<sup>5</sup> cf. Hos. xii. 13.

Ver. 32 f. The text is here corrupt, so that it is not entirely clear from the statement what the proposal really was. It is based on the fact that the sheep, with few exceptions, were white,<sup>6</sup> while the goats were dark coloured, brown or black.<sup>7</sup> Jacob accordingly proposes to go through Laban's flocks *that day* and pick out<sup>8</sup> from the sheep every one which was speckled and spotted (טָלִיא only in vv. 31—39) or black, and from the goats those which were spotted and speckled; this should be his wage. The statement necessarily leads us to understand that the wage was to consist

<sup>1</sup> Delitzsch, Kautzsch-Socin.

<sup>2</sup> Ruth ii. 19; Prov. xxxi. 13.

<sup>3</sup> Isa. xli. 2; Job xviii. 11.

<sup>4</sup> Ewald, *Syntax*, § 349c.

<sup>5</sup> Kautzsch-Socin.

<sup>6</sup> Song iv. 2, vi. 6; Dan. vii. 9.

<sup>7</sup> Song iv. 1; Arvieux [*Mémoires*, iii. 254], Germ. tr. iii. 214; Berggren, *Reisen*, i. 326; Burckhardt, *Bedouins*, pp. 42, 67, 201; Lynch, *Expedition*, 205 f.

<sup>8</sup> Infin. absol., as in xxi. 16.

of the unusual parti-coloured animals which were to be separated *that day*.<sup>1</sup> But neither ver. 31, **לֹא מֵאוֹמָה**, nor ver. 35 f., in which (ver. 36b) the unusually coloured animals separated by Laban still belong to his flock, harmonise with this; on the contrary, ver. 37 ff. represents that Jacob's share was to consist of those lambs and kids, still to be born, which should be of the unusual colours. But of this nothing is said in ver. 32, nor could it be implied in **וְהָיָה שְׂכָרִי**<sup>2</sup> without express mention. Wellhausen<sup>3</sup> is therefore of opinion that a statement has fallen out after ver. 34, to the effect that after Jacob had separated the rarely coloured animals, Laban found they were too many, and the wage, therefore, too high, and so required Jacob to make another proposal to him; comp. xxxi. 7 f. But it is incomprehensible how such a gap could originate, and the contradiction with **לֹא-תִתְּנִי מֵאוֹמָה** in ver. 31 would be really too obvious. We must rather assume<sup>4</sup> that before or after **וְהָיָה שְׂכָרִי** a whole series of words has fallen out, in consequence it may be of homoioteleuton, or that, despite the Massoretic punctuation, the Athnach is to be set at the first **וְטָלוֹא**, so that we should render: everyone black among the sheep and parti-coloured among the goats, that shall be my wage (in future, **מִקָּהָר**, ver. 33). We might also delete **וְהָיָה שְׂכָרִי** as a gloss,<sup>5</sup> but the words **כָּל שֶׁנֶּקַד וְטָלוֹא** would still remain a difficulty. Bacon's proposal,<sup>6</sup> to strike out ver. 32 f. as an insertion from *B*, leaves things in unrivalled confusion. Ver. 31 leaves only one possibility regarding *C*'s account, viz. that he wrote, *now* you need give me nothing; but whatever afterwards, after the flocks have been purged of all the unusually coloured animals, is born (becomes) of that character, shall be my wage. All the rest is in agreement with this.

In the case of the sheep no other word than **הָיָה** is

<sup>1</sup> Knobel, Delitzsch, Keil.

<sup>2</sup> As Tuch, Baumgarten, Knobel, Delitzsch maintain.

<sup>3</sup> *JBDTh.* xxi. 429 f.

<sup>4</sup> As was done even in the 3rd ed. of commentary.

<sup>5</sup> Kautzsch-Socin.

<sup>6</sup> *Hebraica*, vii. 226 f.



required,<sup>1</sup> for חום is equivalent to אֵיֶסֶר חום<sup>2</sup> on which there is black; neither here nor in vv. 33 and 35 are entirely white goats presupposed. In the sentence הסר מִשֵּׁם כָּל־שֶׂה the absence of חום is explained because שֶׂה includes sheep and goats, and black goats are normally coloured, not abnormally; parti-coloured is shortly used for all that is abnormally coloured, and is, besides, more closely defined in ver. 35.

The Septuagint and Vulgate render respectively the simpler readings יעבר כל and עבר בכל, and both take הסר as an imperative (because of ver. 35).

צדקתי—Jacob says further, that his integrity will easily show itself, will be its own witness, or *speak for him*; ענה ב is a legal term.<sup>3</sup> Animals other than those agreed on, *i.e.* sheep entirely white or goats entirely black, if found in his flock will be self-evidently stolen property. It is unnecessary to take צדקתי in the sense of צדקי,<sup>4</sup> my right, that which rightfully belongs to me.

ביום מחר—to-morrow, *i.e. hereafter*, as *crastinum tempus*.<sup>5</sup>

When you come over my wage before you—when you go through my flocks to inspect them, they being, of course, near you and accessible.<sup>6</sup> The Septuagint has ἐστί, and the Samaritan יבוא for תבוא על. וַיֵּאֱמַן חום = והיום.

Vv. 34-36. Laban agrees: good, may<sup>7</sup> it be so. But, for security's sake, he himself makes the separation, and gives his sons charge of the animals thus separated. It is clear from the word בניו that Laban is the subject in ver. 35; comp. ch. xxxi. 1. He also put a distance of three days' journey between himself<sup>8</sup> and the remaining normally coloured animals which Jacob had charge of, in order that

<sup>1</sup> Cf. vv. 33 and 35.

<sup>2</sup> See ver. 35.

<sup>3</sup> See Lexicons.

<sup>4</sup> As in 2 Sam. xix. 29 [28]; Neh. ii. 20. So Knobel.

<sup>5</sup> Ex. xiii. 14; Deut. vi. 20.

<sup>6</sup> Ch. xiii. 9. Knobel.

<sup>7</sup> Chs. xvii. 18, xxiii. 13.

<sup>8</sup> Sept., Samar., בֵּינָם, between his sons.

there might be no intermixture of the two parts in the matter of procreation.

תַּיִשׁ—as in xxxii. 15.

עָקָר—*striped*, here apparently synonymous with נָקָר, but distinguished from it in ver. 39 f., ch. xxxi. 8–10, 12.

Ver. 37. “But Jacob has the skill to turn the agreement to his own advantage by the use of artificial aids. He takes green<sup>1</sup> rods of poplar, almond, and maple,<sup>2</sup> and peels on them *white peelings*, a *laying bare of the white on the rods*, i.e. he strips off the dark coloured bark or skin, but only in alternating strips, so that each rod is both dark coloured and white, and so parti-coloured.”<sup>3</sup>

מָקָל—collective and feminine, as is seen from בָּהֶן (Samaritan בָּהֶם); elsewhere masculine.

לְבָנָה—generally regarded as the storax, from the Arabic;<sup>4</sup> but more probably, in view of Hos. iv. 13, the *populus alba*.<sup>5</sup>

מַחֲשֵׁף—Ewald, § 239a.

Ver. 38 f. “These rods he set up by the watering-places to which the flocks came to drink, and that *in face*<sup>6</sup> of them, so that they had them in view.” But they were in the habit of interbreeding when they came to drink, so they interbred *in the direction of* or *beside*<sup>7</sup> the rods, and afterwards bore parti-coloured young.

רֶחֱטִים—*trenches*, rare and rather Aramaic, also found in Ex. ii. 16; here explained by שִׁקְתוֹת מַיִם (from שִׁקָּה).<sup>8</sup> Regarding the watering-trenches or troughs by the wells, see note on xxix. 3.

וַיַּחֲמוּ—for וַיִּחְמוּ, comp. Judg. v. 28; Ps. li. 7;<sup>9</sup> masculine, because the males are referred to also. The emphasis in 39a falls on אֶל-הַמְקָלוֹת, which contains something additional

<sup>1</sup> Num. vi. 3.

<sup>2</sup> Gesenius, *Thesaurus*.

<sup>3</sup> Knobel.

<sup>4</sup> Gesenius, *Thesaurus*, 740.

<sup>5</sup> See Riehm, *Handwörterbuch*, 1136, 1567 f.

<sup>6</sup> See xxv. 21.

<sup>7</sup> Ch. xxiv. 11; Samar. עַל.

<sup>8</sup> Ch. xxiv. 20; see Ewald, §§ 31b, 212b.

<sup>9</sup> Ewald, § 193a.

to the *לשחות בבאן ויהמנה* of ver. 38, and so is not exactly a doublet,<sup>1</sup> though the expression is heavy.

"The striking, parti-coloured rods made a vivid impression on the animals in their state of passion, and this had its effect on the character assumed by the foetus. A nervous impression was produced by the rods."<sup>2</sup> Jerome gives a more complicated explanation.<sup>3</sup> "Old writers<sup>4</sup> say that the colour of the lambs is influenced by the river from which the parents drink during the breeding time; and, according to Oppianus,<sup>5</sup> it was customary, in order to obtain fine, variously-coloured foals, to allow an ardent mare when breeding to see the figure of a handsome, variously-coloured stallion.<sup>6</sup> Dove breeders obtained purple-coloured young in a similar fashion. Ancient writers, however, allude more frequently to the effect of such nervous impressions in the case of human births."<sup>7</sup>

Ver. 40. Jacob sets apart the specially coloured *בבשים*, kids as well as lambs, and turns the looks of the (rest of the) flock towards the striped and black animals, which were Laban's, *i.e.* towards those whom he had just separated and, as we are now told, placed in front of the others, that they might be constantly in sight of them and stir their imagination. This second device successfully supplements the first, with the rods, and Jacob forms special flocks of his own from

<sup>1</sup> Wellhausen.

<sup>2</sup> Knobel.

<sup>3</sup> "Observabat ergo Jacob, et tempore, quo ascendebantur pecora et post calorem diei ad potandum avida pergebant, discolors virgas ponebat in canalibus et admissis arietibus et hircis in ipsa potandi aviditate oves et capras faciebat ascendere, ut ex duplici desiderio, dum avide bibunt et ascenduntur a maribus, tales foetus conciperent, quales, umbras arietum et hircorum desuper ascendentium in aquarum speculo contemplabantur. Ex virgis enim in canalibus positus varius erat etiam imaginum color."—*Questions*.

<sup>4</sup> Aristotle, *Hist. Anim.* iii. 12, and Ælian, *Hist. Animal.* viii. 21; cf. Strabo, x. l. 14; Pliny, xxxi. 313 f.

<sup>5</sup> *Cynegetic.* i. 331 ff.

<sup>6</sup> *E.g.* in Spain, according to Jerome (*Questions*).

<sup>7</sup> Pliny, vii. § 52; Oppianus, 358 ff., and others in Bochart, *Hierozyicon* i. 618 ff. (ed. Rosenmüller). Knobel.

the animals he has thus acquired, and does not place them with <sup>1</sup> Laban's flocks.

Such is the account of the Massoretic text; nor does it help matters if we read אֵל for אֵל (Sept., Samar.), or with others,<sup>2</sup> בל. In that case אֵל would mean *before and in sight of*,<sup>3</sup> and 'פל-ו' would be object to ויהן. The difficulty lies in the fact that the coloured animals which have been set apart are still called עקר וחום בצאן לבן,<sup>4</sup> whereas in the circumstances we should expect הפריד וישה וג' immediately to follow. The whole mention of the second device, from לבן to ויהן, seems to be a secondary addition to the original text.<sup>5</sup>

Ver. 41f. "He also secured his becoming possessed of strong offspring only. It was only when strong adults were breeding that he placed his rods before them." If they *showed weakness*, i.e. were weakly, so that only weakly lambs might be expected, he did not do so. The distinction drawn between weak and strong animals is perhaps <sup>6</sup> to be explained from the fact that the stronger animals breed in summer, the weaker ones not till autumn, and that the offspring of the former, born in winter, are counted stronger than the offspring of the latter, born in spring.<sup>7</sup>

יָשִׁים, perf. and waw consecutive = לִיחַמָּנָה, infin. Piel of יָהָם (xxx. 10), with 3rd plur. fem. suffix; comp. נָה in xli. 21.<sup>8</sup>

Ver. 43. By the success of his devices Jacob becomes possessed of large property. "It is worthy of remark that the narrator makes no such allusion to God as the writer of xxx. 9 ff. does. A similar case in his narrative is found in vv. 14-16."<sup>9</sup>

<sup>1</sup> על as in xxviii. 9, in addition to.

<sup>2</sup> Targums, Saadia, Houbigant, Knobel.

<sup>3</sup> As Ex. xxiii. 15; Ps. xlii. 3.

<sup>4</sup> See, on the other hand, ver. 36.

<sup>5</sup> Hupfeld, Olshausen, Delitzsch; also Böhmcr, Wellhausen.

<sup>6</sup> Aquila, Symmachus, Onkelos, Jerome, Saadia.

<sup>7</sup> Columella, *Res rus.* vii. 3; Varro, *Res rus.* ii. 2; Pliny, viii. § 187.

<sup>8</sup> Gesenius, <sup>25</sup> 91. 1A. 2.

<sup>9</sup> Knobel.



פרץ, as in ver. 30. מאד מאד, see ch. vii. 19. For other points, see note on xii. 16.

3. JACOB'S RETURN FROM HARRAN, CH. XXXI. 1-XXXII. 3 ;  
MOSTLY FROM *B* (ALSO FROM *C* AND *A*).

After having served twenty years with Laban, Jacob, with the concurrence of his wives, resolves to return to Canaan with all his possessions. The jealousy of Laban and his sons, and an admonition from God, were what decided him (vv. 1-16). His departure was like a flight, without Laban's knowledge, and Rachel took with them her father's household god. Laban set after him, and overtook him on Gilead. They have a sharp discussion. But Laban had been warned by God, and has to be content with making a covenant of friendship with Jacob on Gilead. This is the origin of the name Gilead (vv. 17-54). They part in concord. A whole army of angels meets Jacob immediately on his entering the land of the Hebrews, at Mahanaim (xxxii. 1-3). The narrative here shows how God guided the object of His care to the last, guarded against his being overcome in the contest with the Aramæan, and brought him back in safety from the foreign land, the head of a large household and the possessor of much property.<sup>1</sup> An explanation is also given of the origin of the worship of teraphim in Israel, of the boundary on Gilead between Aramæans and Hebrews, and of the sanctity of Mahanaim.

The narrative is mostly from *B*. Only ver. 18, from לוֹא־תִכְלֹךְ onwards, is from *A*;<sup>2</sup> the proof is found in the language,<sup>3</sup> the redundancy of expression, and the reference to xxxv. 27. We need not suppose that ver. 17<sup>4</sup> or the whole of ver. 17,<sup>5</sup> because of the repetition of וַיָּקָם in ver. 21,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. xxviii. 20 ff., also xxviii. 15.

<sup>2</sup> Knobel, Wellhausen.

<sup>3</sup> אֶרֶץ כְּנָעַן, פְּדֹן אֶרֶם, קִנְיָן, רֶכֶשׁ, רֶכֶשׁ.

<sup>4</sup> Schrader.

<sup>5</sup> Hupfeld, *Quellen*, p. 32.

is also from *A*. Vv. 1<sup>1</sup> and 3,<sup>2</sup> probably the words ויקם ויעבר את הנהר in ver. 21,<sup>3</sup> certainly vv. 25 and 27,<sup>4</sup> are insertions from *C*; vv. 46 and 48–50 are also doublets from *C*; and in the working up of the texts of *B* and *C* in vv. 44–53, the hands of *R* and of one or more annotators have made considerable modifications. Vv. 10 and 12 also, although from *B*, have received their present position only from *R*. What remains forms a well-connected whole, and is certainly due to *B*, as is proved by the use of אלהים,<sup>5</sup> by the different explanation it gives regarding the manner of Jacob's acquisition of wealth (vv. 7–12), by the reference in ver. 13 to xxviii. 20 ff., by the dream revelations it contains,<sup>6</sup> the mention of teraphim,<sup>7</sup> and the expressions used.<sup>8</sup>

Ch. xxxi. 1–16. Jacob resolves to return home.

Ver. 1, to be joined with ver. 3, is from *C*. Laban's sons<sup>9</sup> declare that Jacob has taken away their father's property, and in this way has made his great wealth. Jacob hears of it. After ישמע the Septuagint read יעקב. It is doubtful if ver. *b* be a doublet to ver. *a*;<sup>10</sup> if it were it would be a fragment from *B*.

עשה—see ch. xii. 5.

כָּבֶד—of riches, as in Isa. x. 3, lxvi. 12; Ps. xlix. 17.

Ver. 2, to be connected with ver. 4 f., is from *B* and parallel to the contents of ver. 1. Jacob observes in Laban's unfriendly countenance the signs of his change of feeling toward him.

עמי—in his intercourse with him, in his bearing towards him;<sup>11</sup> in ver. 5 אל is used in the same way.

<sup>1</sup> Hupfeld.

<sup>2</sup> Schrader.

<sup>3</sup> See below.

<sup>4</sup> See below.

<sup>5</sup> Vv. 7, 9, 11, 16, 24, 42; xxxii. 2 f.

<sup>6</sup> Vv. 10, 24.

<sup>7</sup> Vv. 19, 30 ff.; cf. xxxv. 2 ff.

<sup>8</sup> *Laban the Aramæan* (vv. 20, 24), אמה (ver. 33), לָבַב (ver. 26), כֹּה *here* (ver. 37), פָּנֵעַ (xxxii. 2), the antique פָּחַד יִצְחָק (xxx. 42, 53), and מִנִּים (vv. 7, 41).

<sup>9</sup> Mentioned in xxx. 35.

<sup>10</sup> Kautzsch-Socin.

<sup>11</sup> Ps. xviii. 24, 26 f.

*Yesterday and the day before*—previously, formerly; as in ver. 5; Ex. v. 7 f., 14, from *B*.

Ver. 3. Jahve Himself, who guides every important step taken by the patriarchs, commands his return to Canaan. The verse is from *C*, and is referred to by him in xxxii. 10; ver. 13 corresponds to it in *B*.

*Land of your fathers*—again in the Pentateuch only, in xlviii. 21.

מולדתך—see xii. 1.

Ver. 4 ff., continuing ver. 2, from *B*. Jacob sends for his wives to come to him, and lays the matter before them. He recalls, first, his exertions and services on Laban's account, and the thankless attitude assumed towards him in return.

Ver. 5. *And yet the God of my father has been with me*, has blessed me in my service for him, and has brought me such great riches.

Ver. 6. See xxx. 26. אֶתְּנֶה, Gesenius,<sup>25</sup> 32A. 5.

Vv. 7-9. "As his thanks, Laban deceived him, changing his stipulated wage at will ten times, *i.e.* several times."<sup>1</sup> But God did not allow him to succeed in his deceptions; those very animals which Laban settled as Jacob's wage were always those born.

הַתֵּל, from תֵּל, Ewald, § 127*d*. מִטְכֶּרֶת, as in ver. 41 and xxix. 15. מִנִּים, only here and in ver. 41. נָתַנּוּ, see xx. 6. יָהִיָּה, Gesenius,<sup>25</sup> 145. 7A. 3. וַיִּלְדּוּ, perf. and waw consec. אֲבִיכֶם for אֲבִיכֶם.<sup>2</sup>

In ch. xxx. nothing is said of these repeated acts of deception, and *R* has inserted this speech in its entirety so as to include *B*'s divergent account regarding Jacob's acquisition of flocks, at least in this form. With the same intention, *R* has here also included vv. 10 and 12, which were not originally part of what Jacob said to his wives,<sup>3</sup> but yet

<sup>1</sup> Num. xiv. 22; Job xix. 3.

<sup>2</sup> As xxxii. 16, xli. 23; Ex. i. 21; Num. xvi. 17 f. (Gesenius,<sup>25</sup> 135. 5A. 1); cf. xxvi. 15, xxxiii. 13.

<sup>3</sup> *JBDTh*, xxi, 428.

doubtless shortly reproduce the contents of a *B* section which has been omitted. Ver. 12 is given quite an appropriate position. This view relieves the difficulties expressed by Wellhausen.

Vv. 10-12. "It was God who gave him his flocks. Jacob in a dream saw parti-coloured males covering the females, and God himself told him that He had seen all Laban's doings. Jacob was thus instructed to regard the births of parti-coloured young as a gift from God. This author accordingly attributes the blessing directly to God, and says nothing of the use of rods; comp. xxx. 18."<sup>1</sup>

בָּרַךְ for *C*'s טָלוּא (xxx. 32 f., 35). The dream (see xx. 3) and the use of מְלֹאךְ אֱלֹהִים (see xxi. 17) are characteristic of *B*.

Ver. 13, originally a continuation of ver. 11. God made Himself known as the God of Bethel (xxviii. 18 ff.), and bid him return home.

הָאֵל הַנִּרְאָה אֵלֶיךָ בְּבֵית אֵל—either with אֵל בֵּית אֵל—shortened from הָאֵל אֵל בֵּית אֵל.<sup>2</sup>

וְאִשְׁרֵי נָתַתָּ—Samaritan and Septuagint 'ואשר נתת.

מְלֹאךְ—Septuagint adds καὶ ἑσσομαι μετὰ σοῦ.

Vv. 14-16. The wives willingly accede to the proposal. Their father has alienated them also. At home they have no further heritage to expect other than what they may have received at their marriage (xxix. 14, 29). Their father treats them as strangers, for he has sold them,<sup>3</sup> and now<sup>4</sup> consumes the proceeds by himself,<sup>5</sup> i.e. he enjoys what he has gained by Jacob's service without giving them any share.

וְתַעַן, see ix. 23. בְּנִכְרִיּוֹת, Sept. and Samar. בְּנִכְרִיּוֹת.

נִים—the infin. absol. makes it clear that it goes with the verb; similarly in xlvi. 4 in *B*.

כִּי (ver. 16)—not *so that*,<sup>6</sup> nor affirmative *yea*,<sup>7</sup> but

<sup>1</sup> Knobel.

<sup>2</sup> Gesenius,<sup>25</sup> 127A. 4a.

<sup>3</sup> Ch. xxix. 18, 27; cf. xxiv. 53.

<sup>4</sup> Ch. xix. 9.

<sup>5</sup> Ex. xxi. 35.

<sup>6</sup> Knobel, Delitzsch<sup>4</sup>; nor in Deut. xiv. 24; Job x. 6; cases like ver. 36, xx. 9, xl. 15 are different.

<sup>7</sup> Delitzsch<sup>5</sup>.



emphatically introducing the antithesis to any connection with their paternal home;<sup>1</sup> *on the contrary*, we are independent, and all that God has taken from our father (ver. 9) belongs only to us, not to him, is our property; there is no reason why we should not depart.

עֵשָׂר in the Pentateuch only here; comp. העֵשָׂרִי in xiv. 23.

Vv. 17—25. Without Laban's knowledge Jacob departs with his family and property; Rachel carries off her father's teraphim. Laban follows and overtakes the fugitive on Gilead.

*Sons and wives*, in Sept. and in Samar. wives and sons. *On camels*, comp. xxiv. 61.

Ver. 18. וינהג את-כל-מקנהו, from *B*, see Ex. iii. 1; the rest of the verse from *A*, comp. xxxvi. 6 (also xlv. 6).

*The animals of his possession*, "therefore nothing of Laban's."<sup>2</sup>

Ver. 19 ff. The departure, according to *B*, was secret and of the nature of a flight. Laban *had gone* to his sheep-shearing, which, seeing his flocks were large, lasted a number of days (1 Sam. xxv.). Rachel used the opportunity to carry off his household gods, with the intention, at least, of securing their protection and blessing, or the good fortune of the house, for herself;<sup>3</sup> Jacob availed himself of it to make a secret departure.

תְּרָפִים<sup>4</sup>—no certain etymology has yet been found. Neubauer's<sup>5</sup> reference to רפאים, and Sayce's<sup>6</sup> to Assyrian *tarpu* = *dimma*, ghost, which would lead us to the meaning ancestral spirits, are of no more value than the numerous conjectures enumerated in Gesenius, *Thesaurus*, p. 1520 f. It may be supposed that no more than a single image<sup>7</sup> is here intended; the plural pronominal suffix of ver. 34 and

<sup>1</sup> Ps. xxxvii. 20, xlix. 11 [10], cxxx. 4.

<sup>2</sup> Knobel.

<sup>3</sup> Just as Æneas took with him the Penates from Troy, *Dionysius Halicar.* i. 69; Virgil, *Æneid*, iii. 148 f., iv. 598. Knobel.

<sup>4</sup> See Winer,<sup>3</sup> ii. 608; Ewald, *Alterthümer*,<sup>3</sup> 296 ff. [Eng. tr. 223 ff.].

<sup>5</sup> *Academy*, 1886, No. 756, p. 297a.

<sup>6</sup> *ZA.* ii. 95.

<sup>7</sup> 1 Sam. xix. 13, 16.

the אֱלֹהֵי of ver. 30 are not certain evidence that there were more than one,<sup>1</sup> still less is xxxv. 2.

*Aramean*—as in ver. 24. See note on xxv. 20. Laban has been frequently named in what goes before, and the epithet is here attached, not so much because of any Hebrew national self-consciousness, as to explain the difference of religion, and perhaps also to prepare for ver. 44 ff.; so in ver. 24. Budde<sup>2</sup> would explain it to be from *A*, but it is presupposed in ver. 47; see also Deut. xxvi. 5.

לֹב—also in ver. 26, *delude one's (intellectual) perception*; comp. κλέπτειν νόον in Hesiod;<sup>3</sup> in ver. 27 more shortly with accus. of person, like κλέπτειν τινά and *decipere*.<sup>4</sup>

עַל־בִּלִּי—because of the want of, *i.e. because or inasmuch as* he did *not*; <sup>5</sup> only here in this sense.

*That he intended to flee, i.e. depart, make off* (cf. ver. 27).

Ver. 21. הנהר is generally assumed <sup>6</sup> to be the Euphrates;<sup>7</sup> if so, the words ויקם ויעבר את־הנהר must be an insertion from *C*; see ver. 23.

*And set his face*—took his course, towards the mountains of Gilead; comp. 2 Kings xii. 18.

Ver. 22 f. It is not till the third day after that Laban learns of his flight; he sets after him with his brothers, *i.e.* his kinsmen.<sup>8</sup> After seven days' march he overtakes him on the mountains of Gilead. At whatever speed (ver. 36), it is impossible to reach Gilead from Harran in seven days, or with flocks<sup>9</sup> in from ten to twelve. It follows, seeing the number cannot be impeached, in agreement with xxix. 1, that *B* thought of Laban's home as much nearer Gilead;<sup>10</sup> and also that ויקם ויעבר את־הנהר in ver. 21, where הנהר can only be the Euphrates, must be from another source (*C*).

Ver. 24. Laban and his people are much stronger than Jacob (ver. 29), who is in danger of falling a victim to his

<sup>1</sup> Ewald, *Syntax*, § 318a.

<sup>3</sup> *Theolog.* 613.

<sup>5</sup> Ewald, *Syntax*, § 322a.

<sup>7</sup> As Ex. xxiii. 31; Mic. vii. 12.

<sup>9</sup> Ch. xxxiii. 13 f.

<sup>2</sup> *Urgeschichte*, p. 422.

<sup>4</sup> Knobel.

<sup>6</sup> See xxiv. 10.

<sup>8</sup> Lev. x. 4; 2 Sam. xix. 3.

<sup>10</sup> Against Delitzsch<sup>5</sup>.

vengeance. But God intervenes before they meet, and warns Laban in a dream<sup>1</sup> by night not to speak, much less take action, against Jacob **מִטּוֹב עַד-רָע**. These words do not mean beginning with good and passing to evil,<sup>2</sup> but<sup>3</sup> *anything at all*, i.e. evil; this follows from **הַשֹּׁמֵר לָךְ**. The Septuagint rightly has *πονηρά*; so in ver. 29.

Ver. 25. *C*'s account of the meeting, unlike 23*b*. A distinction between **הַרְבִּיק**, *to be close behind*, and **הַשִּׁיג**, *to overtake*,<sup>4</sup> cannot be maintained.

Jacob had pitched his tent on or beside **הַהָר**, and Laban and his brethren theirs on or beside **הַר הַגִּלְעָד**. Taken in connection with vv. 21 and 23, **הַהָר** can only be understood as **הַר הַגִּלְעָד**, and we should require to render, Laban encamped *on the same spot*.<sup>5</sup> But no writer could express himself in this way. Either **הַהָר** had a qualification attached to it,<sup>6</sup> which *R* has omitted because of the discordance with *B*'s text, or *C* delayed mention of the name because he wished to relate its origin in ver. 48; in the latter case, ver. 25*b* must be from *R*. Regarding Gilead, etc., see p. 268 f.

**תָּקַע אֹהֶל**—only here in the Pentateuch.

**אֹהֶל**—it is unnecessary to replace this by **אֹהֶלֶת**.<sup>7</sup>

Vv. 26-42. Discussion between Jacob and Laban; abashment of the latter.

Vv. 26-28. Laban first reproaches him with the unbecomingness of his secret escape. Withal, he has acted foolishly.

Ver. 27 is in part a variant to ver. 26, and probably an insertion from *C*; note **גַּב** without **לֵב**. In the Septuagint things are made easier by the transposition of the first five words of ver. 27 after **עֲשִׂית** of ver. 26.

**לִבִּי**, see note on xx. 5. *Captives of the sword*, gained in

<sup>1</sup> Ch. xx. 3.

<sup>2</sup> Knobel, Bunsen.

<sup>3</sup> As xxiv. 50, xiv. 23.

<sup>4</sup> Knobel.

<sup>5</sup> Vulgate, Knobel.

<sup>6</sup> Acc. to Lagarde, *Agathangelus*, p. 157, **הַמְצִפָּה**; cf. ver. 49.

<sup>7</sup> Lagarde, Buhl, *Kanon*, p. 250.

war.<sup>1</sup> נַחֲבֹאת לְכֶרֶךְ, verb as adverb.<sup>2</sup> וְלֹא הִנֵּרַת, Septuagint לוֹ with וַאֲשַׁלְּחֶךָ as apodosis. *That I might have sent you away*, with merriment,<sup>3</sup> song and music; might have arranged festivities on the occasion of your leaving.<sup>4</sup> בָּנָי, grandsons, see ver. 43 and xxxii. 1; comp. note on xxix. 5. נָטַשׁ, in the sense of נָהַן and הִכְבִּיל, only here in Pentateuch. עֵשָׂו for עֵשָׂוֹת elsewhere in the same document.<sup>5</sup>

Ver. 29. He might well be justified, then, in requiting himself on Jacob; but God has forbidden him in the night just past.<sup>6</sup>

יְיָ לִי אֵל יָדִי<sup>7</sup>—has been literally rendered, *it is to God my hand*,<sup>8</sup> which might suitably express, *I can accomplish anything*, though not, *I am able, have the power*. It should be translated,<sup>9</sup> *it is according to the power of my hand*, it is of my power, I am able. אֵל does not mean “strong,” from אָזַל, but is a noun like שֵׁם and עֵץ; see vol. i. p. 56.

*God of your father*—the plural suffix referring to Jacob and his family;<sup>10</sup> the Samaritan and Septuagint have אֲבִיךָ. Isaac is the father. Laban knows from the contents of the warning that it was Jacob’s ancestral God who spoke to him.

Ver. 30. But though Laban is willing to call him no further to account because his departure is now an accomplished fact, and because it may be accounted for by a great<sup>11</sup> desire to see his home again, he cannot allow the theft of his gods to pass in a similar fashion. But in this very particular, where he is undoubtedly in the right, he comes off

<sup>1</sup> 2 Kings vi. 22.

<sup>2</sup> Gesenius,<sup>25</sup> 114. 2A. 3.

<sup>3</sup> 1 Sam. xviii. 6.

<sup>4</sup> For modern Eastern examples, see Harmer [*Observations*,<sup>2</sup> i. 435 f.], Ger. tr. i. 415 f. Knobel.

<sup>5</sup> Chs. xlvi. 11, l. 20; Ex. xviii. 18; Knobel; Gesenius,<sup>25</sup> 75A. 2.

<sup>6</sup> Ch. xix. 34.

<sup>7</sup> As in Mic. ii. 1; Prov. iii. 27; and with a negative, in Deut. xxviii. 32; Neh. v. 5.

<sup>8</sup> Seb. Schmid, Knobel, Hitzig, Bertheau.

<sup>9</sup> As the older expositors; Gesenius, Tuch, Ewald, Delitzsch.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. xxxvii. 46.

<sup>11</sup> Gesenius,<sup>25</sup> 113. 3a.



second best in the end. He is over-reached by his own daughter, whom he had before cheated of her due (xxix. 25 ff.).

נכסף—in the Pentateuch only here.

Ver. 31 f. To the first complaint Jacob replies that he feared, judging from the past (xxix. 23 ff.), that Laban might take his daughters from him by force; כִּי, as in xx. 11. As to the second charge, Jacob is conscious of innocence, for Rachel had said nothing to him of the theft; he therefore declares confidently that he will condemn to death anyone with whom Laban may find the teraphim, and he gives him permission to search.

עַם אִשְׁרָ—for עַמּוֹ—אִשְׁרָ,<sup>1</sup> quite unusual, though imitated in the Aramaic versions, and acknowledged by Ewald<sup>2</sup> and Gesenius.<sup>3</sup> We also miss the presence at the beginning of the verse of יֵאמֵר,<sup>4</sup> rendered by the Septuagint.

*Shall not live*—the patriarchs had over their families the power of life and death (xxxviii. 24).

*Our brethren*—as in ver. 23; Jacob had a large company with him.<sup>5</sup> הַבְּרִיָּה—xxxvii. 32, xxxviii. 25.

Vv. 33-35. Laban searches the tents, of which there was one for each person of consequence.<sup>6</sup> Rachel had put the teraphim in a camel-pannier or *litter*, and seated herself on it; she professed that it was the time of her monthly period,<sup>7</sup> and so escaped the duty of rising up on her father's entrance,<sup>8</sup> and deprived him of his desire to make a thorough search.<sup>9</sup>

The words וּבֹאֵהָ לִשְׁתִּי הָאֵמֶת in 33a are given their position to make Rachel's tent the scene of all that follows, but are followed awkwardly by וַיֵּצֵא מֵאֵהָ לָאָה; the transposition of the Septuagint is no help; it would be more effectual to put וּבֹאֵהָ לֵאָה after הָאֵמֶת. After וַיֵּבֵא לָבֵן the Septuagint and Samaritan have וַיַּחְפֹּשׂ.

<sup>1</sup> Ch. xliv. 9 f.

<sup>2</sup> *Syntax*, § 333a.

<sup>3</sup> *Grammatik*,<sup>25</sup> 138. 1.

<sup>4</sup> Böttcher, *Neue Aehrenlese*, i. 22.

<sup>5</sup> Chs. xxx. 43, xxxi. 37, 46, 54, xxxii. 8.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. xxiv. 67.

<sup>7</sup> See xviii. 11.

<sup>8</sup> Lev. xix. 32.

<sup>9</sup> Lev. xv. 19. Knobel.

אמה—see xx. 17.

כר—"a palanquin, five feet in length, with a seat in it ; it is placed crosswise on the saddle of the camel and fastened with cords ; there are rods at the sides and crossing overhead on which coverings are hung so that the traveller may lie or sit in the shade. The palanquins which are placed lengthwise on both sides of the saddle are smaller, and are specially for the conveyance of the women."<sup>1</sup>

*Let it not burn in the eyes*—so xlv. 5 ; the fire of passion shows itself in the glance of the eyes.

חפיש—xliv. 12.

Ver. 36 f. Jacob becomes bolder now that everything has passed off well for him, and in his turn takes Laban to task.

ויהר ליעקב—iv. 5.

מה (2nd)—Samar. Sept. Pesh. Targ. of Jonath. and many Hebrew codices ומה.

דלק אחרי פ'—"to flame, be hot"<sup>2</sup> after one = follow one hotly ; cf. 1 Sam. xvii. 53."<sup>3</sup>

כי (v. 37)—Sam. Sept. and Vulg. not so well, וכי. כה, as xxii. 5:

*Decide between us*—as arbiters ;<sup>4</sup> הוכיח, in *B*, in xx. 16 and xxi. 25 has another meaning ; also in *C* in xxiv. 14, 44.

Vv. 38-42. In order to set Laban's conduct in its proper light, Jacob, in language which is eloquent and at times even poetical, recalls his twenty years of earnest, unselfish, and toilsome service, and Laban's many attempts to deprive him of his merited reward, which were frustrated only by the intervention of Jacob's God.

Ver. 38. יָהּ, as ver. 41, xxvii. 36. *They made no mis-carriages*, as Ex. xxiii. 26 ; Job xxi. 10 ; the care of the shepherd was so great.

Ver. 39a is to be interpreted in the light of Ex. xxii. 12.

<sup>1</sup> Burckhardt [*Bedouins*, vol. ii. p. 85], Germ. tr. 370 f. ; W. G. Brown [*Travels*,<sup>2</sup> p. 453], Germ. tr. p. 473 ; Ker Porter [*Travels*, London, 1821-22, ii. 232], Germ. tr. ii. 239 ; and others in Jahn, *Bibl. Arch.* i. 1, 285 f. [Eng. tr.<sup>3</sup> p. 54, without references]. Knobel.

<sup>2</sup> Isa. v. 11.

<sup>3</sup> Knobel.

<sup>4</sup> Isa. ii. 4 ; Job xvi. 21.

אֶחָטָאָה—for אֶחָטָאָה; <sup>1</sup> here in the sense *make amends for*, *replace*, for which שָׁלַם is the usual word.

חֲבֹשָׁה—wanting in Sept. and Samar.; Laban required him to make good the losses. This and the preceding impf., as it were set before our eyes the events as they occurred; we must not translate, I will make good, thou mayest demand.<sup>2</sup>

*Stolen by day and stolen by night*—I replaced, as you required, the missing animals, whether they were stolen by day or night; comp. Ex. xxii. 11. For the ' of נִגְבֵּהִי, see Gesenius.<sup>3</sup>

Ver. 40. The service was a trying one. *I was—by day heat consumed me*, I was wasted by the heat by day.<sup>4</sup> “It is well known that in the East the nights are cold to a degree corresponding to the heat of the day.<sup>5</sup> *My sleep*, that which was my due, which I ought to have had.”<sup>6</sup>

Ver. 41 f. Because ver. 38 opens as this verse does, we need not therefore assign vv. 38—40 to a different author;<sup>7</sup> in such vivid speech the repetition is quite in place. Regarding the *twenty years'* service, see note on xxx. 26. *Ten times*, as in ver. 7. The second אֱלֹהֵי in ver. 42 is wanting in Sept. and Vulg.

*The Fear of Isaac*—the object of his fear and awe, *numen reverendum*, σέβας; an ancient name for God; so ver. 53 (comp. Isa. viii. 13).

לִי—for me, favourable to me; as Ps. cxxiv. 1 f., lvi. 10.

כִּי עֵמָה—then in truth<sup>8</sup> you would have sent me away empty.<sup>9</sup>

יָגִיעַ כָּפִי—the toil of my hands, my toilsome work; God saw, considered,<sup>10</sup> and so decided.<sup>11</sup>

Ver. 43. Ashamed and overcome by Jacob's speech,

<sup>1</sup> Gesenius,<sup>25</sup> 74A. 4.

<sup>2</sup> Tuch.

<sup>3</sup> Grammatik,<sup>25</sup> 90. 3.

<sup>4</sup> Ewald, § 128a.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Jer. xxxvi. 30; Morier [*Second Journey*, 1818, p. 97], Germ. tr. p. 104; Wellsted [*Travels in Arabia*, i. 86], Germ. tr. i. 64; Katte, *Reise in Abyssinien*, pp. 12, 56; Rosenmüller, *ad loc.*

<sup>6</sup> Isa. xxi. 14, xxxi. 9. Knobel.

<sup>7</sup> Wellhausen.

<sup>8</sup> Ewald, *Syntax*, § 358a.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. xliii. 10; Num. xxii. 29; 1 Sam. xiv. 30; 2 Sam. ii. 27.

<sup>10</sup> Chs. xvi. 11, xxix. 32.

<sup>11</sup> Ver. 37.

Laban begins, indeed, by an attempt to maintain his paternal right to all that Jacob had, wives, children, and property; but immediately opens the way for a reconciliation by saying, yet what can I do to-day to these my daughters and their sons, *i.e.* how do them any evil? For ל עֵשָׂה in its bad sense, comp. xxii. 12, xxvii. 45; Ex. xiv. 11.

Ver. 44. He proposes that they should conclude a covenant of peace and friendship.<sup>1</sup>

לָכֵה—*come!* as in xxxvii. 13; Ex. iii. 10, in *B*.

וְהִיהָ—the subject cannot be בְּרִית, which is feminine, nor the action,<sup>2</sup> which itself, as something transitory, requires a permanent witness. We must therefore either delete the following לָ,<sup>3</sup> or assume that before הִיהָ some words have fallen out, such as וְנִעְשָׂה לָ or וְנִעְשָׂה מִצֵּבָה, according as the verse was originally *C*'s or *B*'s; comp. the omission in ver. 25.

The narrative which follows in vv. 45–54, regarding the conclusion of the covenant, is disconnected and full of duplications, and is certainly the result of a union of several sources, besides containing<sup>4</sup> several glosses. The Septuagint<sup>5</sup> unsuccessfully tried to reduce it to order by transpositions. Various attempts at analysis have been made,<sup>6</sup> in part too complicated, in part insufficient. *C*'s account is found in vv. 48–50<sup>7</sup> and ver. 46.<sup>8</sup> According to it the witness they erected was a נֵל, and the promise made was that Jacob would treat Laban's daughters well; the מִצֵּבָה is a harmonic interpolation. *B*'s account, contained in vv. 45, 51–54, speaks of a מִצֵּבָה being erected, and that as a witness that the Arameans and Hebrews should respect the spot where it stood as the boundary between them. The covenant is

<sup>1</sup> Cf. xxi. 23 ff., xxvi. 28 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Delitzsch<sup>5</sup>.

<sup>3</sup> Olshausen.

<sup>4</sup> Wellhausen, *JBDTh.* xxi. 431.

<sup>5</sup> Ilgen.

<sup>6</sup> Ewald, *Geschichte*,<sup>3</sup> i. 498 [Eng. tr. i. 347]; Hupfeld, *Quellen*, p. 161. Böhmer.

<sup>7</sup> Astruc, Schrader, Delitzsch.

<sup>8</sup> Wellhausen.



sealed, in both accounts,<sup>1</sup> by a meal which they partake of together. *C* (ver. 48) accounts for the name Gilead by the incident. Kittel's analysis<sup>2</sup> assigns vv. 45 f., 48*a*, 50, 53 f. to *B*, and ver. 51 f., without the *מצבה*, to *C*. It would have this advantage that the *אלהים* of ver. 50 would have a simple explanation. But the boundary between Arameans and Hebrews (ver. 52) is more in place in *B*, who names Laban *הארמי*; and if ver. 46 were *B*'s continuation of ver. 45, we should expect *ויאמר יעקב* there instead of *יעקב אמר*. Besides, *B* has already mentioned the *הר גלעד* in vv. 21, 23 (25*b*), and seems to have had no special explanation of the name *גלעד*.

Ver. 45. From *B*. A stone is set up as a memorial by Jacob, according to the text, but by Laban according to ver. 51. We must assume<sup>3</sup> that the original continuation of ver. 44 was simply *ויקה אבן*, and that *יעקב* is a later and erroneous expansion. The *מצבה* here referred to was certainly in an elevated position, visible from far off; *הרים* is therefore a rightly chosen expression, and is no proof that the author is not the writer of ch. xxviii. 18, 22, where *שים* is used.<sup>4</sup>

Ver. 46 presents once more the text of *C*. Stones are collected to form a *גל* or mound on which, then, the covenant meal is held. The Septuagint has *וילקטו* for *ויקהו*.<sup>5</sup> It is not so clear as in ver. 45 that *יעקב* is here an erroneous gloss,<sup>6</sup> but it is probable because, in ver. 48 ff., it is Laban who explains the meaning of the *גל*. There would be no difficulty if Jacob's people gave their *help*.

The meal can only have taken place after the oaths had been taken, but might easily be mentioned by the narrator beforehand. Still, the second part of the verse may, perhaps, originally in *C*, like ver. 48*b*, have stood after ver. 50, and

<sup>1</sup> Ver. 46 in *C*, ver. 54 in *B*.

<sup>2</sup> *Geschichte*, pp. 129, 140 f. [Eng. tr. vol. i. pp. 143, 156].

<sup>3</sup> Astruc, Ilgen, Wellhausen.

<sup>4</sup> Against Knobel.

<sup>5</sup> Approved by Plüschke, Lagarde, *Onomas. Sac.*<sup>1</sup> ii. 95. Olshausen, Kautzsch-Socin.

<sup>6</sup> Wellhausen.

have been transposed by *R* to allow of the two promises, vv. 48-50, and vv. 51-53, following one another directly.

Ver. 47. Neither from *C*, in view of ver. 48*b*, nor from *B*, who only spoke of a *מצבה*, not of a *גל*. It is therefore an independent insertion, suggested by *הארמי* in vv. 20, 24, and with the object of defining more precisely the words of 48*b*.

*שהרדוה*—regarding the *ש* for *ס*, see note on Job xvi. 19.<sup>1</sup> Both names, the Hebrew and the Aramaic, denote *hillock* or *mound of witness*. “The situation of the place on the border seems to have occasioned the double designation. The country north of Gilead was inhabited in part by Aramaic speaking tribes,<sup>2</sup> while there is no trace of them in the southern part of the country east of Jordan. The Arameans of Damascus at times also extended their sovereignty as far as Gilead.<sup>3</sup> In what follows also Gilead is regarded somewhat as a boundary.”<sup>4</sup>

Ver. 48*a* was doubtless originally, in *C*, followed by ver. 50; ver. 48*b* is also from *C*, but, like 46*b*, owes its present position to *R*.

*נָלְעָר*—from the same stem as Arabic *ja'ad* = *durus*, *firmus*, is explained by *C* as *נִלְעָר*, although this is not very consistent with the ordinary usage by which the article was prefixed (*e.g.* vv. 21, 25).

*על־בן קרא־שמו*—always in *C*.<sup>5</sup>

Ver. 49. The words *והמצפה* are surprising, because nothing has been said before of a *מצפה*, *place of observation*, *watch-tower*,<sup>6</sup> though a *מצבה*, here the reading of the Samaritan, has been spoken of. As to the grammatical construction, we can scarcely doubt that *מצפה* is co-ordinate with the *נָלְעָר* of ver. 48*b*—he named the place,<sup>7</sup> or the *Maṣṣebah*,<sup>8</sup> *Mispah*, for this construction alone suits the following

<sup>1</sup> [Dillm. Com.]

<sup>2</sup> Ch. xxii. 24.

<sup>3</sup> 1 Kings xxii. 3 ff.; 2 Kings ix. 14 f.

<sup>4</sup> Knobel.

<sup>5</sup> Chs. xi. 9, xix. 22, xxv. 30, xxix. 34 f.

<sup>6</sup> But see note on ver. 25.

<sup>7</sup> Knobel, Keil.

<sup>8</sup> Saadia, Ewald, *Compos. der Genesis*, 64; Gesenius, *Thesaurus*.

*because*<sup>1</sup> *he said*.<sup>2</sup> But the sentence is so loosely joined to ver. 48*b*, that we are driven to the conclusion that in its present form it is not from *C*, but has been touched up by *R* to suit the tradition of his time, which spoke rather of a Miṣpah than of a Maṣṣebah, and had, perhaps, transferred the scene of the legend to another spot. Wellhausen's supposition is that *R* interpolated והמצבה, and that afterwards another writer was induced by the bad odour of the מצבות to change it into והמצפה; the words ויצף יהוה וג', along with ver. 50*b*, were also an addition by this later hand. But the explanation is improbable, because in vv. 45, 51 ff. the word מצבה has been left untouched. The only question is, whether from יצף to מרעהו in ver. 49, and the related ver. 50*b*, are an independent insertion of *R*'s, or are based on something he found in *C*. If we consider that in *B* ver. 53 follows ver. 51 f., it is quite possible that in *C*, similarly, there was something to follow 50*a*, such as יראה יהוה ביני ובינך וג', and that *R* has only redacted and transposed his original with an eye to והמצפה.

יצף—God is to *spy out* between him and Jacob, keep watch that each fulfils his covenant duty, because they are to be out of sight of one another,<sup>3</sup> and so will be unable to watch one another.

יהוה—the Septuagint has ὁ Θεός.

Ver. 50. The special point in the promise, according to *C*, was that Jacob should not oppress or ill-treat Laban's daughters in revenge for their father's deception, nor take other wives in addition to them.

על, as in ch. xxviii. 9. אם in an oath, as xiv. 23, xxvi. 29.

*No one is with us*, as witness and arbiter; God, therefore, is to be witness between them. The original idea (ver. 48), that the גל will be witness, falls completely away.

רִאֵה—as xxvii. 27, xli. 41.

<sup>1</sup> Ch. xxx. 18.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. x. 9, xvi. 13, xxii. 14.

<sup>3</sup> Ch. iv. 14.

אלהים—surprising after the יהוה of ver. 49, and no doubt a proof that the words have been inserted or revised by *R*.

Vv. 51-53. The contents of the agreement, according to *B*. Laban and Jacob, the descendants of Nahor and of Abraham, will not in future engage in hostilities against one another, nor cross Gilead with such an end in view. As in *C*, ver. 48 ff., it is Laban, the one who proposed the covenant, who is rightly made to define for Jacob the words of the oath he is to take.<sup>1</sup>

But the words ער הגל הזה ו (ver. 51) and הנה הגל הזה (ver. 52) are an interpolation by *R*,<sup>2</sup> for *B*, we may assume (p. 263), contained no mention of a גל. *R* harmonised *B* and *C* by adding *C*'s גל to *B*'s מצבה, as in ver. 48 f. he put מצפה alongside of גל.

In ver. 52*b* the twice repeated את-הגל הזה had been אה הגלער הזה in *B*, for we can hardly suppose he could, without more ado, call גלער the גל. The words ואת המצבה הזאת must be an addition by *R*.

ירית—Job xxxviii. 6 ; ירה does not mean *throw* stones together, and is therefore no proof<sup>3</sup> that והנה המצבה is an interpolation.

אם—אם = *sive—sive*,<sup>4</sup> but in an oath probably rather as in ver. 50*a*, to emphasise the double negation, *I certainly will not, etc.*

לרעה—for evil, *i.e.* with hostile intentions (2 Sam. xviii. 32).

Ver. 53. Laban invokes the God of Abraham and the God of Nahor to judge between them. Jacob now also swears<sup>5</sup> by the Fear,<sup>6</sup> *i.e.* the God of his father.

אלהי אביהם—unifies the conjugate expression “God of Abraham and God of Nahor,” to which it is in apposition, as if Terah's God had become a duality in his sons' lives (cf. Josh. xxiv. 2). But it has a halting appearance, is

<sup>1</sup> Cf. chs. xxi., xxvi.

<sup>2</sup> Ewald, Wellhausen.

<sup>3</sup> Kittel, *Geschichte*, p. 141 [Eng. tr. vol. i. p. 156, note 1].

<sup>4</sup> Delitzsch, Keil.

<sup>5</sup> Ch. xxi. 24.

<sup>6</sup> Ver. 42.



wanting in the Septuagint and certain Hebrew MSS.,<sup>1</sup> and is doubtless a gloss.<sup>2</sup>

יִשְׁפֹּט—Sept. Samar. Pesh. Vulg. יִשְׁפֹּט.<sup>3</sup>

Ver. 54. After the taking of the oath there follows the *covenant meal*,<sup>4</sup> anticipated in ver. 46: it is prepared by Jacob,<sup>5</sup> and the very expression employed (זֶבַח)<sup>6</sup> shows that it was a sacrificial feast. Jacob invites those who were with him (ver. 46), and Laban's presence may be inferred from the purpose of the meal. Afterwards they spent the night on the hill.

*Eat bread*—partake of a meal; the principal food is put for the whole meal.<sup>7</sup> The mere “act of eating together is among the Arabs one of friendship,”<sup>8</sup> between those who have been at enmity it is one of reconciliation; here it plainly forms an integral part of the ceremonial observed in making the covenant.

הַר הַיָּלְעָד—in the Old Testament generally, like אֶרֶץ הַנִּלְעָד, a designation for the whole mountain district and country south of the Yarmuk as far as the plains of Heshbon.<sup>9</sup> At present the name Jebel Jil'âd is that of a mountain range eight kilometres south of Wadi Zerḳâ (the Yabbôḳ), which stretches from east to west a distance of about nine kilometres. “On it are situated the ruined cities of Jil'âd and Jil'aud; <sup>10</sup> it is north of Salt,<sup>11</sup> and east of 'Allân,<sup>12</sup> and its

<sup>1</sup> In the Samaritan, אֱלֹהֵי אַבְרָהָם.

<sup>2</sup> Kennicott, Houbigant, Olshausen, Wellhausen, Geiger, *Urschrift*, 284.

<sup>3</sup> But see Josh. xxiv. 2.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. xxvi. 30; Ex. xxiv. 11; 2 Sam. iii. 20 f.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. xxvi. 30.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. xlv. 1.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. xxxvii. 25, xliii. 25; Ex. ii. 10, xviii. 12; Matt. xv. 2.

<sup>8</sup> Niebuhr, *Arabien*, p. 48; Sonnini [*Voyage*, ii. 129], Germ. tr. i. 439; Volney [*Voyage*,<sup>3</sup> i. 395, Eng. tr. i. 412], Germ. tr. i. 314; Buckingham [*Syria*, 1825, p. 15], Germ. tr. ii. 18; Burckhardt [*Bedouins*, i. 164, 327 f., 336], Germ. tr. 140, 264, 270. Knobel.

<sup>9</sup> Deut. iii. 12 f.; Josh. xvii. 1, 5; 2 Kings x. 33, and frequently.

<sup>10</sup> Burckhardt [*Syria*, p. 348], Germ. tr. 599 f.

<sup>11</sup> Robinson, *Palästina*, iii. 922 [on Eng. map cf. i. 570].

<sup>12</sup> Seetzen, *Reisen*, i. 393.

highest point is Jebel 'Oscha.<sup>1</sup> Hosea (vi. 8) speaks of a town of Gilead.<sup>2</sup> We may conjecture that the Mišpah of Judg. xi. 11, 34 was no other than the Mišpeh-Gilead of Judg. xi. 29; and it was also doubtless one and the same as Ramath-Mišpeh,<sup>3</sup> the well-known Ramoth in or on Gilead,<sup>4</sup> Ramoth of Gilead,<sup>5</sup> which lay fifteen Roman miles west (north-west) of Philadelphia, according to the *Onomasticon*.<sup>6</sup> According to most, this Mišpah or Ramoth is to be looked for in the modern es-Salt,<sup>7</sup> but more probably<sup>8</sup> in the ruins of el-Jal'ûd, eleven kilometres farther north. With these facts in view, Knobel believed himself entitled to identify גִּלְעָד (xxiii. 25) and גִּלְעָד (ver. 47 f.) with the modern Jebel Jil'âd, and הַמִּצְפָּה (ver. 49) with the ancient Mišpah or Ramoth. But this is inconsistent with xxxii. 2, 23 f., which show that Jacob did not cross the Yabbôk till afterwards. What is spoken of must be the part of Gilead which lies north of the Yabbôk, *i.e.* the Jebel 'Ajlûn, which alone is suitable as the boundary between Hebrews and Arameans. But we can no longer determine what locality in Jebel 'Ajlûn the author had in mind. מִצְפָּה, which is due only to *R* (? *C*), can decide nothing; it may be that *R* was under the influence of a different tradition regarding the locality, and had Mišpah-Ramoth in view; but it is also possible he intended a Mišpah in Jebel 'Ajlûn. "Beke found on Jebel 'Ajlûn a cromlech, one of those well-known monuments of the earliest time; and the Consul Finn was assured by his Arab companions that there were quite a number of them on the hills there."<sup>9</sup>

Ch. xxxii. 1-3. From *B*. Laban and Jacob separate.

<sup>1</sup> Robinson [*Palestine*,<sup>3</sup> i. 532], Germ. tr. ii. 481; Buckingham [*Syria*, 1825, p. 20], Germ. tr. ii. 24.

<sup>2</sup> Judg. x. 17?

<sup>3</sup> Josh. xiii. 26.

<sup>4</sup> Deut. iv. 43; Josh. xx. 8, xxi. 36.

<sup>5</sup> 1 Kings iv. 13, xxii. 3 ff.; 2 Kings viii. 28, ix. 1 ff.

<sup>6</sup> Knobel.

<sup>7</sup> Seetzen, i. 397; Buckingham, *Syria* [1825, p. 40], Germ. tr. ii. 45; Baedeker,<sup>2</sup> 287; Riehm, *Handwörterbuch*, 1003.

<sup>8</sup> Hitzig, Langer in *Ausland*, 1882, p. 181.

<sup>9</sup> Schenkel, *Bibelllexicon*, ii. 472.

A host of angels meets Jacob on his way at Mahanaim. The encounter, which took place after the Aramean border had been crossed, corresponds to the vision of angels which Jacob had when he set out (xxviii. 10 ff.); it reminds him of the divine protection which has followed him hitherto, and assures him of its continuance in the face of further dangers.

Ver. 1. Laban says farewell, and returns home. וישכם, as in xx. 8, xxi. 14, xxii. 3, xxviii. 18. *Kissed his sons*, comp. xxxi. 28.

Ver. 2. ויפגעו, as xxviii. 11. *Angels of God*, as xxi. 17, xxviii. 12.

Ver. 3. ויקרא ו'—as xxviii. 19.

מַחֲנֵיִם—the Septuagint (Vulgate) *παρεμβολαί* understood a plural.<sup>1</sup> It is in itself quite possible that the final syllable is due to a disintegration of an older form מַחֲנָם, *camping place*, which has assumed a dual aspect. This is probably the case in other instances of the many pre-Israelite place names which once ended in םָ or ךָ,<sup>2</sup> and it may be evidence here that we are only told of מַחֲנֵי אֱלֹהִים.<sup>3</sup> But it follows from vv. 8-11 that in this particular word מַחֲנֵי the pronunciation as a dual is very old; and in this verse itself (ver. 3) a suggestion of the *double camp* may be found in the camp of the angels and in that of Jacob.<sup>4</sup>

The city was sacred from early times,<sup>5</sup> one of the most important towns in Gilead, belonging to Gad but on the border of Manasseh,<sup>6</sup> the capital of Ishbaal,<sup>7</sup> and David's residence during Absalom's rebellion.<sup>8</sup> It was also the principal town in one of the districts into which Solomon divided the country for fiscal purposes,<sup>9</sup> but is unmentioned in the history of later kings and after the exile. There is therefore no tradition regarding its site. It cannot be

<sup>1</sup> As Gesenius, *Thesaurus*, 496.

<sup>2</sup> See xxxvii. 17, xxxviii. 21; Philippi in *ZDMG*. xxxii. 63 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Wellhausen in *JBDTh*. xxi. 433.

<sup>4</sup> See also note on xxxii. 22.

<sup>5</sup> Levitical, Josh. xxi. 36.

<sup>6</sup> Josh. xiii. 26, 30.

<sup>7</sup> 2 Sam. ii. 8, xii. 29.

<sup>8</sup> 2 Sam. xvii. 24, 27.

<sup>9</sup> 1 Kings iv. 14.

Buckhardt's <sup>1</sup> Meysera, <sup>2</sup> ruins two hours south of the Yabbôk, but must have lain north of the Yabbôk (ver. 23), not too far from the Jordan (ver. 11), and separated from the 'Araba by בְּתֵרָן (2 Sam. ii. 29; cf. 2 Sam. xviii. 23 ff.). The ruins of مَحْدَّة <sup>3</sup> are too far north and east to suit here; it would at least, then, have been preferable for Jacob to descend to the Jordan by the Wadi Yâbis rather than over the Yabbôk.

C. JACOB FROM HIS RETURN TO CANAAN TILL THE  
DEATH OF ISAAC, CH. XXXII. 4-XXXVII. 1.

1. JACOB MEETS ESAU AND WRESTLES WITH GOD, CH.  
XXXII. 4-XXXIII. 17 FROM C AND B.

A new danger threatens Jacob in the settlement with Esau which has yet to be made. He sends word of his arrival to Esau in Se'ir, but learns from his messengers that his brother is already on the way with 400 men. In mortal fear of his vengeance, he takes precautions by dividing his servants and flocks into two camps, and implores God's help (xxxii. 4-13). He prepares rich presents for his brother, and sends them on in front (vv. 14-22). That night he crosses the Yabbôk. During what remains of it, he wrestles alone at Peniel with a divine being who encounters him, and finally names him Israel, and blesses him (vv. 23-33). Jacob and those with him now humbly advance to pay their respects to Esau, who is approaching. They meet, however, with a fraternal reception, and Esau accepts the presents prepared for him only after repeated entreaty. Jacob prudently refuses the escort Esau offers, the latter returns to Se'ir, and Jacob settles in Sukkoth (xxxiii. 1-17). This incident is the crucial point in the history of Jacob's spiritual education. His last danger is his greatest, and its

<sup>1</sup> [Syria, p. 347], Germ. tr. p. 597.

<sup>2</sup> Knobel.

<sup>3</sup> Maḥneh (Robinson [on Eng. map], Germ. tr. iii. 920); Mühny (Seetzen, i. 385); or Miḥne (ZDPV. xiii. 206).



issue, fortunate to a degree beyond hope, is a result of his prayer (xxxii. 10 ff.) and of his struggle with God (ver. 25 ff.). But he must first pass through this experience of earnest striving for God's grace, he must feel to its full extent the anxiety which the sin against his brother brought on him, and must seek his refuge in God alone before its consequences can be turned away. Only now, as one who has wrestled with God, as Israel, is he Jacob as God wished him to be.

*B* and *C* gave an essentially similar account of the estrangement from Esau and the flight from his vengeance, and they seem to have agreed also in their accounts of how the brothers met again and were reconciled. It is from them that *R* has compiled the narrative just outlined; *A* contributes nothing, for he had no story of any estrangement, and makes the separation of the brothers occur only at a later date (xxxvi. 6). The whole of the first paragraph, xxxii. 4–13, with the inclusion of ver. 14*a*, is to be assigned to *C*. Almost every word of the prayer in vv. 10–13<sup>1</sup> is evidence for his authorship; in ver. 8 f. the origin of the name Mahanaim receives a different explanation from that given by *B* (ver. 3); and, lastly, vv. 4–7 are preparatory to vv. 8–13, and betray *C*'s hand in the נִפְחָה of ver. 6. Vv. 14*b*–22, regarding the propitiatory presents, are, on the other hand, to be attributed to *B*. It is true they form a suitable continuation of vv. 4–14*a*, but ver. 22*b* takes us back to the point already reached in ver. 14*a*,<sup>2</sup> and the writer knows nothing (ver. 22*b*) of a division of Jacob's camp into two. *R* has not preserved *B*'s parallel to vv. 4–7, the message to Esau and word regarding him, which must necessarily have preceded this point; he may have blended it, however, into *C*'s account.<sup>3</sup> On the other hand, *C* also must have contained something regarding a present sent to Esau, as is clear from xxxiii. 8–10, and perhaps ver. 21 may be from him.<sup>4</sup> But the presence of בְּרִכָּה in xxxiii. 11 (from *B*), instead of מִנְחָה, is no proof that

<sup>1</sup> See notes below.

<sup>2</sup> Wellhausen.

<sup>3</sup> See ver. 4.

<sup>4</sup> See below.

all vv. 14b–22 is from *C*.<sup>1</sup> In the verses which follow next, vv. 23 and 24, there is an evident duplication; <sup>2</sup> ver. 23 is from *C*, ver. 24 from *B*. In the next place, ver. 25 ff., the story of the wrestling contest, can only be a continuation of ver. 24, not of ver. 23. *B*'s authorship is further indicated by אֱלֹהִים in ver. 31;<sup>3</sup> and from Hos. xii. 4 f. we learn that the legend of Jacob's wrestling was indigenous to North Israel, where *B* wrote and not *C*. Against *C*'s authorship<sup>4</sup> there is the underlying reference to פְּנִיָּאֵל in xxxiii. 10,<sup>5</sup> and xxxii. 31<sup>6</sup> is linguistic evidence for *B*, seeing it cannot, without arbitrariness, be regarded<sup>7</sup> as merely an insertion from him. Ver. 29 is not proved to be *C*'s, because in xxxv. 21 he puts the name Israel for Jacob; if so, the substitution should have begun in xxxiii. 1 ff., which it does not. On the other hand, *B* in xxxiii. 20 doubtless presupposes the narrative here. The objection, that *B* has elsewhere no such material theophanies, more strictly angelophanies,<sup>8</sup> is refuted by xxxii. 2 (cf. Ex. iii. 2), and the crossing of the river by night (ver. 23 f.)<sup>9</sup> is rather against *C* than for him.<sup>10</sup> We cannot decide whether *C* had also a similar story, and whether he accounted for the name of Israel in *B*'s manner or *A*'s;<sup>11</sup> the part played by the narrative in *B*'s history is taken by the prayer of ver. 10 f. in *C*. Ch. xxxi. 1 ff. now continues xxxii. 23 (wives and children), and the thread of the narrative is taken up by *C*. The language<sup>12</sup> is proof of this, and there is no express mention of the arrival of the presents which *B* spoke of as being sent in front. There are, indeed,

<sup>1</sup> Bacon in *Hebraica*, vii. 278 ff.

<sup>2</sup> See notes below.

<sup>3</sup> Ilgen, Schrader, Böhmer; see, on the other hand, xxviii. 13, 16, where *C* continues to write יְהוָה in spite of his mention of the name Bethel.

<sup>4</sup> Maintained by Wellhausen, Kuenen, Kittel, Kautzsch-Socin, Bacon.

<sup>5</sup> [From *C*, and irreconcilable with that here]; see below.

<sup>6</sup> See note below.

<sup>7</sup> As by Bacon.

<sup>8</sup> Wellhausen.

<sup>9</sup> Wellhausen.

<sup>10</sup> See below.

<sup>11</sup> But see note on xxxv. 10.

<sup>12</sup> לְמַצָּה הֵן בְּעֵינִי חֶצֶה (ver. 1), רֵוִן לְקִרְאָתָא (ver. 4), שְׂפָחוֹת (ver. 8, cf. xxxii. 6), אִם נָא מַצָּאתִי הֵן בְּעֵינֶיךָ (ver. 10).

unmistakable phrases from *B* (vv. 5, 11*a*, אֱלֹהִים), but this only makes it clear that *B* and *C* had very similar accounts of the meeting of the brothers. Ch. xxxiii. 4 may be also a fragment from *B*. Ch. xxxii. 33 may be supposed to be from *R*.

Ch. xxxii. 4-7. Jacob, on reaching the neighbourhood of the Jordan, sends messengers to Esau in Se'ir to announce his return. He learns from them that Esau is already advancing to meet him with 400 men.

שָׂרָה—*for the use of שָׂרָה*, comp. xiv. 7 and xxxvi. 35. The expression gives the impression of being a variant to אֶרֶץ שְׂעִיר, and is perhaps from *B*. Esau's change of home to Edom must have been recorded in a passage from *C* or *B* not preserved; when Jacob left, Isaac had not long to live (ch. xxvii.). *A*'s account was different (xxxvi. 6).

Ver. 5 f. תַּמְרֵי—xviii. 28 ff.

אֶתֶר—impf. Kal syncopated from אֶתֶרֶת, as in Prov. viii. 17.<sup>1</sup>

צָאן—better וְצָאן, as Sept. Samar. Vulg. Pesh. and some Hebrew MSS. The collective use of שָׂרָה, etc., is here peculiar.

Ver. 7. Esau had already set out to meet Jacob. We are not told his intention, but the fact that he brought 400 men allows us to infer that he intended under certain circumstances to assert his rights or show his power. It was just this uncertainty in regard to his intentions which was bound to awaken in Jacob pangs of conscience for his past misdeed (ch. xxvii.).

וְנִים הָלָה—without הָלָה.<sup>2</sup>

Vv. 8-14*a*. Jacob's precautions.

Ver. 8 f. In his anxiety he takes the precaution, not uncommon, of dividing his people and flocks into two camps, so as not to lose all at a blow in the event of a hostile attack. It is certain that in *C* the name Mahanaim was explained by this incident. *R* must have omitted a definite statement on the subject because of ver. 3. The שָׂם of

<sup>1</sup> Gesenius,<sup>25</sup> 68. 1,

<sup>2</sup> Gesenius,<sup>25</sup> 116, 5A, 3,

ver. 14a shows that *C* really mentioned a locality, namely, Maḥanaim. In the enumeration of the animals, the asses, included in vv. 6 and 16, are left out; the camels, omitted in ver. 6, are named as in ver. 16; both are together in xxx. 43, where בָּקָר is unmentioned.

וַיֵּצֵר—from צֵר.<sup>1</sup>

אִתָּה—the feminine is surprising, for the masculine is immediately resumed; the Samaritan has הָאִתָּה.

Vv. 10-13. But Jacob feels that without God's help this precaution will avail him little. He therefore betakes himself to God in prayer, and, with humbleness and thankfulness as well as faith, puts his trust in God's promises and in the help He has so often vouchsafed him in the past.

Ver. 10. Comp. xxviii. 13 and xxxi. 3. *My father* Abraham, as in xxviii. 13, is to be specially observed.

Ver. 11. קָטַנְתִּי כֵן—*I am too small, too insignificant, for,*<sup>2</sup> i.e. unworthy of, all the manifestations of grace and faithfulness (to the promises).<sup>3</sup>

*This Jordan*—he was now once more in the basin of the Jordan and on the way to the river; we may gather that Maḥanaim was no great distance from it.

Ver. 12. *And slay me, mother and children together*—as in Hos. x. 14, a proverbial expression denoting merciless cruelty. עַל pictures the mother leaning over her children for their protection.<sup>4</sup>

Ver. 13. The promise of a numerous posterity (xxviii. 14 in *C*) would come to nought if God did not protect him. See xxii. 17 and xvi. 10 for the language.

Ver. 14a is still part of the paragraph from *C*, and its original continuation is found in ver. 23 ff.

Vv. 14b-22. The preparations for meeting Esau, according to *B*. In *B*'s narrative also the arrival of news regarding Esau's approach is implied.

<sup>1</sup> Gesenius,<sup>25</sup> 67A. 3.

<sup>2</sup> Chs. xviii. 14, iv. 13.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. xxiv. 27, 49.

<sup>4</sup> Tuch, Knobel; cf. also Deut. xxii. 6.



Ver. 14b ff. Jacob prepares a present for Esau *from what had come in his hand*,<sup>1</sup> in his possession; from the property he had brought with him.<sup>2</sup> According to *B*, it is a מְנָחָה, a sort of tributary present,<sup>3</sup> and in xxxiii. 11 a בְּרִכָּה. *C* has a somewhat different representation (see ver. 21). The present is a very considerable one, in all 580 animals, containing a representation of all the five species of pastoral wealth, and with the males and females chosen in the right proportion determined by the superior value of the latter as regards breeding and milk.<sup>4</sup>

וְעֵצִים, xxx. 35. בְּנִיָּהִם, mase. suffix, as xxxi. 9. Gesenius,<sup>25</sup> 28. 2.

Ver. 17 ff. He entrusts the selected animals to servants, *herd, herd*, alone, *i.e.* in herds separated from one another,<sup>5</sup> and tells them to leave free space between each herd on the road. By this he intends to make the procession long and imposing, and the effect surprising as one herd after another arrives. The delivery of presents by means of the greatest possible number of persons and beasts of burden is spoken of as a custom.<sup>6</sup> Each servant is charged to explain when he meets Esau that his flock is a present from Jacob, who is behind him.

מִצֵּאֲכֶם for מִצֵּאֲכֶם.<sup>7</sup> תִּדְבֹּרָן, see תִּאֲמָרָן, ver. 5.

Ver. 21. After vv. 18-20 ver. *a* is superfluous, ver. *b* defines the present as a *propitiatory* one. The verse seems, when we consider also אֵלַי<sup>8</sup> and יֵשָׁא פָנַי,<sup>9</sup> to be an insertion by *R* from *C*. After יַעֲקֹב, the Samaritan and Septuagint have בָּא.

*I will cover his face*—bring it about that he will not see the injury done him (xx. 16).

<sup>1</sup> Ch. xxxv. 4.

<sup>2</sup> Rightly so translated by the versions.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. 2 Kings iii. 4; 2 Chron. xvii. 11, for tribute from nomads.

<sup>4</sup> Job i. 3; 2 Chron. xvii. 11; cf. Varro, *De re rust.* ii. 3; Tuch.

<sup>5</sup> Gesenius,<sup>25</sup> 123A. 2.

<sup>6</sup> Della Valle [*Viaggi*, 1650-53], Germ. tr. ii. 120, 165; Sonnini [*Voyage*, ii. 378], Germ. tr. ii. 108; Harmer, *Observations*,<sup>2</sup> 1776, ii. 17 ff. Knobel.

<sup>7</sup> Gesenius,<sup>25</sup> 74A. 2.

<sup>8</sup> See note xvi. 2.

<sup>9</sup> Ch. xix. 21.

Ver. 22. The animals for Esau pass on in front, *while he himself remained the same night in the camp, i.e.* with his people and flocks. The narrative thus comes back to what was said in ver. 14a.

במנחה—Wellhausen<sup>1</sup> regards this as a proper name, *Maḥane*, and refers to ver. 3, where he holds מהנח denotes one camp only. But Maḥane is nowhere else found in the Old Testament for Maḥanaim; and the appellative signification is quite in place. If *B* had intended a proper name he would have required to write מהנח, as in ver. 3. If *C* were the author,<sup>2</sup> would he not require to say in which of his two camps Jacob was?

Ver. 23 f. The crossing of the Yabbôk, as related by *B* and *C*. According to ver. 23, Jacob takes his wives and children and crosses the Yabbôk with them (himself); nothing is said of his property or the two camps. According to ver. 24, he takes his wives and children and sends them and all his possessions over the river; it is not said that he himself crosses.<sup>3</sup> Here, if anywhere, there are two accounts; ver. 23 is pointed out as *C*'s by שפחות, so ver. 24 belongs to *B*. The first words, ויקם בל' ה', perhaps belong to both, but certainly to ver. 24 ff. (cf. vv. 27, 32).

"Journeys by night are usual in the East<sup>4</sup>," so that ver. 23 presents no difficulty; but the crossing of a river with large flocks (ver. 24) is different and unusual, and only required by the necessity of leaving Jacob alone during the night for his encounter with the מלאך. It is not fear of Esau<sup>5</sup> that occasions the passage by night; fear would have induced Jacob not to cross at all.

בלילה הוא—chs. xix. 33, xxx. 16.

את כל אשר לו—Sam. Sept. Pesh. Vulg.

יבק—Samaritan, היבק. According to Deut. iii. 16 and

<sup>1</sup> *JBDTh.* xxi. 433.

<sup>2</sup> Bacon.

<sup>3</sup> On the contrary, he stays behind, ver. 25 (cf. 32).

<sup>4</sup> Von Troilo, *Reisebeschreibung*, 458; Burckhardt, *Syria*, 245 (Germ. tr. 390). Knobel.

<sup>5</sup> Ver. 8. Wellhausen.

Josh. xii. 2, once the boundary between 'Ammon and the Amorite kingdom, at least in its upper course;<sup>1</sup> according to the *Onomasticon*,<sup>2</sup> *inter Amman i. e. Philadelphiam et Geresam in quarto milliaris ejus*; the modern Wadi Zerḳâ, which divides the districts of 'Ajlûn and Belḳâ, and falls into the Jordan in the latitude of Shechem.<sup>3</sup> It flows in a deep ravine between steep hills with a somewhat rapid course. The ford was probably (ver. 11) somewhere just after it leaves the hills.

Vv. 25–33. A continuation of ver. 24, from *B*. Jacob wrestles with the מלאך, and receives the name Israel.

Ver. 25. Jacob *remained*, or *was alone behind*, on the right or north bank, of course, since this is a continuation of ver. 24. The march in any case was from north to south.<sup>4</sup> Esau comes from Se'ir *to meet* Jacob (ver. 7), and not מאחריו. It was the natural duty of the head of the party and owner of the flocks in such a case to be last on the ground and see that nothing was left behind. In the night, when thus alone by the Yabbôk, one in appearance<sup>5</sup> *a man* wrestled with him *till the coming up of the dawn*, and so a long time; it was only afterwards that he recognised in him the presence of a celestial being.

וַיִּלָּחֶם—only here and in ver. 26; in its signification *wrestle*<sup>6</sup> related to רִבַּק, or only a dialectical variant.<sup>7</sup> The choice of the rare word is determined by the wish to play on the name יַבֵּק, as if it meant *river of wrestling*. In the legend the contest was associated sometimes with the river, sometimes with Peniel (ver. 31). Both associations were known to our author, but he preferred the former, and only hints at the latter.

Ver. 26. The unknown sees that he is not a match for Jacob,<sup>8</sup> cannot get the better of him, so strong is he,<sup>9</sup> and so

<sup>1</sup> But see comment. on Num. xxi. 24 and Deut. ii. 37.

<sup>2</sup> *Sub* Jaboc.

<sup>3</sup> See Bible Dictionaries.

<sup>4</sup> Against Knobel.

<sup>5</sup> Chs. xviii. 2, xix. 5.

<sup>6</sup> Sept. Pesh. Vulg.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Talmudic רִבַּק, Levy, *Neuheb. Wörterb.* i. 14b.

<sup>8</sup> Judg. xvi. 5; 1 Sam. xvii. 9.

<sup>9</sup> Ch. xxix. 10.

manful his wrestling. To get free of him, for the time when he must vanish is come (ver. 27), *he touches him*, i.e. strikes him (a blow) on the *hollow of his hip*, the socket of his thigh bone, so that in the struggle it was dislocated, put out of joint (impf. קָלַף of יָקַע).

Ver. 27. "At the same time he asks Jacob to let him go, for the dawn is rising. Supernatural beings do not expose themselves to the eyes of mortal men. In Plautus,<sup>1</sup> Jupiter says, *Cur me tenes? tempus est: exire ex urbe priusquam luciscat volo*. But Jacob recognises that he has encountered a being more than man; he uses the opportunity for his advantage, and refuses the release unless he receive a blessing."<sup>2</sup>

Vv. 28–30. He receives the blessing he asks. His name is changed to Israel. The query as to his name is no more than an introduction to that.

*For you have contended with God and with man, and have been able*, i.e. have conquered in your contests.<sup>3</sup> The successful struggle with God has just taken place. He has had many contests with men before now, in especial with Laban<sup>4</sup> and Esau; that with the latter is not yet finished. In reference to it the יִתְכַּל obtains the significance of a promise; having contended successfully with God he has as good as won *the* combat with men, which now concerns him (cf. xxxiii. 1 ff.). The change of name to Israel is thus not merely an honourable recognition, but itself a valuable gift, a blessing.

יִשְׂרָאֵל—the rare expression יִשְׂרָה<sup>5</sup> is chosen, as in Hos. xii. 4, because of יִשְׂרָאֵל, which is therefore interpreted *theagonist*, i.e. wrestler with God. The meaning is transmuted by many into *God's combatant*,<sup>6</sup> one who fights on God's side and with His help; others<sup>7</sup> render God's ruler. The

<sup>1</sup> *Amphitr.* i. 3. 35.

<sup>2</sup> Knobel.

<sup>3</sup> Ch. xxx. 8.

<sup>4</sup> Ch. xxxi. 26 ff.

<sup>5</sup> See Lexicons.

<sup>6</sup> E.g. Redslob, *Alttestament. Namen*, 1846; Tuch, Gesenius, *Thesaurus*; Ewald, *Geschichte*,<sup>3</sup> i. 493 [Eng. tr. i. 344]; Reuss, *Geschichte des Alt. Test.*<sup>1</sup> 52.

<sup>7</sup> Ilgen, Gramberg.



most likely conjecture is *El is ruler*,<sup>1</sup> or, *El is combatant*; comp. *יִשְׁמַעֵאל*, etc.

Ver. 30. Jacob is now desirous of knowing his opponent's name, but he is not told.<sup>2</sup> He must be satisfied with having gained the blessing, and the issue will not leave him in doubt. It was with *God* that he wrestled, according to vv. 29 and 31. The author might here have spoken of God's angel, for God presents Himself in the person of His angel, and God and His angel are always thus interchanged.<sup>3</sup> But he has not done so. He felt a significance in the fact that Jacob had striven with God.

The story is certainly, amongst other things, a glorification of the physical strength of this ancestor of Israel, and of his bold spirit, which quailed before nothing. But, still more, it celebrates his elevation of mind and the power of his faith, which set the highest ends before it, and would not let go God Himself till He blessed him. Men wrestle with God only that they may obtain from Him grace and blessings. This, when all is considered, is the end set before all men, and before Israel in chief. It is the real spirit of Israel which is here glorified and set before the people as in a mirror.<sup>4</sup>

But, from the context in which it is placed, the story acquires, besides, a special significance. Jacob has been guilty of wrong; it is only because of this that he must so fear his brother, and find in God an adversary who comes against him. He has long to struggle with God. But after he has won His grace, the threatened danger from his brother has also vanished. Everything assumes a smiling aspect (xxxiii. 4 ff.). It was to this result that the words *ועם-אנשים* referred (see above). The struggle here is the last of the

<sup>1</sup> Knobel.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Judg. xiii. 17.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. xvi. 10 ff., xxi. 17 f., xxii. 15 f., xxxi. 11 ff., xlviii. 15 f., and how Hos. xii. 4 f., which in other respects varies somewhat from the account here, replaces *אלהים* by *מלאך*, having thus both.

<sup>4</sup> Hos. xii. 4 f.

events by which Jacob's character was purified; now, at length, Jacob has become Israel.

It is indisputable that the wrestling with God, as understood by the legend, was a physical occurrence in the material world. The statement about Jacob's limping (ver. 32) is more than sufficient to establish this. It is only entire misapprehension which can "explain the occurrence as something purely subjective, such as a vivid dream,<sup>1</sup> or a fervent wrestling with God in prayer."<sup>2</sup> The standard supplied in John iv. 24<sup>3</sup> is not that by which we have to test those old legends. But it is no less certain that the writer, like Hosea, discerned spiritual truths in what is, to begin with, a popular legend.<sup>4</sup> It is against the text to interpret the אֵלֵי of the guardian deity of the land of Canaan, who sought to oppose Jacob's entrance. Studer,<sup>5</sup> who does this, believes also that the whole legend is a transformation of a Canaanite temple myth regarding the contest of the Sun with the demon of Winter, told at Peniel.<sup>6</sup>

Ver. 31. וַיִּקְרָא וַ—*as in ver. 3, xxviii. 19, xli. 51 f.; otherwise in xxxiii. 17.*

פְּנֵי־אֵל—*face of God*, in ver. 32 and elsewhere פְּנֵי־אֵל; the name given by Jacob to the place of his combat, "because he saw God *face to face*"<sup>7</sup> without forfeit of his life.<sup>8</sup> Somewhat strange as the name of a locality. But the Phœnician promontory Θεοῦ πρόσωπον<sup>9</sup> must have been the same or similar in Phœnician."<sup>10</sup> There is no tradition whatsoever

<sup>1</sup> Jean Gerson, J. D. Michaelis, Hengler, Eichhorn, Gabler *Urgeschichte*, ii. 2, p. 53 f.; Ziegler in Henke, *Neues Mag.* ii. 35.

<sup>2</sup> Herder, *Geist der Heb. Poesie*, i. 265 f.; Hengstenberg, *Geschichte Bileam's*, 51. Knobel.

<sup>3</sup> ["God is a spirit," etc.]

<sup>4</sup> See, further, Umbreit in *St. Kr.* 1848, p. 113 ff., and Ewald, *Geschichte*,<sup>3</sup> i. 512 ff. [Eng. tr. p. 357 ff.]; for the parallels from antiquity, Ewald [p. 358, note 2], and Winer,<sup>3</sup> i. 523.

<sup>5</sup> In *JPTH.* 1875, p. 536 ff.

<sup>6</sup> See also Popper, *Ursprung*, p. 369 ff.; see above, p. 3.

<sup>7</sup> Ex. xxxiii. 11; Deut. xxxiv. 10.

<sup>8</sup> See note on xvi. 13.

<sup>10</sup> Knobel.

<sup>9</sup> Strabo, xvi. 2. 15 f.

regarding the situation of Peniel; what we may learn from the text has been stated under ver. 25. It is again mentioned in Judg. viii. 8 ff. and 1 Kings xii. 25, but not elsewhere. Its name and the narrative here show that it was regarded as a holy place.

Ver. 32. The sun rose after Jacob had passed Peniel on his way to overtake the others. But the combat had left a lasting mark upon him. He *limped on his thigh*, "as if the crookedness, which had previously adhered to the moral nature of 'the wily' Jacob, had now passed over into an external physical attribute only."<sup>1</sup>

Ver. 33. No doubt from *R.*<sup>2</sup> The Israelite custom of not eating the sinew of the thigh of slain animals is ascribed to this incident. Having been touched by God it was sacrosanct. The custom is not mentioned elsewhere in the Old Testament; it is prescribed by the Mishna.<sup>3</sup> Regarding נֶדֶר הַפֶּסֶחַ, the sinew of the thigh muscle, see Gesenius.<sup>4</sup> It is the *nervus ischidiacus*, the most prominent of the thigh muscles. Its injury involves limping.<sup>5</sup>

Ch. xxxiii. 1–16. The meeting of Esau and Jacob turns out amicably. Mainly *C*'s account.

Vv. 1–4. Having reached the other side of the Yabbôk with his wives and children (xxxii. 23), Jacob sees his brother approaching with his company of 400 (xxxii. 7). He resolves to meet him, and separates (xxxii. 8) his wives and children into three groups,<sup>6</sup> for the same reason as in xxxii. 9, giving each mother her own children. He places those whom he cared less for in front, his better loved ones behind. He himself precedes them and makes a sevenfold prostration as he approaches his brother, *i.e.* approaches in the most submissive manner, such as only fear and prudence could have induced.

<sup>1</sup> Ewald, *Geschichte*,<sup>3</sup> i. 513 [tr. vol. i. p. 358].

<sup>2</sup> See x. 9, xix. 37 f., xxvi. 33.

<sup>3</sup> Chullin 7.

<sup>4</sup> *Thesaurus*, 921.

<sup>5</sup> Knobel.

<sup>6</sup> There is nothing about a division of the camp into three parts (as by Wellhausen, *JBDTh* xxi. 435).

Ver. 4. But Esau hastens whole-heartedly to meet him,<sup>1</sup> embraces him, falls on his neck and kisses him. Both weep from joy at meeting again.

ויחבקו—being before ויפל וג' may be attributed to *B* (ch. xlviii. 10).

ויפל על-צוואריו—as in xlv. 14, xlvi. 29, in *C*. In these passages the weeping immediately follows the falling on the neck, so that the supra-pointed<sup>2</sup> וישקוֹ may well be un-authentic; it is wanting in certain MSS. of the Septuagint.<sup>3</sup> The Jews had, indeed, another view of the word. “From Bereshith Rabba and Kimchi<sup>4</sup> we see that even at an early date וישקוֹ, and he bit him, was thought of; the Jerusalem Targum explains Jacob’s weeping from pain in his neck” (?), “Esau’s from pain occasioned in his teeth.”<sup>5</sup>

Vv. 5-7. Jacob’s wives and children now approach, and also salute Esau by prostrating themselves. At least ver. 5*b* is from *B* in view of אלהים.

הֵן—as in ver. 11. Here with double accusative, *to favour one with something*.<sup>6</sup>

הֵנָּה—not *hither*,<sup>7</sup> any more than in xxi. 29, but the personal pronoun.<sup>8</sup>

Vv. 8-11. Esau accepts the present of cattle only at his brother’s urgent request. It had previously met him, but whether exactly in five herds, as in *B* (xxxii. 14 ff.), is questionable.

מִחֲנֶה—*camp* or *host*; in *C* the animals were therefore all together. The Sept., because of xxxii. 14 ff., corrects into αὐταὶ αἰ παρεμβολαί.

*Who to you is all this host?* what do you intend by it? A question as to Jacob’s object. *Who for what* gives prominence to the persons present.<sup>9</sup> “Jacob, with unattractive humility, does not venture to call his very considerable gift

<sup>1</sup> See xviii. 2.

<sup>2</sup> Chs. xvi. 5, xviii. 9, xix. 33, xxxvii. 12.

<sup>3</sup> In Lagarde’s *Genesis*, AEcmtz.

<sup>5</sup> Knobel.

<sup>7</sup> Delitzsch.

<sup>8</sup> See xiii. 1, xiv. 15, etc.

<sup>4</sup> [Dill. here Kimchi.]

<sup>6</sup> Gesenius,<sup>25</sup> 117. 5*b*.

<sup>9</sup> Ewald, § 325*a*.



a present; he replies only *that I might find grace*,<sup>1</sup> be treated with kindness by you.”<sup>2</sup>

Ver. 10. Further, Jacob asks his brother to accept the present, seeing that he has now had the fortune to see his face, to be received by him and not repulsed, and that he has been kindly welcomed<sup>3</sup> (cf. Job xxxiii. 26). He desires his brother to continue the kindness he has shown by accepting the gift.

*As one sees the face of God*, strictly, face of a heavenly being,<sup>4</sup> i.e. so propitious; for celestial beings only show themselves to those to whom they are well disposed. Esau met him with a kindness which was divine. Such an explanation is not absurd,<sup>5</sup> and more in place than the rendering, for this reason I have appeared before you as one appears before God (and not before kings?), *sc.* with a gift. Wellhausen<sup>6</sup> has acutely, and no doubt rightly, remarked here the presence of an allusion to the name Peniel different from that of xxxii. 31. But, along with the whole of ver. 10, it is from *C*, not from *B*; for 'אם נא ונ' and כִּי-עַל-כֵּן<sup>7</sup> are phrases of *C*'s as well as ראה פני<sup>8</sup> and יהיה could not be here written for אלהים, because an angelic being is intended. The thought lying at the root of both variations of the legend is that at Peniel the unfriendly God was found to be a friendly one. It does not follow that in the original Peniel form of the legend Esau himself, as the wild huntsman, was this God.<sup>10</sup>

'כראות פני ונ'—infinitive without subject.<sup>11</sup>

Ver. 11a. A doublet from *B*.

ברכה—*blessing*; “here the present, which accompanied a salutation which consisted in invocations of blessing.”<sup>12</sup> In the Middle Ages the presents of ecclesiastics were called *benedictiones*.<sup>13</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Ch. xxxii. 6.

<sup>2</sup> Knobel.

<sup>3</sup> Sept. and Vulg. incorrectly וַתִּרְצֵנִי.

<sup>4</sup> 1 Sam. xxix. 9.

<sup>5</sup> Bacon, *Genesis*, 280.

<sup>6</sup> *JBDTh.* xxi. 435.

<sup>7</sup> See note on xviii. 3.

<sup>8</sup> See xviii. 5, xix. 8.

<sup>9</sup> Ch. xxxii. 21.

<sup>10</sup> See above, p. 196.

<sup>11</sup> Ewald, § 304a.

<sup>12</sup> 1 Sam. xxv. 27, xxx. 26.

<sup>13</sup> Knobel.

הַכָּאֵת,<sup>1</sup> vocalised הַכָּאֵת by the Septuagint. חֲנָנִי, see ver. 5. וְכִי, and because (Josh. vii. 15; Judg. vi. 30; 1 Sam. xix. 4; Isa. lxxv. 16). *I have everything, I am rich enough.* פָּצַר, in xix. 3, 9, in C.

Ver. 12 f. Esau offers, for Jacob's protection, to travel the rest of the way *on before him*, so that Jacob might have him in view (not ἐπ' εὐθεΐαν, Sept.). But although Esau was pledged to peace by his acceptance of the present (cf. xxi. 30), Jacob, still addressing him as lord, refuses the escort. He was doubtless influenced, not merely by mistrust,<sup>2</sup> but by the wish to be under no obligations to his brother, and to preserve his independence.<sup>3</sup> He gives the excuse that his children are still of tender age, and that his sheep and cattle are suckling, *i.e.* include many suckling mothers,<sup>4</sup> who would die if they were driven hastily even a single day.

דַּפְקוֹם—for the masculine suffix, see xxvi. 15; and for the 3rd pers. plur., Ewald, *Syntax*, § 357b. But the Samar. Sept. Pesh. have וּדְפַקְתִּים.

Ver. 14. He wishes to continue his march *according to*<sup>5</sup> his *ease*, *i.e.* slowly, as it suits him, *and according to the foot* of his flocks and children, according as they are able to march. He concludes by speaking of his intention to visit him in Se'ir. The author does not say whether this was a mere pretence, or whether he really wished to visit Esau in acknowledgment of his friendly reception of him.<sup>6</sup>

מִלְאָכָה—in ch. ii. 2 f. *work*, here *goods* or *property*, in especial property in cattle, like מִקְנֶה.<sup>7</sup>

Ver. 15 f. Esau offers him some of his followers as an escort. This also Jacob refuses, and Esau returns to Se'ir.

הָצִי—xxx. 38, xliii. 9, xlvii. 2.

Ver. 17. Jacob, on his part, continues his journey as far as Sukkoth. He builds a house there,<sup>8</sup> and makes *booths* for

<sup>1</sup> Gesenius,<sup>25</sup> 74A. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Delitzsch.

<sup>3</sup>  $\zeta$  of the norm, as Isa. xi. 3, xxxii. 1.

<sup>4</sup> Knobel. <sup>7</sup> Cf. Ex. xxii. 7, 10; 1 Sam. xv. 9.

<sup>2</sup> Tuch, Knobel.

<sup>4</sup> Isa. xl. 11.

<sup>8</sup> See xxvii. 15.

his cattle; hence the name of the place. This residence in Sukkoth is, however, only an intermediate pause on the homeward journey, whose proximate goal was Bethel.<sup>1</sup> A stay of some time had to be assumed, because in ch. xxxiv. the young children are grown up. The verse is probably still *C's*. Besides the use of בית, the expression על-כן is evidence for him or for *R*.<sup>2</sup>

סבֹּת—lay on the east side of the Jordan,<sup>3</sup> in an open valley,<sup>4</sup> west of Penuel.<sup>5</sup> There is, indeed, a modern Sâkût west of the Jordan, south of Bethsheân.<sup>6</sup> It is an open question if this western Sukkoth was intended in 1 Kings vii. 46 (comp. iv. 12); if so, there were two places of the name.<sup>7</sup> But the second cannot be thought of in the present connection, because quite out of the line of Jacob's march. The eastern Sukkoth is alone suitable.<sup>8</sup> But it cannot be localised *trans Jordanem in parte Scythopoleos*,<sup>9</sup> or at Abu Obeida, where the valley broadens,<sup>10</sup> which would be north of the Yabbôk, nor yet so far south as between the Wadi Nimrin and the Wadi Mojib.<sup>11</sup> It must be placed<sup>12</sup> south of the Yabbôk, near the ford of Dâmie, on the road from es-Salt to Nâblûs.<sup>13</sup> For recent discussions regarding the situation of Penuel and of Sukkoth, see *ZDPV*. i. 44, iii. 80.

<sup>1</sup> Ch. xxxi. 30, xxviii. 21 f., xxxv. 1 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Unlike xxxii. 3 and 21; cf. xi. 9, xvi. 4, xix. 22, xxviii. 30, i. 11.

<sup>3</sup> Josh. xiii. 27; Judg. viii. 5.

<sup>4</sup> Ps. lx. 8 [6].

<sup>5</sup> For Gideon when pursuing the Midianites eastwards *marched up* from Sukkoth to Penuel (Judg. viii. 8).

<sup>6</sup> Burckhardt [*Syria*, p. 345], Germ. tr. p. 595; Lynch [*Expedition*, 1849, p. 221], Germ. tr. p. 133; Robinson [*Later Researches*, p. 309 ff.] Germ. tr. p. 406 ff.; Van de Velde, *Reise*, ii. 301 ff.

<sup>7</sup> Ritter, *Erdkunde*, xv. 446 f.; Knobel; Ewald, *Geschichte*,<sup>3</sup> ii. 546 [Eng. tr. ii. 158 f.].

<sup>8</sup> Book of Jubilees, ch. 29.

<sup>9</sup> Jerome, *Questiones*.

<sup>10</sup> Knobel.

<sup>11</sup> Arnold in Herzog, *Realencyclopædie*,<sup>1</sup> xiv. 764; Delitzsch <sup>4</sup>.

<sup>12</sup> Köhler, *Geschichte*, i. 147; Keil.

<sup>13</sup> Lynch [*Expedition*, 1849, p. 248], Germ. tr. p. 150.

2. JACOB AT SHECHEM, AND THE DISHONOURING OF DINAH,  
CH. XXXIII. 18–XXXIV. 31; FROM *R*, FOLLOWING *B*,  
*A*, AND *C*.

Jacob reaches Shechem, pitches his tent beside the town, and buys a piece of ground there. While there his daughter Dinah is dishonoured by Shechem (Sh<sup>h</sup>khem), son of Hamor, prince of the country. Jacob's sons are enraged, but accept the proposal that Dinah should marry Shechem, and that the two families should become allied to one another, on condition that the Shechemites should submit to circumcision. The Shechemites allow themselves to be circumcised. While they are in the state of fever caused by the wounds, Simeon and Levi fall on the town and slay them. The town is plundered to avenge the injured honour of the family. Jacob disapproves of what his sons have done. This is the first of the troubles brought on the patriarch by his sons, and in so far rather belongs to the Toledoth of Jacob, which begin in ch. xxxvii. But in one or other of *R*'s sources it must already have belonged to the period of the return to Canaan.

The hostile encounter with the Shechemites was a frequently-recurring subject in the tribal legends of Israel. The deed wrought by Simeon and Levi, though somewhat differently described, is mentioned in the old verses of ch. xlix. 5–7, ascribed to Jacob. In Jacob's blessing (ch. xlviii. 22, from *B*) we are told that Jacob with his sword and bow took Shechem from the Amorites. Here, in the narrative of ch. xxxiv., there are, further, unmistakably two accounts of the incident. Even the introduction (ch. xxxiii. 18–20), which commences the account of the journey continued in ch. xxxv., is from two (? three) sources. Ver. 18 contains a fragment from *A*,<sup>1</sup> in ver. 19 f. we recognise *B*'s hand, and in vv. 18*b* and 20 there may be traces of *C*. In ch. xxxiv.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See note below.

<sup>2</sup> Assigned by Ilgen to *B*; by Ewald and Delitzsch<sup>4</sup> to *A*; by Knobel to *A* and *C*; by Hupfeld, Schrader, Böhmcr, Kayser, to *C*; by Kuenen to



vv. 27-29 are a loosely-attached addition to the rest.<sup>1</sup> What remains falls into two divisions. In the one Ḥamor conducts the negotiations with Jacob regarding Dinah for his son (vv. 4, 6, 8-10); he receives a reply (15 (14)-17), and in due course lays it before the assembled citizens of the town for their approval (vv. 20-24). In the other, Shechem himself asks Dinah from her father and brothers, and after their reply (ver. 11 f.) immediately submits to the conditions they require (ver. 19). In the first account Dinah is still with her family (ver. 17), in the second she is already in the town in Shechem's hands. Ver. 2*b*, therefore, which speaks of her being carried away and ravished, must belong to the latter; and it carries with it all the verses (5, 7, 13, 31) in which the anger and malice of Dinah's brothers are spoken of, for it provides their explanation. There are linguistic differences corresponding to these differences in the story. In the first account נָשִׂיא (ver. 2) (חֶשֶׁק in ver. 8 compared with רֶבֶק in ver. 3), נָאָחָו (ver. 10), הַפּוֹל לָכֶם כְּלִזְכֹּר (vv. 15, 22), כְּלִזְכֹּר (ver. 24), קִנְיָן and בַּהֲמָה (ver. 23), כָּל־יִצְחָק שָׁעַר עֵירוֹ (ver. 24), etc., are indubitable signs of *A*'s authorship. The diffuseness of style (*e.g.* ver. 1), the value attached to circumcision, and the resemblance of the proceedings in the popular assembly to what is found in ch. xxiii. are also evidence for *A*. In the other account we find רֶבֶק (ver. 3), נָעַר (vv. 3, 12, and 19; contrast יָלָרָה in ver. 4), הָרָה לוֹ הַחֶעֱצָב, and כֵּן לֹא יֵעָשֶׂה (in ver. 7), מִצָּא הֵן בְּעֵינֵיכֶם (ver. 11), לָפִי חֶרֶב (ver. 26), עָבַר (ver. 30), which all belong to *C*'s special vocabulary.

We may therefore without any hesitation attribute vv. 1*a*, 2*a*, 4, 6, 8-10, 15 (14)-17, 20-24, to *A*. Ḥamor wishes Dinah to be Shechem's wife, *i.e.* he desires the amalgamation of part of the house of Jacob with Shechem,<sup>2</sup> and the citizens even agree to be circumcised in order to

*C* and a very late redactor; by Wellhausen (*Composition*, 312 f.), and, following him, Cornill (*ZATW.* xi. 1 ff.), to *C*, *B*, and a late redactor.

<sup>1</sup> See below.

<sup>2</sup> See Ewald, *Geschichte*,<sup>3</sup> i. 541 f. [Eng. tr. i. 378 f.].

keep the house of Jacob amongst them.<sup>1</sup> It is uncertain what *A*'s account of the upshot of the matter was, for vv. 25 f. and 30 f. are in the main from *C*. But it seems as if he also related<sup>2</sup> that Simeon and Levi spoiled the whole plan. In *C*, to whom vv. 2b, 3, 5, 7, 11–13 (14), 19, 25\*, 26, 30 f. belong in the main, Shechem carried off Dinah and dishonoured her; but as his love for her grew he asked her in marriage from Jacob and his sons, and offered to accept what conditions they pleased. Dinah's brothers were fuming at the outrage to their sister, and treacherously made Shechem's circumcision their condition (ver. 19). He circumcised himself, and Simeon and Levi then murdered him (and the other Shechemites) while in a state of fever from the wound; they carried off Dinah, but were severely blamed by their father, who feared the consequences of their deed. In putting the two accounts together *R* had, of course, to make certain changes, *e.g.* in vv. 13 f. and 18, where Hamor and Shechem, Jacob and Jacob's sons are put in one, or in ver. 25, where the circumcision of the townspeople is presupposed, as it was in *A*. He has also interpolated vv. 27–29,<sup>3</sup> and the emphatic addition there of אִשֶּׁר טָמְאוּ אַחֲוָתָם (ver. 27) leads us to conclude that 13b and טָמָא in ver. 5, perhaps also 14b, are due to him; stronger expressions of this kind betray his later point of view.

Wellhausen<sup>4</sup> and Kuenen<sup>5</sup> raise objections to this analysis. *A*'s authorship, it is said, is not to be thought of, for elsewhere his story proceeds in a peaceful and orderly fashion,<sup>6</sup> and he could not make circumcision the instrument of treachery.<sup>7</sup> But there is no treachery in *A*'s account, and it is, on the other hand, in agreement with his characteristics that the legal question of procedure on the occasion of a daughter's marriage should be treated of. The assumption

<sup>1</sup> Cf. in *B* and *C*, chs. xxi., xxvi., the trouble Abimelech takes to secure the friendship of Abraham and Isaac.

<sup>2</sup> For ver. 25b may be from *A*.

<sup>4</sup> *JBDTh.* xxi. 435 ff.

<sup>6</sup> Kuenen, *op. cit.* p. 277.

<sup>3</sup> See above.

<sup>5</sup> *ThT.* xiv. 256–281.

<sup>7</sup> Hupfeld, *Quellen*, p. 186.

that all that is not from *C* has been interpolated by a late diaskeuast of *A*'s school, is refuted by the fact<sup>1</sup> that we have before us, not simply a redacted narrative, but, plainly, two narratives welded together. It is further asserted that the conception of circumcision as the condition of membership in the community could<sup>2</sup> only exist after the exile,<sup>3</sup> and that *C* could not<sup>4</sup> have had any such implication in his narrative. His account must then have been somewhat to the effect that a man named Shechem carried off Dinah and seduced her, then asked her family to condone the act and legitimise the union, and paid the bride-price<sup>5</sup> which they asked of him; when all was amicably settled, Simeon and Levi slew him in his own house, and brought back their sister to Jacob's great displeasure. But does not ver. 25 (*C*) presuppose the fever caused by circumcision? If *C*'s original narrative had nothing of this, how did it occur to the late diaskeuast to drag in circumcision and alter the whole story? In ver. 30, also, it is not the vengeance of the Shechemites which Jacob fears, but that of the people of the country, so that *C* cannot merely have related Shechem's death and that of some of his relatives. Kuenen,<sup>6</sup> accordingly, finally leaves it undecided whether *C* had anything regarding Shechem's circumcision as a condition of the marriage, and attributes vv. 1\*, 2\*, 4-6, 8-10, 13\*, 14\*, 15-17, 20-24, 25\*, 27-29, to the late redactor. Following this, Wellhausen<sup>7</sup> and Cornill now acknowledge that ch. xxxiv. contains two narratives, but from *C* and *B*,<sup>8</sup> the redaction of which is on the lines of *A*, and that in *B* circumcision was made a condition of the marriage with a treacherous intention. In *C*, *B*'s predecessor, the circumcision of Shechem only, not of all the Shechemites,

<sup>1</sup> See above.

<sup>2</sup> See above, p. 77 f.

<sup>3</sup> Kuenen, p. 276; Wellhausen, p. 437; *Geschichte*, i. 365.

<sup>4</sup> In view of Ex. iv. 25 f.; cf. Josh. v. 2 ff.

<sup>5</sup> Replacing the agreement to circumcision.

<sup>6</sup> *Onderzoek*,<sup>2</sup> i. 316.

<sup>7</sup> *Composition*, p. 318 f.

<sup>8</sup> According to Cornill, vv. 1, 2\*, 3\*, 4, 6, 8-10, 13\*, 14, 16 f., 18a, 20-24, 25\*, 27a, 28, 29a, without the phrases from *A*, are from *B*.

was demanded, and that in its more primitive form,<sup>1</sup> the circumcision of a bridegroom before his wedding;<sup>2</sup> or the demand was something quite different, such as for a formal transfer of some property beside Shechem.<sup>3</sup> But *B*'s authorship of one of the two narratives in vv. 1–26 cannot be granted. The mere possibility of attributing some of the expressions to *B* cannot prevail against the fact that the verses in question are saturated with *A*'s characteristic expressions without there being any perceptible cause to account for their later admixture. In *B* circumcision would be a wholly anomalous phenomenon; in *A* it has a meaning (ch. xvii.). It cannot be proved from xxxv. 5<sup>4</sup> and xxxiv. 27–29 that *B* had a story of this character in the present context, and it is rendered improbable by xxxvii. 12 as well as by xxxi. 41 (see note on xxxiv. 1).

Ch. xxxiii. 18. Jacob's arrival in Shechem. Ver. *a*, at least, is certainly from *A*, in view of אשר בארץ כנען<sup>5</sup> and בבוא מפני ארם,<sup>6</sup> and is not a continuation of ver. 17; ver. *b* may be from *C*. If the verse were from *B*<sup>7</sup> it would not be possible to understand why anyone should have inserted the wholly superfluous words בבוא מפני ארם.

*City of Shechem*—cf. ver. 19 and xxxiv. 2.

שֵׁלִם—Samaritan שלום, as in xliii. 27, not a name for Shechem or of a place near Shechem,<sup>8</sup> which in that case would occur only here in the Old Testament, although east of Nâblûs there is a modern village called Sâlim.<sup>9</sup> It has the meaning *unharméd, safe and sound*, and is equivalent to the שָׁלוֹם of xxviii. 21, to which it is possibly a backward reference added by *R*. Geiger<sup>10</sup> gives various strange con-

<sup>1</sup> Ex. iv. 25 f.

<sup>2</sup> Wellhausen.

<sup>3</sup> Cornill.

<sup>4</sup> See note, *ad loc.*

<sup>5</sup> See xi. 31.

<sup>6</sup> See xxv. 20.

<sup>7</sup> Wellhausen.

<sup>8</sup> Sept., Book of Jubilees, Pesh., Vulg., Luther, Mercerus; cf. *Onomasticon*, sub Salem and Σαλήμ.

<sup>9</sup> Robinson [*Palestine*,<sup>3</sup> ii. 275, 279, 291 f.], Germ. tr. iii. 314, 322, 336.

<sup>10</sup> *Urschrift*, p. 75.



jectures regarding the word; Wellhausen's<sup>1</sup> correction to נָשָׂא does not commend itself.

וַיֵּהָא—as xxvi. 17. Jacob encamps *before*<sup>2</sup> the city, where previously Abraham had also halted (xii. 6). In the plain east of Shechem Jacob's well was shown in later times.

Ver. 19. He buys the piece of ground where he pitched his tent.<sup>3</sup> Later on Shechem was still a place where he had flocks stationed.<sup>4</sup> The Benê Hamôr were the clan settled in and around Shechem,<sup>5</sup> and in this way Hamôr was father of Shechem and prince of the district (xxxiv. 2); similarly, Shechem himself in his turn is regarded (xxxiv. 2 ff.) as lord of Shechem.<sup>6</sup> There is no mistake in the statement that Jacob bought the field from the בני המור; the Sept. omits בני in order to harmonise with xxxiv. 1 ff.

קֶשֶׁטָה—elsewhere only in Josh. xxiv. 32 and Job xlii. 11, where it is a repetition from here, literally perhaps something *weighed out*, or *according to rule*, νόμισμα (קֶשֶׁט, קֶשֶׁטָה), in any case a piece of money. We cannot be certain if it was the same as שֶׁקֶל, or perhaps larger. It has no connection with Koptic **κρίτε**, **κίτε**, *i.e.* the Alexandrian drachme, double drachme.<sup>7</sup> An old tradition<sup>8</sup> gave it as being *lamb*, it may be without knowing why.<sup>9</sup>

The purchase of property in land beside Shechem corresponds to what *A* has in ch. xxiii., and has the same meaning; it was there that Joseph's bones were to be interred (Josh. xxiv. 32). Everything points to this being a tradition of Northern Israel, so that the verse is to be assigned to *B*. There is no real contradiction with xlviii. 22, *B* presupposes in xxxv. 4 a residence of Jacob's in Shechem, *A* and *C*<sup>10</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Composition*, p. 316.

<sup>2</sup> Ch. xix. 13; Lev. iv. 6.

<sup>3</sup> The statement is repeated in Josh. xxiv. 32.

<sup>4</sup> Ch. xxxvii. 12 f.

<sup>5</sup> Judg. ix. 28.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. notes on xiv. 13 and xxiii. 20.

<sup>7</sup> E. Meier, *Heb. Wörterbuch*, 394.

<sup>8</sup> Sept. Vulg. Onkelos.

<sup>9</sup> See also Madden, *Jewish Coinage*, 1864, p. 6.

<sup>10</sup> Ch. xxxvii. 28.

reckon by shekels. The words *אבי ישכם* alone may be an addition of *R*'s occasioned by ch. xxxiv., but they are found in Josh. xxiv. 32 also.

Ver. 20. *ויצב*—never elsewhere with *מזבה* as object, but found certainly with *מִצְבֵּה*.<sup>1</sup> Either,<sup>2</sup> therefore, *מזבה* is a correction for *מִצְבֵּה*, and *לו* for *לָהּ* or *למקום*, or *R* has run together *ויצב מזבה* from *B* with *מזבה ויבן* from *C*; it is hardly likely that *R* contracted<sup>3</sup> an original *מזבה ויבן מזבה* into *ויצב מזבה*.

Jacob names<sup>4</sup> the altar (or standing-stone) *El, the God of Israel*. *אלהי ישראל* is not predicate to *אל*,<sup>5</sup> but in apposition;<sup>6</sup> in any case *Israel* in *B* is thus early a reference to xxxii. 29. The altar bears the name of the god to whom it is dedicated;<sup>7</sup> the name is a contraction for *altar of El*, etc. The Septuagint wrongly reads *לו אל* for *אל*.

Ch. xxxiv. 1. Dinah<sup>8</sup> goes out one day, from the camp,<sup>9</sup> to look at<sup>10</sup> the daughters of the country, *i.e.* to look about among them and make their acquaintance. She is here supposed to be of marriageable age. In *B*<sup>11</sup> there would be difficulty in such a supposition, for Jacob in his account cannot have delayed his journey to Bethel too long;<sup>12</sup> but not in *C* (*R*), who records a long intermediate residence in Sukkoth (xxxiii. 17). According to the Book of Jubilees (ch. xxix. f.), Jacob makes a stay in Sukkoth, then, after crossing the Jordan, for seven years pastures his flocks between the Dead Sea and Bethsheân till he reaches Salem (Shechem); Dinah, when seduced, was twelve years old.

*Daughter of Leah, whom she had borne to Jacob*—compare xvi. 15 f. and xxv. 12 in *A* as parallels to this expanded style; see also, however, xxi. 9 and xli. 50, in *B*.

*Daughters of the country*—see note on xxvii. 46.

<sup>1</sup> Ch. xxxv. 14, 20.

<sup>2</sup> Kautzsch-Socin.

<sup>3</sup> Knobel.

<sup>4</sup> Ch. xxxv. 7; Ex. xvii. 15.

<sup>5</sup> Ch. xxxiii. 18.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. xxxi. 41 with xxx. 21.

<sup>7</sup> Wellhausen.

<sup>8</sup> See xxxv. 7.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. notes on xvii. 1 and xiv. 18.

<sup>10</sup> Ch. xxx. 21.

<sup>11</sup> Judg. xvi. 27; Cant. vi. 11.

<sup>12</sup> Ch. xxxv. 1 ff.

Ver. 2*a*. Certainly from *A*, because of נָשִׂיא.<sup>1</sup> In *A* (and *C*?), Shechem is son of Ḥamôr, prince of the district,<sup>2</sup> and the Benê Ḥamôr are Hivvites,<sup>3</sup> otherwise than in *B* (xlvi. 22). It is a mere assertion that *A*, or one of his school, wrote הִתְחַי.

הָאָרֶץ—in xxii. 2, xxxv. 22, etc., also used of districts of small extent.

Ver. 2*b*, from *C*. He *took* her, *i.e.* carried her off, and seduced her.<sup>4</sup> Compare ver. 26, where Dinah is in Shechem; ver. 17 is different. "Such conduct was not unusual in those times, we learn from xii. 15, xx. 2, xxvi. 10."<sup>5</sup>

וַיִּשְׁכַּב אִתָּהּ — וַיִּשְׁכַּב is construed with עִם and אֵת; the question remains whether אֵת is the preposition *with* or the sign of the accusative. The Massoretes understand the latter, and always point it as such before suffixes.<sup>6</sup> We cannot decide whether they were right; the Kêrê of Deut. xxi. 30 proves nothing regarding the older language. If the tradition is justified, וַיִּשְׁכַּב אֵת, in which the verb is transitive, is plainly the coarser expression, and quite in place here and in 2 Sam. xiii. 14, where it is a case of violation. It is useless to maintain that *C* could not write this,<sup>7</sup> for, of course, in xxx. 15 f., xxxix. 7, 12, 14, only עִם was appropriate,<sup>8</sup> and *C* also, in xxvi. 10, has וַיִּשְׁכַּב with אֵת and a following noun (comp. ver. 7 and xxxv. 22).

Ver. 3. Love for Dinah follows his violation of her. *A* doubtless had something corresponding to ver. *a*, such as יִתְחַשֵּׁק נַפְשׁוֹ וְ (ver. 8).

וַיִּתְחַשֵּׁק—ii. 24 (xix. 19), in *C*. וַיִּיָּאָהֵב, xxiv. 67, xxix. 30, 32. נָעַר, as vv. 12, 24, 14, 16, 28, 55, 57, in *C*.

<sup>1</sup> Chs. xvii. 20, xxiii. 6, xxv. 16.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. xxxiii. 19.

<sup>3</sup> Ch. x. 17.

<sup>4</sup> Deut. xxii. 24; Judg. xix. 24, and frequently.

<sup>5</sup> Knobel.

<sup>6</sup> Lev. xv. 18, 24; Num. v. 13, 19; 2 Sam. xiii. 14.

<sup>7</sup> Cornill.

<sup>8</sup> Ch. xix. 32 ff., where the woman is subject, is not a parallel.

*He spoke to the heart of*—sought to hearten, to quiet, by his love and the prospect of the future, the feeling aroused by what had occurred.<sup>1</sup>

Ver. 4. In any case not from the source whose account precedes, in view of the use of יָלַדָה for נָעַר, and because in *C* Shechem himself seeks Dinah in marriage (ver. 11). Shechem asks his father to get him Dinah to be his wife; it was the business of the parents to do such a thing (xxi. 21). There is no hint of the occurrences of ver. 2; the wooing is proceeded with as if there had been no previous motion, and as if the girl were still in her parents' house.

Ver. 5. Belonging to the narrative of vv. 2b and 3. Jacob had learned, indeed, of the occurrence, but had *kept silence*, i.e. had made no movement,<sup>2</sup> demanded no account, because his sons were absent with the flocks, and he wished to await their return. This explains why what happened led to no immediate action on the part of Jacob and his sons. The brothers' judgment was of consequence (xxiv. 50).

טָפַיָה—*dishonour, defile* (Ezek. xviii. 6 ff., xxxiii. 26), as vv. 13, 27; comp. ver. 31.

הַחֲרִישׁ—xxiv. 21; Ex. xiv. 14.

Ver. 6. *A's* continuation of ver. 4.

Ver. 7. *C's* continuation of ver. 5; all the expressions used are foreign to *A's* vocabulary. By the time Ḥamôr came out from the city the sons had heard the news, and returned home full of anger.

וַיַּחֲעֲצְבוּ—as in ch. vi. 6, from *C*. The Sept. translates as if the text were וַיִּשְׁמְעוּ הַחֲעֲצָבוּ.

וַיַּחֲר—see ch. iv. 5.

*For he has done in Israel an act of folly*—committed what is regarded in Israel as an infamous deed. The expression is the stereotyped one for such an offence between the sexes.<sup>3</sup> “Rather naïvely the author applies the ex-

<sup>1</sup> Knobel. Cf. l. 21; Hos. ii. 16, and frequently.

<sup>2</sup> 2 Sam. xix. 11 [10].

<sup>3</sup> Deut. xxii. 21; Judg. xx. 6, 10; 2 Sam. xiii. 12 ff.



pression of a later time to that of the patriarchs, when there was as yet no Israelitish people.”<sup>1</sup>

*And thus it is not done*—it is contrary to recognised usage and practice (current morality).<sup>2</sup>

Vv. 8—10. Hamor’s proposal, according to *A*, with the exception that *B* has changed *אֶתִּי* (ver. 6) into *אֹתָם*. Besides proposing that there should be intermarriage between them, he offers a permanent settlement in the land, which, as prince, he could do.<sup>3</sup>

*הַיִּשְׁקָה*—Deut. xxi. 11; a different expression in ver. 3.

*Your daughter*—plural suffix, see ch. xxiv. 59 f.; 2nd pers., because the father is addressed, but plural, because the brothers are also in mind.

*הַחֲתָנִים אֵתָנוּ*—*ally us in marriage*, *אֵת* being, according to the Massoretic punctuation, the sign of the accusative;<sup>4</sup> but the writer may have intended the preposition *with*. 1 Kings iii. 1 allows either construction. The verb is found again in the Hexateuch only in Deut. vii. 3 and Josh. xxiii. 12.

*לפניכם*—*before you*, ver. 21 and xlvii. 6, in *A*; elsewhere in xiii. 9, xx. 15.

*סְחָרוּהָ*—in xlii. 34, in *B*, but *סָחַר* in xxiii. 16, in *A*. *Pass through it*, quite at your will, with your flocks (cf. ver. 21).

*וְהִיאָחוּ בָהּ*—*and settle yourselves in it*, take abiding possession in it; so *נָאָחוּ* again, in *A*, in xlvii. 27; Num. xxxii. 30; Josh. xxii. 9, 19.

Ver. 11 f., from *C*. In ver. 6 Hamor came alone. When, accordingly, Shechem now appears conducting his own suit, there is want of agreement with vv. 4 and 6, and proof that we have here the account of another source. Shechem declares himself ready to carry out anything they may impose. The language is that of *C*.

*מֵעַתָּה הֵן*—in vi. 8, xviii. 3, and frequently; especially xxxii. 6, xxxiii. 8, 15.

<sup>1</sup> Knobel.

<sup>2</sup> See xx. 15.

<sup>3</sup> Chs. xx. 9, xxix. 6.

<sup>4</sup> Ewald, § 124b.

מֶהָר—*the price of the bride paid to her parents.*<sup>1</sup> מֶתֶן is the present to the bride. The words are distinguished in xxiv. 53 also.

נָעַר—see ver. 3.

Ver. 13. Introduction to the reply given to Shechem and Hamor *together*; from *C* and *R*. The sons of Jacob, who were directly addressed by the wooer in ver. 11, esteem the honour and purity of their tribe more than material gain, and are determined not to accede to the proposal. The condition of circumcision, which they are about to make, is an intentional device on their part. Their whole thought was to revenge a disgrace which they have already incurred. The present text speaks of all the brothers being concerned; we cannot decide whether, in *C*, only Simeon and Levi were originally named; in ver. 14 the Septuagint expressly gives their names.

וידברו—the meaning, *act in a behind-hand manner*,<sup>2</sup> cannot be proved for דָּבַר.<sup>3</sup> so we are most justified in restoring וַיִּדְּבְרוּ בְּמִכְרָה.<sup>4</sup> It may be, however, that וידברו is an insertion by the hand to which וְאִשֶּׁר וְנִ' is due; this is more likely than that the word is a survival from another source.<sup>5</sup>

For במכרה, comp. xxvii. 35; and for אִשֶּׁר = *because*, ver. 27 and xxxi. 49 (from *R*).

Vv. 14-17. The reply itself; only in vv. 15-17 in the original form which it had in *A*, in ver. 14 mixed and redacted; the expressions וַיֹּאמְרוּ אֵלֵיהֶם (inconsistent with ver. 6) and אֶחָדֵנִי (in vv. 17 and 8 בְּתֵנִי) are on the lines of *C*'s narrative, and אִשֶּׁר לוֹ עֲרֵלָה stands apart from both narratives. Hamor had not only asked Dinah in marriage, but had proposed connubium between the clans, and that they should dwell together from now onwards; vv. 15-17 are the reply to this. They will agree to amalgamate as one

<sup>1</sup> Ex. xxii. 15 f.; 1 Sam. xviii. 25.

<sup>2</sup> Schultens, Gesenius, Knobel, Delitzsch<sup>4</sup>.

<sup>3</sup> Regarding 2 Chron. xxii. 10, see Bertheau.

<sup>4</sup> Schumann, Schrader, Olshausen.

<sup>5</sup> Cornill.

people and settle together only if the Shechemites circumcise themselves. Otherwise they will take Dinah, *and, i.e.* with her, leave the district. According to this Dinah is not in Shechem, as in vv. 2 and 26.

לֹא נוֹכַל לַעֲשׂוֹת—see xix. 22. They regard marriage with those who are uncircumcised not merely as objectionable,<sup>1</sup> but as a disgrace, which is a later view of the matter.<sup>2</sup>

בְּזָוָה—*pretii, in exchange for this, i.e.* on this condition, as ver. 22 and 1 Sam. xi. 2.

יִזְאוּ—*we will agree*, only here, ver. 22 f. and 2 Kings xii. 9; impf. Niph. of יָזַח (according to Hitzig intrans. impf. Kāl; see xxiii. 13).

לְהַפִּיל וְ—as xvii. 10.

בְּחֵנִי—see ver. 8.

Ver. 18. In no case from *A*, in view of 'וַיִּטְבוּ וְ'.<sup>3</sup> It introduces ver. 18. They are willing to agree to this condition.

Ver. 19. Belongs to the account of ver. 11 f., in which Shechem is himself the negotiator. He does not hesitate *to do the thing, i.e.* to accept the condition proposed. As he was the most esteemed of all his people, this was a great honour for the house of Jacob; it is uncertain if we should also supply the thought that he also easily induced the others to follow his example.

אָחֵר, for אֲחֵר, because of א. <sup>4</sup> חֶפְצֵן, Num. xiv. 8.

Vv. 20–24 continue vv. 15–17 (18\*), and are therefore from *A*. According to him, Hāmor (and Shechem) first of all lays the matter before the assembly of the people in the gate<sup>5</sup> at Shechem for their decision, and is successful in getting the doubtful condition accepted. He recalls the friendly disposition of the people of Jacob, *they are on good terms with us*, on a friendly footing; further, that the land is wide,<sup>6</sup> and has room enough for them left and right,<sup>7</sup> and

<sup>1</sup> Judg. xiv. 3.

<sup>2</sup> Knobel.

<sup>3</sup> See Lev. x. 19.

<sup>4</sup> König, *Lehrgebäude*, p. 397.

<sup>5</sup> Ch. xxiii. 4, 10.

<sup>6</sup> Judg. xviii. 10; Isa. xxii. 18, xxxiii. 21.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. ver. 10.

then impresses the advantage they will secure, inasmuch as that the people, being very rich, will increase the prosperity of Shechem by amalgamation with it.

שלמים—Geiger<sup>1</sup> gives a strange rendering.

יִשְׁבוּ—Sam. Sept. Pesh. and Vulg. have simply יִשְׁבוּ, which would then be taken with אֶתְנִי.

נָפְלִים—xvii. 26.

מְקַנְהֵם—also in xxxvi. 6 and Josh. xiv. 4, in *A* (comp. Gen. xxxi. 18). As distinguished from מְקַנְהֵם, מְקַנְהֵם are the *beasts of burden* (camels and asses), as in Num. xxxii. 26; קִנְיָן is other property.

Ver. 24. The Shechemites accept the proposal, and have themselves circumcised. It is assumed that they were hitherto uncircumcised, but that they found nothing strange in the custom.<sup>2</sup> Their circumcising of themselves all on one day (ver. 25) is as in xvii. 23 and Josh. v. 3 ff.

כָּל יְצֵאי יִשְׁעָר—comp. xxiii. 10, 18.

Ver. 25f. From *C* (comp. 26b with 2b) and *A* (at least 25b indicates his hand).<sup>3</sup> On the third day after the circumcision, when the pain and illness are greatest in the case of grown-up persons,<sup>4</sup> Simeon and Levi, doubtless with followers, fall on the Shechemites, kill all the male inhabitants of the town, and carry Dinah off with them from Shechem's house. In this way they prevent Dinah's being given to her lover (*A*'s account), or took on themselves to revenge her dishonour (according to *C*).<sup>5</sup> There must be a historical explanation of Reuben's not having participated in the deed of Simeon and Levi (cf. xlix. 6 f.).

לְבַטָּח—elsewhere לְבַטָּח, *untroubled, in fancied security*; to

<sup>1</sup> *Urschrift*, p. 76.

<sup>2</sup> See above, p. 77 f.

<sup>3</sup> Assigned to *R* in 5th edition.

<sup>4</sup> Arvieux [*Mémoires*, iii. 172], Germ. tr., *Merkwürdige Nachrichten*, iii. 146; Winer,<sup>3</sup> i. 160.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. 2 Sam. xiii. 28 f.; Niebuhr, *Arabien*, p. 39; Burekhardt [*Syria*, p. 224], Germ. tr. 361 f.; *Bedouins*, pp. 116, 278 f., Germ. tr. 89, 224 f. Knobel.



be taken with **העיר**, as in Ezek. xxx. 9,<sup>1</sup> being accusative of condition.<sup>2</sup>

**לפי חרב**—*according to the sword's mouth*, as much as it can devour, as it does in war; as in a war, and without mercy. Only here with **הרג**, frequent with other verbs, especially **הִקָּה**, but not in *A*.

**וּמִן הָעִיר**—from the city (ver. 25), not from the house.

Vv. 27–29. Attached without **וְ**,<sup>3</sup> is seen to be an addition to the original text. Ver. 30 f. continues 25 f. without any consciousness of 27–29; and if the text were from one hand we should have either **בְּלֹא בְנֵי** or **בְּנֵי יַעֲקֹב הַנִּשְׁאָרִים**. The addition is from *R* or from a redactor, inserted perhaps to harmonise with xlvi. 22, and<sup>4</sup> to give the rest of Israel also a share in the honour associated (by a later time) with the deed. The clause **אֲשֶׁר טָמְאוּ אֲחֹתָם** reveals the same hand as 13b and 5a. *A* is out of the question, if only because **רָכֹשׁ** and **קִנְיָן** are wanting. It cannot be proved that the verses are what suggested Num. xxxi.;<sup>5</sup> they might as readily be themselves a copy, or be due to the same late hand.<sup>6</sup>

The sons of Jacob come down on the slain, plunder the city, carry off the cattle, and take away captive the women and children.

Ver. 30 f. From *C*. Jacob blames Simeon and Levi for the mischief they have wrought in exposing him to the hate and revenge of the *inhabitants of the district*. “Jacob does not here blame the wrongfulness of the deed (as in xlix. 6 f.), but the thoughtlessness of his sons which brings calamity upon him.”<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Knobel.

<sup>2</sup> Gesenius,<sup>25</sup> 118. 5a.

<sup>3</sup> The **וּבְנֵי** of the Sept. Samar. and Pesh. for **וּבְנָו**, which we expect, is only an attempt to get out of the difficulty.

<sup>4</sup> Böhmer, Merx in *Bibellexicon*, ii. 5 f.

<sup>5</sup> Cornill.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. **חֵיל**, *possessions, property* (ver. 29 and Num. xxxi. 9, and nowhere else in Pent.; ? Deut. viii. 17 f.); **צֹאן וּבָקָר וְחֹמְרִים** (ver. 28 and Num. xxxi. 28 ff.; Gen. xii. 16). **אֵת טַפָּם וְאֵת נְשֵׁיהֶם שָׁבוּ** (ver. 29 and Num. xxxi. 9). Cornill.

<sup>7</sup> Knobel.

עכר—again in the Hexateuch in Josh. vi. 18 and vii. 25.

הבאִיט—*make to stink*, i.e. bring into bad odour with someone, make an object of aversion and hatred.<sup>1</sup>

*Kana'ani* and *Perizzi*—see xiii. 7.

*While I am people of a number*—I and my people are computable, few, a mere handful,<sup>2</sup> easily overpowered if the inhabitants of the country attack.

וּנְשֵׁמֶרְתִּי—Lev. xxvi. 30, but especially in Deuteronomy.

Ver. 31. But the honour of their tribe stands above every other consideration with the sons. *May he treat our sister as a prostitute?* have liberty to do with her<sup>3</sup> as one does with a street girl.<sup>4</sup>

### 3. JACOB'S JOURNEY TO ISAAC BY WAY OF BETHEL, AND THE END OF ISAAC'S LIFE, CH. XXXV.; FROM *B*, *A*, AND *C* (*R*).

All the remaining narratives which belong to the Toledoth of Isaac are here grouped together. (*a*) Jacob removes every sign of idolatry in his family, and having done so journeys from Shechem to Bethel, and there builds an altar to his God. Deborah, Rebecca's nurse, dies below Bethel (vv. 1–8). A *B* section, with ver. 5 inserted by *R*, and 6*a* in accordance with *A*. (*b*) El Shaddai appears to Jacob in Luz, changes his name to Israel, and promises him a numerous posterity and the possession of the land of Canaan. Jacob erects a memorial stone, consecrates it by a libation and oil, and names the place Bethel (vv. 9–15). From *A*, except עֵיזָר in ver. 9, and perhaps ver. 14. (*c*) Farther on the journey, Rachel dies in giving birth to Benjamin, and is buried by Jacob on the road from Bethel to Ephrath. Beyond Migdol 'Eder, Reuben commits an offence with his father's concubine (vv. 16–22*a*). A compilation by *R* from *C* (*A*) and *B*. (*d*)

<sup>1</sup> Ex. v. 21 (1 Sam. xiii. 4; 2 Sam. x. 6).

<sup>2</sup> Deut. iv. 27; Ps. cv. 12; Isa. x. 9.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Lev. xvi. 15.

<sup>4</sup> Ch. xxxviii. 15.

Jacob and his twelve sons finally reach Isaac in Hebron. The account of Isaac's death and burial follows (vv. 22b-29). From *A*.

(a) Vv. 1-8. Jacob moves on to Bethel; the death of Deborah.

Ver. 1. God's command that Jacob should set out for Bethel. The use of אֱלֹהִים shows that *C* is not the author; but neither is *A*,<sup>1</sup> for whom Bethel did not yet exist (vv. 6, 15). *B* is the author. But there is no connection, causal or otherwise, with the events of ch. xxxiv. This shows that in the present context (between xxxiii. 20 and xxxv. 1) *B* had no account of hostilities with Shechem,<sup>2</sup> but, on the contrary, placed his parallel history (xlvi. 22), if he had one, elsewhere (see also note on xxxvii. 13). Jacob is still on his return journey, according to *B*'s narrative, and the command is explained by the vow of xxviii. 20 ff. (comp. xxxi. 13).

Jacob is commanded to make a stay in Bethel, and erect an altar there. The temple which he had vowed (xxviii. 22) is here made an altar by divine order.

עֵלֶה—Bethel was situated on the hills.<sup>3</sup>

יָרַךְ הָאֵל הַנִּרְאָה אֵלָיו—compare xii. 7.

Vv. 2-4. Jacob makes in his family the necessary preparations. He requires them to put out of their midst the *foreign gods*.<sup>4</sup> Rachel had teraphim;<sup>5</sup> Jacob's servants had other gods;<sup>6</sup> and ver. 4 includes in what was put away objects of heathen superstition, like earrings, which served as amulets and charms.<sup>7</sup> Anything connected with heathenism is incompatible with the worship of the one God, whose worshipper he had vowed his willingness to be.<sup>8</sup> Further, as was customary and necessary before acts of divine worship,<sup>9</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Knobel.

<sup>2</sup> Against Wellhausen, *JBDTh.* xxi. 437.

<sup>3</sup> Ch. xii. 8, xiii. 15.

<sup>4</sup> Josh. xxiv. 20, 23, in *B*.

<sup>5</sup> Ch. xxxi. 19.

<sup>6</sup> Ch. xxxi. 53; Josh. xxiv. 2, 14, in *B*.

<sup>7</sup> Winer,<sup>3</sup> i. 56.

<sup>8</sup> Ch. xxviii. 21; cf. also xviii. 19.

<sup>9</sup> Ex. xix. 10 ff.; Josh. vii. 13, and frequently.

Jacob requires them *to purify themselves, e.g.* by ablutions, and by keeping free from all that renders unclean, and *to change their garments*, dress in their best<sup>1</sup> (elsewhere, wash their clothes<sup>2</sup>). He desires to erect an altar (ver. 1), and, of course, also sacrifice, to the God who listened to him *in the day, i.e.* the time, *of his distress (pressure)*,<sup>3</sup> *e.g.* when needing help against Laban,<sup>4</sup> and *was with him*<sup>5</sup> on the way, homewards also.<sup>6</sup> He buries<sup>7</sup> the heathen symbols under the terebinth beside Shechem.<sup>8</sup> He certainly does not thereby consecrate the spot—rather he debases it; but this does not provide a reason against *B*'s authorship;<sup>9</sup> as a matter of fact, it is in *B* that the place is, so to speak, consecrated anew for Israel (Josh. xxiv. 20–26, where the Massorettes punctuated אֵלֶּךָ, *oak*). The Septuagint adds, as a concluding sentence, *καὶ ἀπώλεσεν αὐτὰ ἕως τῆς σήμερον ἡμέρας*.

Ver. 5. After these preparations, and so without hurry or haste, they start on the way. The author accounts for their exemption from pursuit by the neighbouring towns by *a terror of God, i.e.* a state of fear brought on them by God, which made them faint-hearted.<sup>10</sup> אֱלֹהִים suffices to express the idea supernatural.<sup>11</sup>

The verse is an interpolation into *B*'s text,<sup>12</sup> for in vv. 4 and 6 f. Jacob is subject, but here a plural (the *sons of Jacob*), as in ver. 16. Ch. xxxiv. is presupposed by it, and it is an insertion by *R*,<sup>13</sup> hardly from *A*,<sup>14</sup> in spite of אֱלֹהִים, more possibly from *C*, who in any case also recounted Israel's journey from Shechem by Bethel to Isaac.

ויסעו—see xvi. 21, xxxiii. 17, xlv. 1.

התה—only here.

<sup>1</sup> Ch. xxvii. 15.

<sup>2</sup> Ex. xix. 10, 14; Num. viii. 7.

<sup>3</sup> Ch. xlii. 21.

<sup>4</sup> Ch. xxxi. 24, xxix. 42.

<sup>5</sup> See xxi. 20.

<sup>6</sup> Ch. xxxii. 1 ff.

<sup>7</sup> Ex. ii. 12.

<sup>8</sup> See xii. 6.

<sup>9</sup> Böhmer.

<sup>10</sup> Ex. xxiii. 27; 2 Chron. xiv. 13. Knobel.

<sup>11</sup> 2 Chron. xx. 29 alongside of xiv. 13, and Zech. xiv. 13.

<sup>12</sup> Against Wellhausen.

<sup>13</sup> So also Kuenen, *Onderzoek*,<sup>2</sup> 316.

<sup>14</sup> Knobel.



Ver. 6. Arrival in Luz (Bethel).

In *B*'s narrative the place spoken of had long held the name Bethel,<sup>1</sup> so that he could not write ver. *a* as it has been written, while *A* could certainly.<sup>2</sup> הוּא בֵּיתֵאל is a gloss from *R*, who reverts to *B* in what follows. *B* may be supposed to have had וַיבֹּא בֵּיתֵאל.<sup>3</sup>

עָמִי כָל־הָעָם אִשְׁרֵי עָמִי—see ver. 2, and in *C* xxxii. 8.

Ver. 7. He builds there an altar. Nothing is said regarding the worship itself, nor, in particular, regarding the giving of a tithe, promised in xxviii. 22. *R* may have condensed the original; the Book of Jubilees<sup>4</sup> contains expansions. He named the spot (הַמְקוֹם)<sup>5</sup> *God of Bethel* (cf. xxxiii. 20). This is the name of the altar, or of the *sacred spot*, which comprised, we may suppose, more than the altar. For וַיִּקְרָא וְ, see xxxii. 3, 31. The Sept. Vulg. and Pesh. find a difficulty in הַמְקוֹם, and therefore omit אֵל before בֵּיתֵאל, unlike xxviii. 19.

נַגְלֵי—plural, because the angels<sup>6</sup> are included in the meaning of אֱלֹהִים (see also xx. 13).

Ver. 8. Below Bethel the death of Deborah, Rebecca's nurse, takes place. Her name is mentioned only here; contrast xxiv. 59 in *C*. She was doubtless a character of some importance in the old heroic legends.<sup>7</sup> Her memory was kept alive by the *oak of weeping*, or mourning, below Bethel, where her grave was shown. *Deborah's palm*<sup>8</sup> (Judg. iv. 5), also, will be the same tree;<sup>9</sup> compare, too, *Tabor's terebinth* in 1 Sam. x. 3.<sup>10</sup> According to *C*, Rebecca's nurse had come with her to Canaan (xxiv. 59). Weak attempts have been made to reconcile *B* and *C* by supposing that the

<sup>1</sup> Ch. xxviii. 19, xxxv. 1, 3.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. ver. 15 and xlviii. 3, and the addition in xxxiii. 18, in *A*, in the land of Canaan.

<sup>3</sup> Kautzsch-Socin.

<sup>4</sup> Ch. xxxi. f.

<sup>5</sup> See xii. 6, xxviii. 11.

<sup>6</sup> Ch. xxviii. 12.

<sup>7</sup> Ewald, *Geschichte*,<sup>3</sup> i. 421 [*History*, i. 293 f.].

<sup>8</sup> See note xiv. 6.

<sup>9</sup> Bohlen, Tuch, Ewald, Delitzsch, Wellhausen.

<sup>10</sup> Ewald, *Geschichte*,<sup>3</sup> iii. 31 [*History*, iii. 21].

nurse had returned to Mesopotamia in the interval,<sup>1</sup> or had been the messenger sent by Rebecca, in accordance with her promise in xxvii. 45,<sup>2</sup> or had come from Hebron to Bethel to meet Jacob.<sup>3</sup> We must recognise that there is divergence in the tradition,<sup>4</sup> and this is an additional reason for not ascribing ver. 8 to *C*.<sup>5</sup>

(b) Vv. 9–15. A passage from *A* originally introduced by 6*a*, and referred to again in xlviii. 3 f. The subject is Jacob's installation as mediator of the promises, and it has the same significance in Jacob's history that ch. xvii. had in Abraham's.

Ver. 9. See ch. xvii. 1. עֹד, *once more*, does not refer to ver. 1*a*,<sup>6</sup> but to xxviii. 11 ff., and is an insertion by *R* (? following *C*). For אֱתָם, the Sept and Samar. read אֱתָם אֱלֹהִים.

Ver. 10. The want of any explanation of the name Israel is, we may suppose, not original,<sup>7</sup> but due to an excision by *R*, occasioned by xxxii. 29. At least the significance of the name was by no means clear, as it was in xvii. 15 and Num. xiii. 16. We are doubtless to explain the fact that *A* continues to name the patriarch Jacob<sup>8</sup> and not Israel, just as *B* does,<sup>9</sup> although he calls the sons בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל,<sup>10</sup> by the usage, never departed from, by which Israel was more a national than a personal name.<sup>11</sup> It is all the more remarkable that *C* and *R* from now onwards use Israel for Jacob.<sup>12</sup> We may conclude from this that *C*, as well as *A*, here for the first time spoke of the change of name (see, further, ver. 14).

<sup>1</sup> Nachmann, Abarbanel.

<sup>2</sup> Rashi, Kimchi, Delitzsch<sup>4</sup>; imagine a woman, and one more than a hundred years old, sent through the desert as a messenger.

<sup>3</sup> Mercerus, Keil.

<sup>4</sup> Knobel.

<sup>5</sup> As Hupfeld does.

<sup>6</sup> Tuch, Knobel.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. xvii. 5.

<sup>8</sup> E.g. ver. 15.

<sup>9</sup> But see xxxiii. 20.

<sup>10</sup> Ch. xlii. 5, xlv. 21, xlv. 5, 8, xlix. 28, l. 25; but see xxxv. 22, xlv. 26, in *A*, where בְּנֵי יַעֲקֹב is still used.

<sup>11</sup> Tuch.

<sup>12</sup> Ch. xxxv. 21 f., xxxvii. 3, 13, xliii. 6, 8, 11, xlv. 28, xlv. 1 f., 30, xlvii. 29, 31, xlviii. 2, 8, 10, 13, 21, l. 2.

If not, we require to assume<sup>1</sup> that *R* only now allowed יִשְׂרָאֵל to stand in the passages from *C*, and had up to this point removed it out of consideration for *A*'s account. Geiger's<sup>2</sup> explanation is untenable, and Kuenen<sup>3</sup> does not do full justice to the facts.

וַיִּקְרָא—not *therefore he is named*,<sup>4</sup> but *and he named*. This is the reason that ver. 11 begins afresh with 'וַיֹּאמֶר נָה'.

Ver. 11. The promise of multiplication and of royal descendants, as in xvii. 6, 16. For the phraseology, comp. also xxviii. 3 and xlvi. 4. For מְהֵרָא, comp. xli. 26 and Ex. i. 5; see note on xxiv. 2. אֵל שֶׁדִּי, see xvii. 1.

Ver. 12. The assurance of the future possession of the land; comp. xvii. 8 and xii. 7. Up to this point *A* has not expressly recorded a promise of the land to *Isaac*, nor does Isaac in xxviii. 4 (from *A*) claim any such promise; still it is implicit in the covenant promise given to Isaac in xvii. 19, 21.<sup>5</sup> See also p. 200 f.

Ver. 13, as xvii. 22. Kuenen<sup>6</sup> regards ver. *b* as a ditto-graphy from ver. 14.

Ver. 14 f. As a memorial of the theophany, Jacob erects a monumental stone, as in xxviii. 18 (*B*), and consecrates it, not only (as in xxviii. 18) by pouring oil over it, but also by a libation, of wine if the ordinary linguistic usage is followed.<sup>7</sup> There is no reason for taking וַיִּצַק עָלֶיהָ שֶׁמֶן as epexegetical to וַיִּסַּךְ, and understanding a libation of oil.<sup>8</sup> Sacrifices, altars, and standing stones are mentioned by *A* nowhere else in the patriarchal histories, and it is therefore questionable if this verse is from him.<sup>9</sup> It may be an insertion by *R*, but not in independence of his sources, for he himself no longer possessed

<sup>1</sup> Kittel, *Geschichte*, p. 142 [Eng. tr. vol. i. p. 156, note 3].

<sup>2</sup> *Urschrift*, p. 371 f.

<sup>3</sup> *Onderzoek*,<sup>2</sup> 310 f.

<sup>4</sup> Kautzsch-Socin.

<sup>5</sup> Knobel.

<sup>6</sup> *Onderzoek*,<sup>2</sup> 316; Kautzsch-Socin.

<sup>7</sup> Targ. Jon., wine and water.

<sup>8</sup> Winer, Knobel, Köhler, Wellhausen.

<sup>9</sup> Wellhausen, Kuenen, etc.

any interest in standing stones. It is not from *B*,<sup>1</sup> but from *C*,<sup>2</sup> who gave here not, indeed, the theophany which now stands in xxviii. 13 ff.,<sup>3</sup> but perhaps, we may suppose, an account of a new manifestation of God in Bethel, parallel to *A*'s, and doubtless also an account of Jacob's change of name (see ver. 10). It was then in consequence of this that Jacob erected and consecrated the מצבה already referred to by *B* in xxviii. 18. The expression מצבה אבן is also remarkable, as if the wish were to mark it as a mere stone monument. For ver. 15, see xxviii. 19.

(c) Vv. 16–22a. Continuation of the journey. First, Benjamin's birth and the death and burial of Rachel are recounted (vv. 16–20). In *A* also (xlviii. 7) the death and burial of Rachel in Ephrath are mentioned, but vv. 24 and 26 exclude his having related Benjamin's birth in Ephrath. For this and other reasons<sup>4</sup> vv. 16–19 are from *C*, but ver. 20, because of יעקב, from *B*, who, however, must have had the notice in another context.<sup>5</sup>

Ver. 16. 'ויסעו מב', as in ver. 5.

כברת הארץ—the length of the land, the stretch of road still to be covered before Ephrath was reached. The distance cannot be exactly determined, even from (xlviii. 7 and) 2 Kings v. 19, where the expression (without the article) again occurs. In any case it was not great;<sup>6</sup> the Septuagint makes it a ἰππόδρομος, the Peshitta a parasang.<sup>7</sup>

Ephrath—in ver. 19 (xlviii. 7), identified<sup>8</sup> with Bethlehem, two hours south of Jerusalem. But 1 Sam. x. 2 ff. puts Rachel's grave much farther north in the territory of

<sup>1</sup> Cornill in *ZATW.* xi. 15 ff., who imagines ver. 14 to have been originally a continuation of ver. 8, the מצבה to have been a gravestone, and the offering one to the dead.

<sup>2</sup> Kuenen, *Onderzoek*,<sup>2</sup> 222–316; Wellhausen, *Composition*, 319.

<sup>3</sup> Bacon in *Hebraica*, vii. 283.

<sup>4</sup> ייסעו, ver. 17, compared with xxxvii. 10; the scene laid in Ephrath.

<sup>5</sup> Because of xxxvii. 10.

<sup>6</sup> Knobel.

<sup>7</sup> See, further, Jerome, *Quæstiones*, and Gesenius, *Thesaurus*; also Schumann.

<sup>8</sup> Originally according to Keil, and Köhler, *Geschichte*, i. 150.



Benjamin, or on the border between Benjamin and Ephraim, on the way between Ramah of Samuel and Gibeah of Saul, not very far from Bethel; and Jer. xxxi. 15 agrees with this. That also suits the requirements of the case, for Rachel was the ancestress of Joseph and Benjamin. But there is as yet no trace of an Ephrath on the borders of Ephraim and Benjamin.<sup>1</sup> The name Ephrath here must therefore really have been intended for Bethlehem, and the interpretation of ver. 19 will be, in so far, original. In that case we have to assume<sup>2</sup> a Judean tradition other than the Ephraimite, according to which the grave was situated near the Judean Ephrath, and that it is this which the Judean writer *C* (and *A*) records. Their tradition has prevailed among Jews, Christians, and Moslems.<sup>3</sup> The harmonistic device of extending כְּבֶרֶת אֶרֶץ to be a distance of several miles, so as to allow Ephrath to be the place beside Bethel, makes shipwreck on the meaninglessness of a statement of distance from Bethlehem.

*She was hard set in giving birth*—she had a hard or difficult delivery.

Ver. 17. The midwife, a woman skilled in such matters, “encourages her with the prospect of a son: *for this one too is a son for you*, in this as in your first birth you will have a boy, a child of the preferred sex.”<sup>4</sup> Ch. xxx. 24 was the expression of her hope. מִלֵּדָה in Ex. i. 15ff. in *B*, and Gen. xxxviii. 28 in *C*.

Ver. 18. But she dies, and when dying names her child *my son of misfortune*, inasmuch as he brings her death to her. In place of this *nomen infaustum* the father chooses the name *son of the right*, or *child of fortune*, seeing the right side was the lucky one to the ancients.<sup>5</sup>

Ver. 19 f. Rebecca dies, and is buried on the road which

<sup>1</sup> Thenius, Knobel, Graf, Hitzig, etc.

<sup>2</sup> Nöldeke, Delitzsch<sup>5</sup>.

<sup>3</sup> See Matt. ii. 18; Winer,<sup>3</sup> i. 334; Riehm, *Handwörterbuch*, 1263.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. iv. 1, xxix. 32; 1 Sam. iv. 20. Knobel

<sup>5</sup> Gesenius, *Thesaurus*, 559; also *ZDMG.* xxi, 601 ff.

leads (from Bethel) to Ephrath. Jacob erects a monumental stone over her grave.<sup>1</sup> Regarding the Christian tradition about the grave half an hour north of Bethlehem, see Robinson.<sup>2</sup>

קברָה, also in xlvi. 30; Deut. xxxiv. 6. עֵדֶהוּיִם, as xix. 37 f. (? from *R*).

Ver. 21, from *C*. וַיִּסַּע, as vv. 5 and 16. יִשְׂרָאֵל, see note on ver. 10; וַיֵּט אֶהֱלָה, see note on xxvi. 25.

*Beyond a cattle tower*—such towers, used for pastoral purposes, were numerous, at least in later times;<sup>3</sup> that here intended, though without the article, is defined by the context as lying between Ephrath and Hebron. The earliest expositors<sup>4</sup> gave its situation as at Jerusalem; and so more recent writers.<sup>5</sup> With this idea the Septuagint has even set ver. 21 after מִבֵּית אֵל in ver. 16. But the figurative language of Mic. iv. 8 does not prove that it was a tower on one of the hills of Jerusalem. Later tradition localises the tower in the neighbourhood of Bethlehem.<sup>6</sup>

Ver. 22a seems to have been remodelled by *R*, as פִּלְגֹּט indicates,<sup>7</sup> even though in its origin from *C*. Reuben lies with his father's concubine, Bilhah.<sup>8</sup> The ultimate meaning of this brief statement is presumably that the ancient custom of marriage with the wives or concubines of one's father, which long continued an Arab practice also,<sup>9</sup> and is even mentioned as occurring in the history of the Israelite kings,<sup>10</sup> continued notoriously prevalent in the tribe of Reuben.<sup>11</sup> The abrupt conclusion, *and Israel heard (it)*, is doubtless not due to a

<sup>1</sup> Cf. ver. 14, but also xxviii. 18, xxxi. 45, xxxiii. 20, from *B*.

<sup>2</sup> *Palestine*,<sup>3</sup> i. 218 f.

<sup>3</sup> 2 Kings xvii. 9, xviii. 8; 2 Chron. xxvi. 10.

<sup>4</sup> Jews in Jerome's *Questiones*.

<sup>5</sup> Von Bohlen, Knobel, Wellhausen, and others.

<sup>6</sup> Tobler, *Bethlehem*, 255 ff.

<sup>7</sup> See note on xxv. 6, xxii. 24.

<sup>8</sup> See xlix. 3 f.

<sup>9</sup> Strabo, xvi. 4. 25.

<sup>10</sup> Kuran, iv. 26; Abulfida, *Hist. Antisl.* p. 180, ed. Fleischer.

<sup>11</sup> See above, p. 113, and Robertson Smith in *Journal of Philology*, ix. 86 ff.

mutilation of the text,<sup>1</sup> but is an intentional reference to xlix. 3 f. The sentence and paragraph ends here; but later, when the text was read in public, the reader did not linger over such a doubtful passage, but hurried on; and this practice has found its expression in the second accentuation of the Massoretes (placed before the earlier).<sup>2</sup>

(d) List of Jacob's twelve sons, his arrival at Mamre where Isaac was, Isaac's death and burial, vv. 22b–29, from *A*. The list of sons suitably follows the account of the birth of the last. They are arranged according to their maternal parentage, and the order of age within this arrangement agrees with that of ch. xxix. f. All the twelve sons, including, therefore, Benjamin, are born in Paddan Aram, according to this statement. *R* has silently excepted Benjamin, and so most modern expositors.

יָלֵד—Samar. and some Hebrew MSS. יָלְדוּ, as in xxxvi. 5; for יָלֵד, see iv. 18, xvii. 5, xxi. 5, xlv. 28.

Ver. 27 ff. At last Jacob, with all his following, reaches Isaac in Mamre, the Arba' town.<sup>3</sup> After יָמֵי יִצְחָק the Sept. adds אִשָּׁר הִי.<sup>4</sup> Isaac is buried by Esau and Jacob, as Abraham had been by Isaac and Ishmael (xxv. 9). From ch. xlix. 31 we learn it was in the cave of Makhpelah. For אֶל-עַמְּוִי, see xxv. 8.

"The writer gives thus early his account of Isaac's death because he wishes to conclude his history of him.<sup>5</sup> According to his chronology, Isaac was still alive at the date of the occurrences in ch. xxxvii. At Isaac's death Jacob was 120 years old, and when he migrated to Egypt he was 130.<sup>6</sup> But his 130th year coincided nearly with Joseph's 40th, and the latter was only 17 years old in xxxvii. 2."<sup>7</sup> In these statements Knobel assumes that the chronology of xxxvii. 2 f. and of xli. 46, regarding Joseph, is from *A*, and

<sup>1</sup> Comp. the addition by the Sept.

<sup>2</sup> See xxiii. 2.

<sup>3</sup> See xi. 32.

<sup>4</sup> Chs. xxv. 26, xxxv. 28. xlvii. 9.

<sup>5</sup> Geiger, *Urschrift*, 373.

<sup>6</sup> See xxv. 7.

<sup>7</sup> Knobel.

he brings to his help the years of blessing and of famine in Egypt,<sup>1</sup> of which nine or ten had passed<sup>2</sup> since Joseph's preferment.<sup>3</sup> But it is questionable if we are entitled to do this, seeing that we cannot certainly prove that all these numbers are from *A*. What we learn from him with certainty is as follows. Ch. xlv. states that in his 130th year<sup>4</sup> Jacob's sons had all already sons of their own, Benjamin as many as ten, and that Judah and Asher had each two grandsons. If, however, we put its testimony aside "on the ground that the list cannot in any way be fitted into the historical framework of Genesis,"<sup>5</sup> and is marked by the work of a later hand, other evidence remains. Chs. xxvi. 34 f., xxvii. 46, and xxviii. 1 ff. make it clear that Jacob migrated to Paddan Aram between his 40th and 50th years, and xxviii. 9, regarding Ishmael, agrees with this. Between this migration and that to Egypt there is, then, an interval of over 80 years. How much of this period belongs to the stay in Paddan and how much to the time spent afterwards in Hebron we cannot now say. But it is clearly sufficient to allow of his having many grandsons and even great grandsons, and to dispose of the assertion that ch. xlv. cannot be fitted into the historical framework of Genesis. Ch. xlv. may be given its place even if the figure given in xxxvii. 2 is from *A* as well as that in xli. 26; for in 13 + 9 years<sup>6</sup> after the date fixed by xxxvii. 2 even Benjamin who was younger than Joseph (xxxv. 24), *might* have ten children. The assumption of the harmonists,<sup>7</sup> that Jacob, when he migrated to Haran, was over 70 years old, more exactly 76, makes no distinction between the sources, does not do justice to the statements of xxvi. 34, xxvii. 46, xxviii. 1 ff., contradicts xxviii. 9, must unduly prolong the stay in Sukkoth and Shechem (xxxiii. 17 ff.), and after all

<sup>1</sup> Chs. xli. 47 f., 53 f., xlv. 6.<sup>2</sup> Ch. xlv. 6.<sup>3</sup> Ch. xli. 46.<sup>4</sup> Ch. xlvii. 9.<sup>5</sup> Wellhausen, *JEDTh*. xxi. 440 f.<sup>6</sup> Chs. xxxvii. 2, xli. 46, xlv. 6.<sup>7</sup> See in Delitzsch, Keil, Köhler, *Geschichte*, i. 135 f., 150 f.



does not explain how in ch. xlv. Judah could already have grandchildren, and Benjamin, even, ten sons.

#### 4. ESAU AND THE EDMITES, CH. XXXVI.; MAINLY FOLLOWING *A*.

Before the transition is made to the Toledoth of Jacob the collateral line of Esau is disposed of. First we are told how Esau, while still in Canaan, had five sons by three wives, then how he gave place to Jacob and departed to the mountain land of Se'ir with his dependants and all his property (vv. 1-8). There follows an enumeration of Esau's sons and grandsons in Se'ir, and of the Edomite tribes descended from them (vv. 9-19), also of the aboriginal Horite tribes of Se'ir (vv. 20-30). Finally, there is a list of the Edomite kings (31-39), and a second enumeration of the territorial division of the Edomite tribes of later date (vv. 40-43).

The amount of detail devoted to these various matters is explicable from the fact that Edom was always counted Israel's brother, and was of the greatest importance in the history of Israel. The Horites were the original *inhabitants of the land* in the mountain country of Se'ir (ver. 20). The Hebrews under Esau entered their country and amalgamated with them, Esau married the Horite Oholibamah (ver. 2), and his son Eliphaz the Horite Timna' (vv. 12, 22). But the Esauites became the rulers of the land in Se'ir as the Israelites did in Canaan; Jahve gave them Se'ir,<sup>1</sup> the whole country as far as the Gulf of 'Aḳaba.<sup>2</sup> Yet clearly defined Horite communities must still have continued to exist under their supremacy, so that it was not only possible to give a separate description of their tribal divisions, but of sufficient moment also. They were only by degrees absorbed or expelled by the new masters of the country until those of a

<sup>1</sup> Deut. ii. 5; Josh. xxiv. 4.

<sup>2</sup> Num. xxi. 4; Deut. ii. 1 ff.; 1 Kings ix. 26.

later date, on looking back,<sup>1</sup> could say that Edom had extirpated the Horites. The information about the Horites, as well as that regarding the ancient kings of Edom, is evidence that this passage, or at least its sources, is of a relatively ancient date.

*A*'s authorship of the chapter has been much disputed since Hupfeld's time, only portions of it being still assigned to him,<sup>2</sup> while the rest is pronounced to be by *R* from *C* and *B* or other sources. There is, indeed, hardly any linguistic evidence against *A*, although the language is not everywhere so decisively testimony in his favour as it is in vv. 6-8, 30, 40, and 43. See below regarding linguistic usages which prove redaction. The formal chronicle-like way of statement also pervades the whole (*e.g.* also vv. 31-39). The objections are drawn from the subject-matter. It is said that it was not part of *A*'s scheme to mention the Horites, or that he holds much too steadily to his archaic standpoint, and has too little objective, historical interest to allow of our supposing that the list of Edomite kings is his (see on vv. 29 and 40 for other points). But *A* is in no degree archaic in the sense that he puts forward his writing as the composition of Moses; he, and he only, makes quite open allusions to the kings of Israel (xvii. 6, 16, xxxv. 11); if any writer, it is *A* who takes pleasure in material which is statistical or genealogical or chronological, which means that he is influenced by the motive of historical interest. General considerations are exactly what requires us to assign the passage to *A*. Edom in the time of the monarchy was a dependency of Israel, and this it was which compelled *A* to be more minute regarding it than regarding Ishmael. But it has to be acknowledged that the chapter has been pretty extensively revised by *R* on the basis of another source (? *C*). The double heading in

<sup>1</sup> Deut. ii. 12, 22.

<sup>2</sup> *E.g.* vv. 1-8 (Hupfeld, Kayser), 6-8 (Böhmer), 1-14 (Nöldeke, Reuss), 6-8 and 40-43 (Wellhausen, *JEDTh.* xxi. 438 ff.; Kuenen, *Onderzoek*,<sup>2</sup> i. 68).

vv. 1 and 9 is what first surprises us. But the solution is not that ver. 9 ff. are not from *A*, and that vv. 1–8 are his only with the deduction that *R* has altered the names of the wives in accordance with the other source, ver. 9 ff.<sup>1</sup> The list of wives in ver. 2 f. cannot even be taken from that in vv. 10 and 13, seeing that the former is fuller than the latter. Besides, the expressions of vv. 10 and 15 (see below) are certainly those of *A*, and there is no sense in denying to him, because of vv. 40–43, all vv. 15–19, and, similarly, vv. 9–14, if the names of the sons in ver. 4 f. are still allowed to be his. Finally, the use of אבי אדם (see ver. 43) makes the case for *A*'s authorship stronger in ver. 9 than in ver. 1 (comp. ver. 8 for its הוא אדם). Positively, we may assert not only that vv. 6–8a are indubitably from *A*, but also that the formulas of 5b<sup>2</sup> and 2a<sup>3</sup> reveal his presence. Vv. 2–8 are accordingly, in the main, the names of the wives being excepted, to be attributed to him. But then we are best to assume<sup>4</sup> that these notices, like xxxvii. 1, were originally, in *A*, part of the הלרות עינו, and were included in the הלרות יצחק by the heading of ver. 1 from *R*, who, at the same time, revised them and expanded ver. 9 by the addition of 9b. He then altered in the beginning of *A*'s Toledoth (vv. 9–19) the names of the wives (vv. 10, 13 f., 16–18), to be in accordance with his additional source, and added ver. 12, and, doubtless, also ver. 14, as well as אלוף עמלק (ver. 16), and הוא אדם (ver. 19). In the list of Horites, also (vv. 20–30), only ver. 29 f. can be certainly reckoned *A*'s; ver. 20 f. is a doublet to ver. 29 f.<sup>5</sup> and the contents of vv. 22–28 show a close connection with the second source of vv. 1–19. It is questionable if, in the list of kings, there is matter, e.g. ver. 35, המכה וג', due to insertion.<sup>6</sup>

Most of the names which occur here are found nowhere

<sup>1</sup> Budde, *Urgeschichte*, 347 f.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. xxxv. 26b.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. xxviii. 1, 6, 8.

<sup>4</sup> With Bruston in *Revue Théol.* 1882, pp. 18 ff., 134 ff.

<sup>5</sup> With בן אדם in ver. 20 contrasted with בן שער in ver. 30.

<sup>6</sup> Regarding the unity of what remains, see Bruston, *op. cit.* p. 135 f.

else. When the people disappeared so also did the names, so far as they were not place-names. Even of the place-names only a few are now traceable. A part of the records of the chapter is repeated in 1 Chron. i. 35-54.

(a) Vv. 1-8. Esau's wives and sons as they were in Canaan; his departure to Se'ir.

Ver. 1. **הוא אדם**, repeated in ver. 8, and somewhat differently in ver. 19. It agrees with xxv. 24 ff. (*B, C*), according to which Edom is another name for Esau, whereas in vv. 9 and 43 (*A*) Esau is father of Edom, so that Esau is a personal and Edom a national name.<sup>1</sup>

Ver. 2 f. Esau's wives. Their marriages have been already related;<sup>2</sup> this explains why instead of **ויקה** (cf. x. 1) the author writes *Esau had taken his wives, etc.* The starting-point in a discussion of the verse is the fact that **הי** is an error for **הר**,<sup>3</sup> seeing that 'Anah, whose daughter Oholibamah is said to be, is in vv. 20, 25 a son, in ver. 24 a grandson of Se'ir the Horite. It is now at once evident that the expression **מבנות כנען** is no longer suitable, for only one Canaanite woman has been married. The words **את ערה וג'** have therefore not been written by the author of ver. 2a. But, further, in *A*'s text (xxvi. 34 f., xxviii. 9) the three wives married by Esau in Canaan are the Hittites **יהודיה בת באר** and **בשמת בת אילן**, and the Ishmaelite **מחלת אחות** **נביז**, whose names are either wholly different or only partially in agreement with those here. Attempts have been made to reconcile "the discrepancy either by supposing that Esau had five wives, or that they had double names, or had been renamed,"<sup>4</sup> or that errors have been introduced by copyists,<sup>5</sup> which must then have been very extensive. A difference of tradition or of theory can alone satisfactorily

<sup>1</sup> See, further, Ewald, *Geschichte*,<sup>3</sup> i. 494 [Eng. tr. i. 344 f.].

<sup>2</sup> Chs. xxvi. 34, xxviii. 9.

<sup>3</sup> J. D. Michaelis, Tuch, Bertheau, Knobel, Ewald, Delitzsch. Cf. Sept. reading in Josh. ix. 7.

<sup>4</sup> Ilgen, Rosenmüller, Schumann, Hengstenberg, Kurtz.

<sup>5</sup> Knobel, Ewald, *Geschichte*,<sup>3</sup> i. 533 [Eng. tr. i. 372, note 2].



explain the discrepancy,<sup>1</sup> and this requires us to give up any idea of identity of authorship;<sup>2</sup> *i.e.* either here or in xxvi. 34f. and xxviii. 9, the names must have been inserted from another source into *A*'s text by *B*. The former is in itself the more probable,<sup>3</sup> and is recommended by ver. 2*a*, which, as has just been shown, does not agree with ver. 2*b*. We cannot decide whether *B* or *C* was this source; in any case they too<sup>4</sup> have had something regarding Esau's domestic history and departure to Se'ir.

עֶדֶה—see iv. 19.

אהליבמה—words compounded with אהל occur, as Israelite (Ex. xxxi. 6), Sabeian,<sup>5</sup> and Phœnician<sup>6</sup> names.

בת־עֵנָה—after בת־עֵנָה as in ver. 14, but sufficiently surprising; some have therefore corrected בת to בן,<sup>7</sup> others translate it granddaughter (cf. ver. 39); perhaps it is only a variant to בת־עֵנָה, which is dependent on vv. 20 and 25 (cf. ver. 18), taken from ver. 24 and finally allowed into the text.

בְּשֵׁמָה—also a Hebrew name in 1 Kings iv. 15; the Samaritan has everywhere<sup>8</sup> מַחֲלָה, following xxviii. 9.

Ver. 4 f. Esau's five sons, all born while their father was still in Canaan. The correction of יַעִישׁ, in vv. 5 and 14, to יַעִישׁ, is based on ver. 18, and on the form usually taken by the name, which was a common one in Israel also. The Sept. has *Ἰεούς* which prevents<sup>9</sup> approval of the identification with the Arab deity *Iaghūth*.<sup>10</sup> The words אֱלֹהֵ בָנֵי—בְּנֵי are identical with *A*'s in xxxv. 26.

Ver. 6. Esau departs with all his possessions. The phraseology as in xii. 5, xxxiv. 23 (in *A*).

אֵל-אֲרֵן—without meaning, for it is impossible to supply

<sup>1</sup> Tuch, Nöldeke, Delitzsch, Keil, Köhler.

<sup>2</sup> Hupfeld, Böhmer, Kayser, Wellhausen, Bruston.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. the composition of x. and xi. 27 ff.

<sup>4</sup> See xxxii. 4.

<sup>5</sup> *Journal Asiatique*, vii. 4, p. 554 f.

<sup>6</sup> *CIS*. i. 1, p. 72.

<sup>7</sup> Following Samarit. Sept. Pesh.

<sup>8</sup> Vv. 4, 9, 13, 17.

<sup>9</sup> Lagarde, *Bildung der Nomina*, 133; Nöldeke, *ZDMG*. xlv. 595.

<sup>10</sup> Robertson Smith, Wellhausen, *Skizzen*, iii. 19; Nöldeke in *ZDMG*. xl. 168.

אֶרֶץ,<sup>1</sup> and the translations *into a land before*, i.e. east of, Jacob<sup>2</sup> or *remote from Jacob*,<sup>3</sup> are negatived by the proper meaning of מִפְּנֵי, or give no proper definition. A word has fallen out after אֶרֶץ, probably טַעֲרִי, which is given by the Peshitta<sup>4</sup> (comp. ver. 8), and not אֶרֶם,<sup>5</sup> because the land of Edom expresses in itself a wider conception than land of Se'ir.<sup>6</sup> The מֵאֶרֶץ כְּנָעַן of the Sept. and Samar. is a subsequent correction.

*Before his brother Jacob*, i.e. because of Jacob,<sup>7</sup> who extended greatly, and required much land. Esau thus gave way to Jacob, and the passage leaves us in no doubt that it was after the return of the latter from Paddan Aram.<sup>8</sup>

Ver. 7. The cause of the emigration, viz. the insufficiency of the pasturage of the country for the flocks of both. For the phraseology, comp. xiii. 6 in *A*. מִלְּטַבָּת, see iv. 13.

Ver. 8. Esau settles in the hill-country of *Se'ir*. This name in later times<sup>9</sup> included also the Edomite hill-country, east of the 'Araba, between the Dead Sea and the Gulf of 'Aqaba, "known in its whole extent by the Arabic geographers as the Jebel esh-Sherâ,<sup>10</sup> but more frequently named Jebâl in its northern portion, and esh-Sherâ in its southern part,<sup>11</sup> exactly in accordance with the distinction made in modern times."<sup>12</sup> But originally<sup>13</sup> the name belonged to the hilly country west of the 'Araba, which, though not so high as Jebâl and Sherâ, yet towers aloft in wildly torn masses of

<sup>1</sup> Targg., Vulg., Clericus, Rosenmüller, De Wette.

<sup>2</sup> Gesenius, Von Bohlen.

<sup>3</sup> Böhmer.

<sup>4</sup> Knobel; against Nöldeke's doubts see ver. 30 and xxxii. 4.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. ver. 16 f., xxi. 31.

<sup>6</sup> See ver. 8.

<sup>7</sup> Ch. vii. 7; Isa. xvii. 9.

<sup>8</sup> Knobel.

<sup>9</sup> *E.g.* Deut. ii.; Ezek. xxxv. 15.

<sup>10</sup> *E.g.* Edrisi, tr. Jaubert, i. 337; Yâkût, *Mushtarik*, 270.

<sup>11</sup> *E.g.* Istachri, ed. Mordtmann, p. 34 f.

<sup>12</sup> Seetzen, *Reisen*, i. 415, 418, iii. 16; Burckhardt [*Syria*, pp. 401, 410], Germ. tr. pp. 674, 688; Robinson [*Palestine*,<sup>3</sup> ii. 154 f.], Germ. tr. iii. 103 f. 860 f. Knobel. See also Winer,<sup>3</sup> i. 397, ii. 442; Gesenius, *Thesaurus*, 258, 1335.

<sup>13</sup> Judg. v. 4; Deut. xxxiii. 2; comp. the statements of Num. xx. 16; Josh. xi. 17, xii. 7, xv. 1.

rock of gleaming whiteness, south of the "bare hill," which forms the southern boundary of the hill-country of Judah. It is a wild, desolate, mountain land now inhabited by the Arab tribe 'Azâzime.<sup>1</sup>

עֵשָׂו הוּא אֲדוֹם—see ver. 1.

(b) Vv. 9–19. List of Esau's grandsons, and of the Edomite tribes which sprang from Esau's five sons *in Se'ir*. They are twelve, as in the cases of Nahor, Ishmael, and Israel, or thirteen when the related people of 'Amalek is added (so with Yoktân). See above, p. 148. They fall into three groups, as Esau has three wives.

Ver. 9. Not "an erroneous repetition from ver. 1 and to be struck out,"<sup>2</sup> but A's original heading to the passage. בְּהַר שְׂעִיר, unlike ver. 5. אֲבִי אֲדוֹם, see ver. 1.

Ver. 10. אֵלֶּה שְׁמוֹת, see xxv. 13. The intention is to name only sons of Eliphaz and Re'uel, which explains their being placed together here, and the separation from them of the sons of Oholibamah (ver. 1a).

Ver. 11 f. The first or Canaanite line. Its ancestor is Eliphaz. His name did not become that of a tribe, any more than that of Re'uel; he only sums up a number of tribes of whom he is the common ancestor.

יִיִּץ—“elsewhere in the Old Testament name of an Edomite district,<sup>3</sup> which was celebrated for its wise men,<sup>4</sup> and was the home of Job's discerning friend Eliphaz.<sup>5</sup> Ezek. xxv. 13 points also to its being situated in northern Edom.”<sup>6</sup> Ver. 42 does not require us to suppose<sup>7</sup> there was also a city of Teman. Yet the *Onomastica* name a place *Θαιμάν*, where there was a Roman garrison, and place it 15 Roman miles from Petra (Jerome 5 miles).<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See Bertheau in *Bibelles*. ii. 51. [“Bare hill,” Josh. xi. 17; Dill. “platten Berg.”]

<sup>2</sup> Lagarde, *Orientalia*, ii. 40.

<sup>3</sup> Jer. xlix. 20; Amos i. 12; Hab. iii. 3.

<sup>4</sup> Jer. xlix. 7; Baruch iii. 22 f.

<sup>5</sup> Job ii. 11.

<sup>6</sup> Knobel.

<sup>7</sup> Knobel.

<sup>8</sup> Comp. further, Wetzstein in *Zeitschrift für Allg. Erdkunde*, xviii. 52f.

Nothing further is known of Omâr, Sêphô (Sept. Σωφάρ, 1 Chron. i. 36 עֶפֶר), and Ga'tâm.

עֶפֶר—explained by the Kēnizzites of xv. 19, a people which once dwelt south of Canaan. Kaleb (of Judah) <sup>1</sup> is called “the Kēnizzite,” and his younger brother, or son-in-law, a son of Kēnaz; <sup>2</sup> and we hear of a Kēnaz who was Kaleb’s grandson.<sup>3</sup> These facts make it apparent that one part of this petty people was absorbed in the tribal union of Judah, while another, according to this passage, attached itself to Edom, and therefore here appears as son of Eliphaz.<sup>4</sup>

Ver. 12. ‘Amalek is also a son of Eliphaz, but by a concubine (*Timna’*), and so not a full son. What is intended is, of course, not the great people of ‘Amalek, or their ancestor,<sup>5</sup> which is older,<sup>6</sup> and had settled in the desert regions south of Canaan long before Esau,<sup>7</sup> but only an offshoot from it, which attached itself to the tribes of Eliphaz, or stood in some relation of subordination to them. What remained of them in Se’ir was driven away by the Simeonites in the time of Hezekiah (1 Chron. iv. 42 f.). *Timna’*, the mother (? a district, ver. 40), is included among the Hōrites in ver. 22, which implies that this branch of ‘Amalek already stood in a somewhat close relationship with the Hōrites.

The expression פִּלְגֵּיט <sup>8</sup> shows that this verse is not from *A*; and the same is then probably true of אֶלְיָה עֶמְלֵק also, in ver. 16. Without ‘Amalek the tribes are twelve in number, as elsewhere in *A*, with it thirteen.

Ver. 13. The second or Ishmaelite line, namely, the four sons of Re’uel. They are unknown elsewhere. The first three are also Israelite names; the Septuagint gives *Naxóθ*, *Zapé*, *Σομέ*, *Μοζέ*.

<sup>1</sup> Num. xxxii. 12; Josh. xiv. 6, 14.

<sup>2</sup> Judg. i. 13, iii. 9, 11; Josh. xv. 17; 1 Chron. iv. 13.

<sup>3</sup> 1 Chron. iv. 13.

<sup>4</sup> Ewald, *Geschichte*,<sup>3</sup> i. 361 [Eng. tr. i. 251 f.]; Bertheau in *Bibelles*. iii. 521.

<sup>5</sup> Winer, Hengstenberg, Keil, and others.

<sup>6</sup> See also Num. xxiv. 20.

<sup>7</sup> Ch. xiv. 7.

<sup>8</sup> See xxii. 24, xxv. 6.



Ver. 14. The third, or Horite line, is not composed of grandsons, but of Esau's three sons by Oholibamah, already named in ver. 5, and comprehended under the name Oholibamah. יַעֲקֹב and קֶרַח were also Israelite names. יַעֲקֹב is perhaps a derivative from an animal name, יַעַל or יַעֲלָה;<sup>1</sup> regarding יַעֲשִׂו, see ver. 5.

Vv. 15-19. List of the *tribal princes* of Edom, who are, with one exception, identical with the already-named grandsons and sons of Esau.

אֱלִיף—not *tribe*<sup>2</sup> or *community* or *canton*,<sup>3</sup> but as a denominative from אֶלֶף (see ver. 30), a thousand, or confederacy, a *chiliarch* or *phylarch*. The word in Zech. ix. 7, xii. 5f. is also used of the subdivisions of the tribe of Judah,<sup>4</sup> and was in Edom, so far as we can judge,<sup>5</sup> the expression for tribal prince; אֱלִיף, itself being the designation for the largest subdivision of the nation, *the tribe*, as אֶמְנָה was in the case of Ishmael (xxv. 16). The author's enumeration of tribal princes is at the same time an enumeration of tribes, and is paralleled by xxv. 16 and xvii. 20, where he speaks of the נְשֵׂאִים of Ishmael. In Ex. xv. 15 the parallelism of אֱלִי מִזֶּבֶב also makes it apparent that אֱלִיף is the *chief* of the clan, and not the clan itself.

עֵשָׂו בְּכוֹר עֵשָׂו—see xxv. 13, xxxv. 23 (xxii. 21 is somewhat different).

Ver. 16. אֱלִיף קֶרַח—wanting in the Samaritan, transferred by mistake from ver. 18; perhaps a gloss to the effect that Kōrath, according to another view, was reckoned one of the Eliphaz tribes. It is certain that two different tribes had not the same name.

Ver. 19. הוּא אֶדֶם, a gloss to עֵשָׂו, put in at the wrong point (see xiv. 12), or it may be a mutilation of עֵשָׂו הוּא אֶדֶם.<sup>6</sup> The Targum of Jonathan gives הוּא אֶבִי אֶדֶם (cf. ver. 9).

<sup>1</sup> Robertson Smith.

<sup>2</sup> Knobel.

<sup>3</sup> Sprenger in *ZDMG.* xii. 315 ff.; Böhmer.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Micah v. 1; Ewald, *Alterthümer*,<sup>3</sup> 321 f. [Eng. tr. 245, note 1].

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Ex. xv. 15.

<sup>6</sup> Samar.; cf. ver. 8.

(c) Vv. 20-30. The Horite tribes. Their ancestry is traced to *Se'ir*, elsewhere the name of a country.<sup>1</sup> They are spoken of as *the inhabitants of the land*,<sup>2</sup> as contrasted with Esau's people, who came later and settled among them. They were the earliest population, as far as our knowledge goes.<sup>3</sup> Their "name, *הָרִי*, from *הוֹר*, *cave*, designates them cave-dwellers, or troglodytes. Edom is full of caves.<sup>4</sup> The population used them as dwellings. They had *in specubus habitatiunculas* and *tuguria subterranea*."<sup>5</sup>

Ver. 20 f. Seven sons of *Se'ir* are first enumerated, who are, however, identical with the *alluphim* of ver. 29 f. Seeing now that in the words *אלה אלופי ההרי* (21b) these sons of *Se'ir* are even called *alluphim*, and that we find *בארץ ארוב* as compared with *בארץ שעיר* in ver. 30, we may rightly infer that these verses are due to another source than that of ver. 29 f. Each son has also sons of his own given, and some daughters; these are to be understood as subdivisions of the tribes.

Ver. 22. The first is *Lotān*, rightly identified by Ewald<sup>6</sup> with *Lot*, father of Moab-Ammon, and also a *הוֹרִי* (xix. 30). The Arab tribe *Liyāthineh*,<sup>7</sup> in the neighbourhood of Petra,<sup>8</sup> is excluded, even by its spelling. His sons are *Hori*, in whom the national name appears as a clan name, and *Hēmām*,<sup>9</sup> compared by Knobel with *Humaimēh*, a town south of Petra,<sup>10</sup> but against the phonology. A sister of *Lotān*'s is *Timna'*, the same as in ver. 12, and due to the same source.

Ver. 23. The second is *Shobal*. There is no connection with Syria *Sobal* (*i.e.* *אֲרָם צוֹבָה*);<sup>11</sup> and if "the name Syria

<sup>1</sup> Cf. in Gen. x. Asshur, Aram, Misraim, Canaan, etc.

<sup>2</sup> Ex. xxiii. 31; Num. xxxii. 17; Judg. i. 33.

<sup>3</sup> Ch. xiv. 6.

<sup>4</sup> Robinson, *Palestine*,<sup>3</sup> ii. 68 f.; Ritter, xiv. 991.

<sup>5</sup> Jerome, ad Obadiah 5. Knobel.

<sup>6</sup> *Geschichte*,<sup>3</sup> i. 448 [Eng. tr. i. 313].

<sup>7</sup> Knobel.

<sup>8</sup> Burckhardt, *Syria*, pp. 420 f., 433; Robinson, *Palestine*,<sup>3</sup> ii. 156.

<sup>9</sup> 1 Chron. i. 39, *Hômām*; Sept. in both cases, *Αἰμάν*.

<sup>10</sup> *Yākūt*, *Mushtarik*, 146; Robinson [*Palestine*,<sup>3</sup> ii. 168], Germ. tr. iii. 128, 861.

<sup>11</sup> Judith iii. 1, Vulgate.

Sobal is applied by the historians of the crusades to the Shobek<sup>1</sup> named above under xxv. 2,"<sup>2</sup> there has been doubtless a confusion (with Shaubak). Variants are given in Chronicles to two of the five names of his sons—עֲלֵן for עֲלֵן, and שִׁבַּי for שִׁבַּי. Knobel hazarded a comparison of 'Alwân with the Beduin tribe Alawin, north of 'Aḩaba,<sup>3</sup> and of Manachat with Menochia, a place in Edom;<sup>4</sup> and *Mouvu-χιάτης*, the region west of Petra.<sup>5</sup> It is more worthy of note that in 1 Chron. ii. 52 (cf. 54) half of Manaḩat is derived from a Kalebite Shobal.

Ver. 24. The third is *Sibeon*, Arabic *hyena*. His sons are אֲנַח,<sup>6</sup> Hebrew *kite*, and עֲנָה; not an animal name, for Arabic 'ānah, compared in last edition, means only troop, herd.<sup>7</sup> Regarding 'Anah, we are told that when watching his father's asses he found the יָמִים in the steppe land.

יָמִים—not *mules*,<sup>8</sup> nor *giants*,<sup>9</sup> nor יָמִים, *lakes*, or מֵיִם, *waters*.<sup>10</sup> *Hot waters* or thermal springs<sup>11</sup> would be more in place, and would then be, not those of Kallirrhoë,<sup>12</sup> but others;<sup>13</sup> yet the translation<sup>14</sup> rests perhaps only on a confusion with יָמִים.

Ver. 25. The fourth is 'Anah. This is a son of the Se'ir of ver. 20, and not the same as in ver. 24. From him *Dishon* is derived; the name is that of an animal in Deut.

<sup>1</sup> Robinson, *Palestine*,<sup>3</sup> ii. 161 f., 163 f.; Ritter, *Erdkunde*, xiv. 61, 987.

<sup>2</sup> Knobel.

<sup>3</sup> Burckhardt, *Syria*, pp. 508, 512; Robinson, *Palestine*,<sup>3</sup> i. 165, 171; Seetzen, *Reisen*, iii. 10, 102.

<sup>4</sup> *Notitia dignitatum*, i. 79, 343 (ed. Böcking).

<sup>5</sup> Ptolemy, v. 17. 3.

<sup>6</sup> To be read for אֲנַח, with Samar. Sept. Pesh. Vulg. Hebrew MSS. and 1 Chron. i. 40, if a name has not rather fallen out before it.

<sup>7</sup> Nöldeke in *ZDMG*. xl. 168.

<sup>8</sup> Jerus. Targ., Saadia, Kimchi, Luther; see Lagarde, *Orientalia*, ii. 58; Levy, *Neuheb. Wörterb.* i. 476a.

<sup>9</sup> אֲנַח, Onkelos.

<sup>10</sup> See Jerome, *Quæstiones*.

<sup>11</sup> Vulgate; Gesenius, *Thesaurus*, 586.

<sup>12</sup> Delitzsch; see note on x. 19.

<sup>13</sup> E.g. Burckhardt, *Syria*, p. 401. Knobel.

<sup>14</sup> See Jerome.

xiv. 5. His appearing here as Se'ir's grandson, as 'Anah does in ver. 24, whereas in ver. 20 f. they are both sons, is explained if a part of 'Anah was absorbed in Šibeon, and of Dishon in 'Anah. The Septuagint partially smooths away the difficulty by another punctuation. "The formula אֱלֹהֵי בְנֵי פִלְגִי was a standing one in genealogies, and was even used where only one son had to be named."<sup>1</sup> *Oholibamah* is Esau's wife (comp. ver. 18). There were either two traditions regarding her father,<sup>2</sup> or ver. 24b is to be placed after 25b.<sup>3</sup>

Ver. 26. The fifth is *Dishon*.<sup>4</sup> One of his four sons is חִמְדָּה; Sept. *Ἀμαδά*; in Chronicles חִמְדָּה, parallel to אֲשַׁבְּן, which in Arabic is also name of a colour. בֶּרֶן; Sept. *Χαρράν*, perhaps connected with בֶּר, *agnus*, *aries*.

Ver. 27. The sixth is Ešer; Sept. *Ἀσάρ*; in Chronicles *Ἵσάρ*. He has three sons. בִּלְהָה is doubtless a derivative from בִּלְהָה (xxix. 29); Sept. *Βαλαάμ*. יֵעֶן; Sept. *Ζουκάμ*; Samarit. יוען. יעֶן in Chronicles is יעֶן without י; but there the Sept. has καὶ Ἀκάν, here it has καὶ Ἰουκάμ. Halévy<sup>5</sup> reads a name יעֶן in the inscriptions of Safa. The בני יעֶן of Deut. xx. 6 and Num. xxxiii. 31f. have been compared with the reading in Chronicles.

Ver. 28. The seventh is Dishan. Here and in vv. 21 and 30, but not in Chronicles, the Septuagint gives *Πισών*; and certainly דִּישָׁן, as a tribal name alongside דִּישָׁן, is somewhat suspicious. His son 'Uš is doubtless only a section of the well-known Aramaean עֶרֶן.<sup>6</sup> *Arán* is the second. The syllable ân, as in many other of these names, appears to be formative, and therefore the interpretation *chamois* (from לֵאן), for which the punctuation of 1 Chron. ii. 25, אֶרֶן, is better suited, is very questionable.<sup>7</sup> The reading אֶרֶן<sup>8</sup> or

<sup>1</sup> Ch. xlvi. 23; Num. xxvi. 8; 1 Chron. i. 41, ii. 8 Knobel.

<sup>2</sup> See notes on vv. 2 and 14.

<sup>3</sup> Delitzsch.

<sup>4</sup> Reading דִּישָׁן with 1 Chron. i. 41, and Sept. Pesh. Vulg.

<sup>5</sup> *JA.* vii. 17, p. 236.

<sup>6</sup> See note on x. 23.

<sup>7</sup> *ZDMG.* xl. 168.

<sup>8</sup> Samar.



אָרם,<sup>1</sup> occasioned by עָנָן, is of no value. Knobel and Sprenger<sup>2</sup> compare אָרָן with the *Arreni* of Pliny.<sup>3</sup>

Ver. 29 f. Enumeration of the seven tribal princes of the Horites, who are, however, identical with the seven sons of Se'ir. לְאֶלְפִיָּהִם, according to their tribal princes, is taken to mean, enumerated one by one.<sup>4</sup> But seeing אֶלְפִּי is written without י only here in the whole chapter, we should rather read לְאֶלְפִיָּהִם, according to their tribes (comp. Sept.).

The fact that the total number of the sons of Se'ir is not very large,<sup>5</sup> only proves that we must not look for such in these genealogies, and not that vv. 20–30 is a late addition. In the list the animal names, and those which terminate in יָ- (ן), are noteworthy. It is very natural for peoples amongst whom arts and manufactures have not yet been developed to take their names by preference from those of animals. There is no need to infer an original animal worship among the Semites.<sup>6</sup> For a comparison of the family names common to the Jewish family Heşron and the Edomites and Horites, see Wellhausen.<sup>7</sup>

(d) Vv. 31–39. A list of the kings “who ruled in the land of Edom before an Israelite king ruled.” The statement is generally taken absolutely, and then the period ends before the time of Saul; if the words “over Edom” are to be supplied,<sup>8</sup> the period ends before the time of David, which would determine a date more suited for the conclusion of the list. The heading shows that there were already kings in Israel in the author's lifetime, and xvii. 6, 20 and xxxv. 11 prove what value *A* attached to the monarchy. It shows equally that the last mentioned in the list lived immediately before the time of the Israelite monarchy or just at its beginning, and not, *e.g.*, before or about Moses'

<sup>1</sup> Heb. MSS., Targ. Jon. (also MSS. of Sept. and Vulg.).

<sup>2</sup> *Geog. Arabiens*, 145.

<sup>3</sup> 6. § 157.

<sup>4</sup> Knobel, Delitzsch<sup>4</sup>.

<sup>5</sup> Nöldeke.

<sup>6</sup> R. Smith in *Jour. of Philol.* ix. 75 ff., and *Kinship*, 1885; Stade, *Geschichte*,<sup>1</sup> i. 408 ff. See also Nöldeke in *ZDMG.* xl. 161 ff.

<sup>7</sup> *De gentil. Jud.* p. 38 f.

<sup>8</sup> Bruston, *op. cit.* p. 133.

time.<sup>1</sup> If it had been otherwise the author would have had to say, before Israel left Egypt or conquered Canaan, or something similar. In the development of a monarchy as well as in his settlement in the country he made his own, Esau preceded Israel; he is the firstborn. Yet Israel in the end won from him his precedency. "There are in the list the names of eight kings, so that it might well extend back to the time of Moses. Num. xx. 14 and Judg. iv. 17 tell us that the Edomites had a king thus early. No one of the kings who are named is son of his predecessor. The Edomite monarchy was therefore probably elective (cf. Isa. xxxiv. 12). But it may also be assumed that princes of ability pushed themselves to the front by their own efforts, attained the dignity of royalty, and maintained it for the period of their lives."<sup>2</sup>

בְּאֶרֶץ אֱדוֹם as in ver. 21b, unlike ver. 30b בְּאֶרֶץ שְׂעִיר; right from A's point of view, because the kingdom embraced a wider country than the home of the Horites. See on ver. 8, and compare 40–43, where a like area is presupposed.

Ver. 32. For בִּלְעַם the Sept. has Βαλάκ. *Dinhabah*, in the Sept. and Vulg. Δειναβά, is not to be found in Edom. "But the name occurred elsewhere, e.g. there was Δαβαβά in Palmyrene Syria,<sup>3</sup> and Δανάβη in Babylonia,<sup>4</sup> Dannaia and Dannaba in Moab.<sup>5</sup> The coincidence of the name *Bela' ben Be'or* with that of the seer *Bil'am ben Be'or* is remarkable; he is thought of here by the Targum of Jonathan and by the Targum on 1 Chron. i. 44."<sup>6</sup>

Ver. 33. Yôbab was later identified by the Greeks with Job (Iyôb).<sup>7</sup> Boşrah, his city, was one of the principal towns or the capital of the country;<sup>8</sup> it is usually localised at

<sup>1</sup> Hengstenberg, Delitzsch,<sup>4</sup> Keil, and others.

<sup>2</sup> Knobel.

<sup>3</sup> Ptolemy, v. 15. 24; Assemani, *Biblioth. Orient.* iii. 2, pp. 595 f., 606.

<sup>4</sup> Zosimus, *Hist.* iii. 27.

<sup>5</sup> *Onomasticon*, i. 114 f., ed. Lagarde.

<sup>6</sup> Knobel.

<sup>7</sup> Sept. Job xlii. 18 [17d in Swete].

<sup>8</sup> Amos i. 12; Jer. xlix. 13, 22; Isa. xxxiv. 6, lxiii. 1.

*el-Buseira*, a small village in Jebâl, two and three-quarter hours south of Ṭāfila;<sup>1</sup> but the identification is opposed by Wetzstein,<sup>2</sup> who regards בצרה as the old name of Petra.

Ver. 34. חֲשָׁנָה; Sept. Ἀσώμ; in Chronicles Ἀσόμ; compare the Jewish name חֲשָׁנָה in Ezra and Nehemiah. For Teman, see ver. 11.

Ver. 35. *Hadad*<sup>3</sup> is also the well-known name of a Syrian deity.<sup>4</sup> בָּרִי; Sept. Βαράδ. One of this king's deeds is recorded, namely, his victory over Midian in the *field*<sup>5</sup> of Moab; the exceptional notice taken of it<sup>6</sup> was doubtless due to its being of importance to Israel also. Ewald<sup>7</sup> would make him flourish in the time of Gideon. עֵיִת, Sept. Γετθαίμ, is identified by Knobel with the hill-range Ghuweithe on the eastern side of Moabitis.<sup>8</sup>

Ver. 36. The Sept. has Σαμαδά ἐκ Μασεκκᾶς. But in the *Onomasticon*, Μασρικά πόλις βασιλείας Ἐδὼμ περὶ τὴν Γεβαλνήν.

Ver. 37. "There are many places of the name Rehoboth."<sup>9</sup> Probably there were several in Edom. That here intended was situated on a *Nahr*, here a small river, and so was called *Rehoboth of the River*.<sup>10</sup> It is the place which the *Notitia dignitatum*<sup>11</sup> cites among Edomite localities as Robotha, and which Eusebius and Jerome<sup>12</sup> quote as existing in their day in Gebalene." So far Knobel. But it is hardly credible that הנהר is to be looked for in Edom. Following the indication it gives us, others understand a Rehoboth on the *Euphrates*, e.g. Raḥaba<sup>13</sup> on its western bank somewhat south

<sup>1</sup> Burckhardt, *Syria*, p. 407; Robinson, *Palestine*,<sup>3</sup> ii. 167; Seetzen, ii. 51, 357, iii. 17; Bädcker,<sup>2</sup> 191.

<sup>2</sup> In Delitzsch, *Isaiah*,<sup>3</sup> p. 704 f.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. 1 Kings xi. 14 ff.

<sup>4</sup> ZDMG. xxxi. 734; Bähgen, *Beiträge*, p. 67.

<sup>5</sup> Chs. xiv. 7, xxxii. 4; Num. xxi. 20; Ruth i. ff.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. ver. 24.

<sup>7</sup> *Geschichte*,<sup>3</sup> ii. 476 [Eng. tr. ii. 108]; cf. Riehm, *Handwörterbuch*, 99b.

<sup>8</sup> Burckhardt, *Syria*, 375.

<sup>9</sup> Yâkût, *Mushtarik*, 203 f.

<sup>10</sup> But the Sept. has Ῥωβῶθ τῆς παρὰ πταμὸν and not παρὰ τόν. [Dillmann.]

<sup>11</sup> i. 78. 346 f.

<sup>12</sup> *Onomasticon*.

<sup>13</sup> Sachau, *Reisen*, 279 f.

of the mouth of the Chaboras,<sup>1</sup> and hold that Shaûl was a foreigner in spite of his Hebrew name.

Ver. 38. בַּעַל הֶתֶן, a formation like the Israelite אֱלֹהֵתֶן and יֹהֶתֶן and many similar Phœnician, Punic, and Sabeian names; it is evidence of the worship of Baal. עֶכְבֹּר, *mouse*, is also an animal name.

Ver. 39. הָרָר; Sept. Ἀπαδ; in 1 Chron. i. 50, some Hebrew MSS., and the Peshitta הרר; in the Samaritan הרר and הרר;<sup>2</sup> the variant is one elsewhere frequent in the case of this very name.<sup>3</sup> פָּעִי; Chronicles פַּעִי; Sept. Φογώρ,<sup>4</sup> "with which we may compare the ruins of *Phanara* in Edom."<sup>5</sup>

Hadar's successor is not given, nor is his death recorded, either because he ceased to reign before his death, or because he was the last who reigned in the author's lifetime (see on ver. 40). His wife's genealogy is also given, though this is not done in any other case; the reason is not that he is the same as the Hadad of 1 Kings xi. 14 ff., and that his wife is therefore an Egyptian princess,<sup>6</sup> for that Hadad was מִזְרַיִם, and the wife's names are genuinely Semitic; it may be because descendants of this marriage, *e.g.* the Hadad of 1 Kings xi. 14, were not without importance for Israel. For בֵּית מִי זָהָב, the Sept. and Pesh. have *Μαίζωβ* *Μαίζωβ*; see end of note on ver. 2. Elsewhere proper nouns compounded with מִי are names of places.

(e) Vv. 40-43. A list of the tribal princes of Esau according to their families, according to their localities, with their names. To take account only of the last part of the heading and regard this as only a list of the principal Edomite towns<sup>7</sup> has no justification, not even in ver. 43;

<sup>1</sup> Gesenius, *Thesaurus*; Riehm, *Handwörterbuch*, 1273.

<sup>2</sup> See de Rossi.

<sup>3</sup> *E.g.* 1 Kings xi. 14 ff., Sept.; see Baudissin, *Studien*, i. 309 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Sept. of Josh. xv. 59; Φαζώρ in Judah.

<sup>5</sup> Seetzen, *Reisen*, iii. 18. Knobel.

<sup>6</sup> A. Bernstein, *Ursprung der Regententafel von Edom*, 1880; als MS. gedruckt.

<sup>7</sup> Knobel.



besides, קָנִי, for example, is hardly a place name. The list is, on the contrary, of a mixed character, and includes both old family names, e.g. אֶהְלִיבְמָה and קָנִי, and the names of districts, e.g. אֶלָּה and פִּינֹן. As compared with the historico-genealogical list of vv. 15—19, it is geographico-statistical,<sup>1</sup> and divides the Edomite population according to the districts they inhabited, giving names which only in part coincide with the old clan names, which are in part taken also from the names of cities, districts, etc., and include sometimes, as in the case of תְּמַנֶּנֶ and עֶלְיָה, Horite localities also. It contains, in fact, the political divisions of the country at a certain time, and so the representation of a later state of affairs, perhaps as they existed in the time of the Edomite monarchy, but more probably as they were after it passed away, perhaps even under the new Israelite supremacy.<sup>2</sup> The Chronicler even takes this view, for in 1 Chron. i. 51 he introduces the list with the words וַיְהִי הָרֹדֶר וַיְהִי.<sup>3</sup> The “flagrant contradiction”<sup>4</sup> with ver. 15 ff. cannot in this light be said, without difficulty, to exist any longer.

Of the names in vv. 15—19 only קָנִי and תִּמְנֵן recur here as Alluphim. Of the others, תְּמַנֶּנֶ is known from vv. 12 and 22, and אֶהְלִיבְמָה from vv. 2, 14, 18, 25; עֶלְיָה (Chron. עֶלְיָה; Sept. Γωλά) may be conjectured to be merely the original form of עֶלָן (Γωλάμ) in ver. 23; יֶתֶת (Ἰεθέρ), מַגְדִּיָּא, and עִירָם have as yet been untraced. For עִירָם, the Sept. in Genesis and Chronicles has Ζαφωίν, i.e. צָפִים, due perhaps to an exegetical gloss עִירָם = צָפִים,<sup>5</sup> occasioned by צָפוּ in vv. 11 and 15; but see below. אֶלָּה, almost certainly for the customary אֵילָת, the seaport town of Ailah. פִּינֹן, elsewhere Punon,<sup>7</sup> in the patristic period a *viculus in deserto*, *ubi æris metalla damnatorum suppliciiis effodiuntur*, between

<sup>1</sup> Cf. 1 Kings iv. 7 ff., with the old Israelite tribal lists.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Ewald, *Geschichte*,<sup>3</sup> i. 113 f., 529 [Eng. tr. i. 75 f., 369].

<sup>3</sup> See Bertheau, *ad loc.*

<sup>4</sup> Nöldeke.

<sup>5</sup> Knobel.

<sup>6</sup> See xiv. 6.

<sup>7</sup> Num. xxxiii. 42 f.

So'ar and Petra,<sup>1</sup> not infrequently mentioned by the Church Fathers as a place to which, during the persecutions, Christian martyrs were sent to labour. Compare the mention by Seetzen<sup>2</sup> of the ruins of Kalaat Phenan. מִבְצָר; Sept. *Maẓar*, certainly not Sela or Petra,<sup>3</sup> more possibly the same as בְּצָרָה in ver. 33;<sup>4</sup> but the *Onomasticon*<sup>5</sup> says: *ἐτι καὶ νῦν κώμη μέγιστη Μαβσαρὰ ἐπὶ τῆς Γαβαληνῆς, ὑπακούουσα τῇ Πέτρᾳ*, so it is most probably not the same as Bozrah.

Because there are only eleven Alluphim, Ewald<sup>6</sup> conjectures that צִפּוֹ may at one time have stood in the text *alongside of* עִירם. As a matter of fact, the Liber Genealogus<sup>7</sup> has the addition *Fazon* after עִירם. But we do not necessarily expect a geographical division to exhibit the number twelve.

Ch. xxxvii. 1, in *A*, followed originally, perhaps,<sup>8</sup> xxxvi. 6—8. Esau withdrew (xxxvi. 6 ff.), but Jacob remained in Canaan. Importance is attached to the fact; comp. xiii. 11 f., xxv. 6, 11. For מְנוּחִים, see xvii. 8.

<sup>1</sup> *Onomastica*, sub Φινών, Fenon.

<sup>2</sup> *Reisen*, iii. 17.

<sup>3</sup> Knobel, basing on Ps. lx. 11.

<sup>4</sup> Hitzig on Isa. xxxiv. 6.

<sup>5</sup> Lagarde,<sup>1</sup> 277.

<sup>6</sup> *Geschichte*, i. [?] 350 [Eng. tr. i. 369, note 6].

<sup>7</sup> Ed. Mommsen in *Mon. Germ. Hist., Auctorum Antiquiss.*, pt. ix. p. 175.

<sup>8</sup> See p. 314.

## V. THE HISTORY OF JACOB, XXXVII.-I.

THIS last section deals with the history of Jacob and his sons. Now that Esau is gone, Jacob is head of all the house of Israel in Canaan. But regarding him personally, comparatively little more is told us; his history is now that of his sons, or brought on him by their actions. The sons play a more independent part than previously, and bring much sorrow on their old father by their evil deeds and ways. He, for his part, in trustful patience overcomes his adverse fortune, which God turns for him to a blessing, and is revealed at last as a highly-favoured man of God. The foreground of the narrative is therefore occupied by the doings and deeds of Jacob's sons, by the story of the development from them of a house of Israel, and of the preparation for its migration to Egypt. The whole history therefore assumes a different aspect. The many divine revelations by which it was sought to found a purer faith in the breasts of the three patriarchs cease, with one exception (xlv. 2-4). The foundation has been laid; the task is now to strengthen the house of Jacob and take it to Egypt under God's guidance. But that is so intimately connected with Joseph that we are able to say that all the history which follows centres in Joseph—his fortunes and his deeds. In fact, excepting ch. xxxviii., which has for its subject the origin of the principal clans in the tribe of Judah, there is no section which does not contain something regarding Joseph also. His father's history and that of his brothers is interwoven with his own; he supplies the fundamental texture in the web of the following narrative, as

Jacob did in what precedes. It is in three sections. 1. Joseph is sold into Egypt; his advancement there; an interlude regarding Judah and Tamar (xxxvii.—xli.). 2. The first journeys of Joseph's brethren to Egypt, and their humiliation before Joseph (xlii.—xlv.). 3. The migration of the house of Jacob to Egypt at Joseph's instigation, and Jacob's end (xlvi.—l.). In the first two sections of this fifth division of the history, the sources used are exclusively *B* and *C*, except in xxxvii. 2 and xli. 46. From *B* comes the general scheme and the greater part of the execution of this noble, almost dramatically composed, history of Joseph. *C*'s narrative ran the same general course though differing in details, and it was in part even more intensely interesting and permeated by a clearer meaning. The compiler, accordingly, drew on it also with predilection, and skilfully worked it into one with *B*'s history. It is not until the third section that *A* is again made much use of, and that the three sources appear side by side.

A. FROM THE TIME WHEN JOSEPH WAS SOLD INTO  
EGYPT UNTIL HIS PREFERMENT THERE, CHS.  
XXXVII.—XLI.

1. JOSEPH IS SOLD INTO EGYPT, CH. XXXVII. 2—36;  
BY *R*, FROM *B* AND *C*.

Joseph, who is seventeen years old, incurs the jealousy and hate of his brethren by telling tales of them to their father, by being his father's favourite, and by having dreams which exalt him at their expense. One day when in their company at Dothan he escapes death at their hands only by the intervention of Reuben or Judah; but he is thrown into a cistern, from which he is carried off by Midianite traders, or sold by his brothers to an Ishmaelite caravan. The traders bring him to Egypt and sell him a slave to Potiphar, an officer of Pharaoh's. The father mourns deeply for his lost son.



In this account the heading in ver. 2 is from *A*; but we cannot assume that the rest of the verse is from him,<sup>1</sup> still less that vv. 2-4, 23, 24, 28 from וַיִּמְכְּרוּ, 31, and 32*a* are so also.<sup>2</sup> The narrative has, on the contrary, been combined from those of *B* and *C*. Its composite nature has been long recognised<sup>3</sup> from Reuben's being the intercessor in vv. 21 f. and 29, while Judah is in ver. 26; from their being Midianites who take Joseph to Egypt in vv. 28*a* and 36, but Ishmaelites in vv. 25, 27, and 28*b*; and from the difference between ver. 28*aa*, where Joseph is secretly<sup>4</sup> taken out of the cistern by the Midianites, and ver. 28*aβ*, where he is sold by his brethren.<sup>5</sup> But the earlier parts of the narrative also contain evident doublets;<sup>6</sup> in ver. 3 f. Jacob's preference for Joseph makes him *hated* by his brothers, in vv. 5-11 his proud dreams rouse the brothers' *jealousy*; ver. 22 f. also is a doublet to ver. 21. The account in which the dreams and Reuben play important parts must belong to *B*, and when this fact is added to the material<sup>7</sup> and linguistic<sup>8</sup> distinctions, which elsewhere characterise *B* and *C*, the separation of the component parts may be made almost<sup>9</sup> complete. Vv. 2\*, 5-11, 13*b*, 14*a*, 18*a*, 19 f., 22, 23 (to כְּתַנְתּוּ), 24, 25*aa* (to לָהֶם), 28*aa* (to הַבּוֹיֹר), 29-31, 32\*, 33\*, 34*a*, 35*b*, and 36 belong to *B*, the rest to *C*. But the present form of vv. 5*b*, 8*a*, and doubtless also of וַיַּחַבְלוּ אֹתוֹ in ver. 18*b*, has been given them by *R*. It remains doubtful, also, whether there may not be in ver. 2 an insertion from *A* or from elsewhere. The analyses of Kittel<sup>10</sup> and of Bacon<sup>11</sup> are somewhat different.

Ver. 2 is not a unity. After the heading from *A*, אֵלֶּה

<sup>1</sup> Bruston.

<sup>2</sup> Knobel.

<sup>3</sup> Ilgen, Hupfeld, Ewald, *Geschichte*,<sup>3</sup> i. 596 ff. [*History*, i. 417 ff.]; Knobel, Schrader.

<sup>4</sup> Ch. xl. 15.

<sup>5</sup> Ch. xlv. 4.

<sup>6</sup> Wellhausen.

<sup>7</sup> *E.g.* Jacob's residence is not the same in *B* and *C*.

<sup>8</sup> *E.g.* יִשְׂרָאֵל in vv. 3 and 13, יַעֲקֹב in ver. 34.

<sup>9</sup> See commentary below.

<sup>10</sup> *Geschichte*, i. 130, 142 [Eng. tr. i. pp. 144, 157].

<sup>11</sup> *Hebraica*, vii. 284.

הלריו יעקב, there follows the statement, *Joseph, seventeen years old, was watching*,<sup>1</sup> among, or *beside*,<sup>2</sup> the flock with his brothers. The next words, 'והוא נער ונ', cannot mean, *and he grew up*,<sup>3</sup> nor, after all, *and was boy* (servant)<sup>4</sup> to the sons of the concubines, appointed to serve, as it were, an apprenticeship with them, or to perform paltry duties for them;<sup>5</sup> for there is no parallel use of נער in this absolute way. The translation is, *and he was yet young*<sup>6</sup> with the sons, etc. In any case the same hand cannot have written רעה את אחיו and 'נער את בני בלהה ונ' alongside of one another in this way; 'והוא ונ' must be a doublet to 'יוסף ונ'. The insertion of אביו—אתרביני by an interpolator<sup>7</sup> is comprehensible, but not that he added 'והוא נער' also; the words from 'והוא' to אביו are rather evidence of a different source. What follows, *and Joseph brought their report*,<sup>8</sup> *an evil one*,<sup>9</sup> sc. so far as it was an evil one, i.e. evil reports regarding them, to their father, must in the present text refer to the sons of the concubines, but may, as continuation of רעה—בצאן<sup>10</sup> before the interpolation of 'והוא—אביו', have referred to the brothers in general, who alone are spoken of in what follows. It is recorded evidently as what occasioned the enmity, yet it is surprising that this consequence is not expressly stated, and that other causes for the enmity are given both in *C* (ver. 3 f.) and *B* (vv. 5–11). This makes it plausible that 'אביו—והוא' should be a later insertion,<sup>11</sup> or should be from *A*. But the whole of ver. 2<sup>12</sup> cannot be from *A*, because the verse is not a unity, still less<sup>13</sup> vv. 2–4. Joseph's age, seventeen years, may be from *A*,<sup>14</sup> but also from *B*;<sup>15</sup> in the latter case, 2*b* would also be from *B*.<sup>16</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See i. 6.<sup>2</sup> 1 Sam. xvi. 11, xvii. 34.<sup>3</sup> Targ. Pesh.<sup>4</sup> Ch. xxii. 3; Judg. vii. 11, ix. 54, xix. 13.<sup>5</sup> Gesenius, Knobel, Delitzsch<sup>5</sup>.<sup>6</sup> Sept.<sup>7</sup> Wellhausen.<sup>8</sup> Num. xiii. 32, xiv. 36 f., in *A*.<sup>9</sup> Gesenius,<sup>25</sup> 126. 5*A*, 1*b*.<sup>10</sup> Kittel.<sup>11</sup> Kuenen, *Onderzoek*,<sup>2</sup> i. 317.<sup>12</sup> Bruston.<sup>13</sup> Knobel.<sup>14</sup> See xli. 26.<sup>15</sup> See xxxi. 38, 41.<sup>16</sup> Kittel, Kautzsch-Socin.

Ver. 3 f. A further cause for Joseph's unpopularity with (*all*) his brethren, was his father's preference for him. Jacob loved Joseph most because he was born late, and he *had* distinguished him in the matter of dress also. (Benjamin is left out of account as too young.)

Because of יִשְׂרָאֵל we cannot attribute ver. 3 f. to *A*<sup>1</sup> nor to *B*,<sup>2</sup> but only to *C*, for whom בְּיָקִינִים<sup>3</sup> is also evidence, not only linguistically, but because in *B*<sup>4</sup> Joseph cannot be more than twelve years younger than his eldest brother. It is true that in *C*<sup>5</sup> he *appears* to be only five or six years younger, and this is Knobel's reason for giving ver. 3 f. to *A*. But it has already been remarked (on xxx. 25) that this is only an appearance called forth by the redaction of ch. xxx. In truth, Joseph's birth *may* have been dated much later in *C*, and xxvii. 1 ff. also suggests the conjecture that Jacob had reached a fairly advanced age when he set out for Harran.

וַעֲשֵׂה לִּי וִנֹּא—*we* are told the reason in ver. *a*, so that the words cannot be from *B*<sup>6</sup> but only from *C*.

כְּתֹנֶת פָּפִיִּים—only here, including vv. 23 and 32, and 2 Sam. xiii. 18 f., where it is the garment of a princess. It is not χιτῶν ποικίλος, *tunica polymita*, *parti-coloured garment*,<sup>7</sup> but χιτῶν καρπωτός, ἀστραγάλειος, χειριδωτός, *tunica talaris*, *a sleeve and ankle garment*,<sup>8</sup> *i.e.* one reaching the ankles, and with sleeves to the wrists, contrasted with the ordinary כְּתֹנֶת, which extended no farther than the knees, and had no sleeves. פֶּם (in Aramaic) is the extremity of the hand or foot.<sup>9</sup>

For וַיִּשְׁנֹאוּ מִכֹּל אָהָיו the Samar. and Sept. have מִכֹּל בָּנָיו. contrast וַיִּקְנֹאוּ in *B*, ver. 11.

*And they were not able to speak him for peace*,<sup>10</sup> to talk

<sup>1</sup> Knobel.

<sup>2</sup> Wellhausen.

<sup>3</sup> See xxi. 2 and xlv. 20.

<sup>4</sup> Ch. xxxi. 17, 41.

<sup>5</sup> Ch. xxx. 23 ff.

<sup>6</sup> Wellhausen.

<sup>7</sup> Sept., Vulg.

<sup>8</sup> Pesh., Aquila, Sym.; also Vulg. in ver. 23 and Sept. in 2 Sam.

<sup>9</sup> Dan. v. 5, 24; Ezek. xlvii. 3, אַפְסִים.

<sup>10</sup> As Deut. xviii. 21 f.

with him in a friendly way, to give him a friendly word,<sup>1</sup> or to greet him and answer his greeting.<sup>2</sup> דָּבָרוֹ does not mean *his speech* (with "to endure" supplied),<sup>3</sup> and scarcely *to speak of him*.<sup>4</sup> It is impossible to see why ver. *b* should be from *B*.<sup>5</sup>

Vv. 5–11, following *B*. Joseph has proud dreams, and relates them to his brothers; this awakes their jealousy (ver. 11, from *B*), and strengthens their hate (vv. 5 and 8, from *R*).

Ver. 5. וְיוֹסֵפוֹ עוֹד שָׁנָא אֹתוֹ, not from *B*,<sup>6</sup> but with a reference to the וַיִּשְׁנֹאוּ אֹתוֹ of ver. 4, from *R*, who placed together vv. 2–4 and 5–11; not happily inserted, seeing the brothers have not yet heard the contents of the dream (hence the omission of the Sept.). In ver. 8*b* *R* makes the same insertion once more, to mark the progressive growth of the hatred; he again anticipates the course of his story (by חִלְמָתִי), but the Sept. has now the insertion also.

Ver. 6 ff. In his first dream he sees how, when they are binding the sheaves,<sup>7</sup> his sheaf rises up and remains erect, while their sheaves station themselves round it and prostrate themselves before it. In the second he sees the sun, moon, and eleven stars<sup>8</sup> prostrate themselves before him. This latter dream he relates to his father also, who, however, rebukes him, for he infers from such dreams that Joseph cherishes arrogant thoughts. According to the author (ver. 11*b*), they were divinely sent presentiments of his future greatness. The meaning of the dreams is clear, and is also immediately recognised by all. "Things celestial and things terrestrial pay him homage. The double dream expresses certainty and speedy fulfilment."<sup>9</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Sept., Knobel.

<sup>2</sup> Saadia, Delitzsch; cf. xliii. 27, Ex. xviii. 7.

<sup>3</sup> Olshausen.

<sup>4</sup> Ewald, § 282*a*.

<sup>5</sup> Kittel.

<sup>6</sup> Kittel.

<sup>7</sup> See xxvi. 12.

<sup>8</sup> There is no allusion to the Zodiac (Knobel, Delitzsch).

<sup>9</sup> Ch. xli. 32. Knobel.



Ver. 9. **וַיִּסְפֹּר אֵלָיו לְאָחִיו** is surprising because of **אָחִיו** (contrast ver. 5a), but necessary in view of **וַיֹּאמֶר אֵלָיו וְאֵל**. **וַיִּסְפֹּר אֵלָיו** in 10a is irreconcilable with it, besides being peculiar in having **אֵל** for **אָל**, and is wanting in the Septuagint; it may be a secondary expansion in explanation of 10b;<sup>1</sup> with this same object the Septuagint has inserted **וַיֹּאמֶר** in 9a before **לְאָחִיו**, if its text be not rather the original.

Ver. 10. **וַיֹּאמֶר**. The moon signifies his *mother*, and indeed his dead mother,<sup>2</sup> if we take account of xxxv. 19, according to which Rachel was no longer alive.<sup>3</sup> But it cannot be proved that Rachel was already dead in B's narrative (see note on xxxv. 12).

Ver. 11. **וַיִּקְנָעוּ**, compare xxx. 1. Jacob, in spite of his rebuke, did not forget (**שָׁמַר**) the dream; comp. Luke ii. 19, 51.

Vv. 12-22. Joseph on an occasion is sent to his brethren, and they decide on his destruction.

Vv. 12-14, in the main from C, with whose authorship the use of **יִשְׂרָאֵל** in ver. 13 harmonises. Only in C (or A) can Jacob have lived in Hebron (see xxxv. 16 ff.); in B his permanent residence was, it appears, Shechem (xxxiii. 19), scarcely Bethel.<sup>4</sup> In order, then, to secure correspondence with B, the brethren in C require to journey to Shechem in the first place (ver. 12), and Joseph has to be sent there also (13a, 14b). But vv. 13b<sup>5</sup> and 14a<sup>6</sup> are from B.<sup>7</sup> The Book of Jubilees (ch. xxxiv.) inserts here the war against the Amorites,<sup>8</sup> because the choice of Shechem as pasture ground appeared to offer difficulties after the occurrences of ch. xxxiv.

Ver. 12. Joseph's brothers go to the neighbourhood of Shechem for the sake of its pasturage. The points over **אֶת**

<sup>1</sup> Wellhausen, Kautzsch-Socin.

<sup>2</sup> Leah being out of the question.

<sup>3</sup> Delitzsch.

<sup>4</sup> Bacon.

<sup>5</sup> For **וַיֹּאמֶר לוֹ הִנְנִי**, comp. xxii. 1, 7, 11, xxvii. 1, xxxi. 11.

<sup>6</sup> For **הַשְּׂבִיבִי דָבָר**, comp. Num. xiii. 26, xxii. 8, Josh. xiv. 7, in B.

<sup>7</sup> Wellhausen, Bacon.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Gen. xlviii. 22.

express critical suspicion; for the accusative without *את*, see, for example, xvii. 24.

Ver. 14. *See your brothers' well-being*, ascertain if they are well. For the *valley of Hebron*, see notes on xxiii. 2, 20. *To Shechem* = to the neighbourhood of Shechem.

Vv. 15-17. Joseph, while searching for his brothers without success, is met by a man who informs him that they have gone to Dothan. This is not from *B*<sup>1</sup> but from *C*.<sup>2</sup> There is material evidence of this as well as stylistic, for in *B* the distance between Jacob and his sons is not so great that he could not be informed regarding their movements.

For *וימצאוהו* see xvi. 7; for *והנה תעה* without *הוא*, xxiv. 30; the Samaritan reads *שמעתי* for *שמעתים*; but see Ewald's *Syntax*, § 284*b*.

*דִּתָּן*—with *דִּתָּן* as a differentiated form,<sup>3</sup> according to 2 Kings vi. 13 ff. not a very great distance from Samaria; in Judith,<sup>4</sup> *Δωταία* or *Δωθαίμ*. According to the *Onomasticon*, *Δωθαίμ* lay twelve Roman miles north of Sebaste (Samaria); its situation is marked by the modern ruins of Tell Dôthân,<sup>5</sup> one and a half hours south-west of Jenîn. The road from Bethsheân and Jezreel to Ramle and Egypt passes through the plain of Tell Dôthân.<sup>6</sup> This was the caravan road (ver. 25 ff.).

Vv. 18-20. Joseph's brothers catch sight of him from a distance, and maliciously propose to put him to death. Ver. 18*b* is from *C*, 19 f. from *B*; it is unnatural to reverse the analysis,<sup>7</sup> for it is *B*, not *C*, who has described Joseph as the dreamer.

The Sept. omits the *ו* of *ויבטרום*; in *C* it may well have been originally *ויהי בטרם*. The *ויתכנלו אותו*, *they formed a malicious plan against him*,<sup>8</sup> occurs again only in Num. xxv.

<sup>1</sup> Bacon.

<sup>2</sup> Wellhausen, Kittel.

<sup>3</sup> See note on xxxii. 3.

<sup>4</sup> Chs. iii. 9 f., iv. 6, vii. 3, viii. 3.

<sup>5</sup> Robinson, *Later Bib. Researches*, p. 122. Bâdeker,<sup>2</sup> 237.

<sup>6</sup> Robinson [*Palestine*,<sup>3</sup> ii. 316, 331], Germ. tr. iii. 161, 338, 413, 417, 481, 541, 552, 575.

<sup>7</sup> Wellhausen.

<sup>8</sup> Ewald, § 124*b*.

18; Ps. cv., and Mal. i. 18; it is therefore natural to conjecture, without assigning the phrase to a late diaskeuast,<sup>1</sup> that it is an insertion by *R*, who did not wish to give *in extenso* the brothers' plan as *C* had it (alongside of ver. 20 from *B*). *Master of dreams* = dreamer;<sup>2</sup> a mocking designation. הָלֹה, see xxiv. 65.

Ver. 21 f. "Reuben opposes the suggestion; as the eldest he has special obligations."<sup>3</sup> The text is a composite one from *B* and *C*; this is the only explanation of the double וַיֹּאמֶר. But ver. 22 is certainly from *B*, in view of ver. 29 f., and therefore ver. 21 is from *C*, excepting that וַיִּשְׁמַע רְאוּבֵן is an alteration; in *C*, *Judah* is Joseph's friend, so that the first words must have been וַיִּשְׁמַע יְהוּדָה; part of Judah's proposal has been relegated by *R* to ver. 26 for harmonistic reasons.

וַיַּצִּלְהוּ מִיָּדָם—Ex. ii. 19; he saved him, inasmuch as he prevented his instant death, and had him thrown into a pit,<sup>4</sup> without its being decided what should further be done with him.

*Slay him in respect of life* = slay him dead.<sup>5</sup>

Ver. 22. *Do not lay hand on him*, xxii. 12. There is not the slightest reason for pronouncing לִמְעַן ה' to be a later insertion;<sup>6</sup> ver. 29 confirms them.

Ver. 23 f. They throw him into the empty cistern. For this use of cisterns, compare Jer. xxxviii. 6 and Lam. iii. 53.<sup>7</sup> Their stripping him of his garment is connected with the plan of vv. 20 and 31 ff. In ver. 23*b* the texts of *B* and of *C* (the sleeved garment of ver. 3) are placed alongside of one another.

Vv. 25–27. The first three words, as the introduction to 28*a a*, are from *B*, the rest from *C*. The brothers partake

<sup>1</sup> Kuenen, *Onderzoek*,<sup>2</sup> 317.

<sup>2</sup> Ch. xiv. 13.

<sup>3</sup> Knobel.

<sup>4</sup> This is contested by Bacon, but may be held to follow from ver. 23*b β*.

<sup>5</sup> Deut. xix. 6, 11, and frequently; see Gesenius,<sup>25</sup> 117. 5*d*.

<sup>6</sup> Knobel.

<sup>7</sup> Winer,<sup>3</sup> i. 199.

of a meal.<sup>1</sup> Suddenly they see<sup>2</sup> an Ishmaelite<sup>3</sup> caravan coming. It was from Gilead, doubtless by way of Bethsheân,<sup>4</sup> and was laden with spices.<sup>5</sup> "Judah takes the opportunity to make a proposal. They were going to gain nothing by killing Joseph; let them rather sell him to the Ishmaelites, and not lay hands on one who is their flesh<sup>6</sup> and their brother."<sup>7</sup> Part of his speech has perhaps been transposed here by *R* from ver. 21 (see note).

נִכְאֹת—*tragacanth*, the gum of the *Astragalus gummifer*.<sup>8</sup> "Three species of it were found in Lebanon by Rauwolff."<sup>9</sup>

צִיִּי—*mastic*, "indigenous to the land of the Hebrews, especially to Gilead, and exported to Phœnicia and Egypt."<sup>10</sup> It is the balsamic gum (ῥητίνη) of the mastic tree,<sup>11</sup> which, when dissolved in oil, was used also for salves, but is not to be confused with the true balm. It is not στρούραξ, which Lagarde<sup>12</sup> supports for etymological reasons.

לָדָן—*ladanum*, λήδον, λήδανον, Assyrian *ladunu*,<sup>13</sup> the fragrant gum of the cistus rose, which is indigenous to Crete, Cyprus, Arabia, Syria,<sup>14</sup> and Palestine.<sup>15</sup>

בְּפִינוּ וְג'—not "destroy without bloodshed,"<sup>16</sup> nor "bury properly,"<sup>17</sup> but "conceal the murder by covering up the blood."<sup>18</sup>

Ver. 28. The brothers agree to this, and sell him<sup>19</sup> to the Ishmaelites for twenty (shekels<sup>20</sup>) silver (Sept. χρυσοῦς, as in xlv. 22). For the price, compare Lev. xxvii. 5.

<sup>1</sup> Ch. xxxi. 54.

<sup>2</sup> Ch. xxxi. 1.

<sup>3</sup> Ch. xxv. 18.

<sup>4</sup> See note on ver. 17.

<sup>5</sup> For the names, see Gesenius, *Thesaurus*.

<sup>6</sup> Ch. xxix. 14.

<sup>7</sup> Knobel.

<sup>8</sup> Riehm, *Handwörterbuch*, 1682 f.

<sup>9</sup> *Reisebeschreibung*, ii. 136 f. (ed. of 1852).

<sup>10</sup> Ch. xliii. 11; Jer. viii. 22, xlv. 11; Ezek. xxvii. 17.

<sup>11</sup> Riehm, p. 959.

<sup>12</sup> *Mittheilungen*, i. 234 f., 384.

<sup>13</sup> Schrader in *MBAW*. 1881, p. 413 ff.

<sup>14</sup> Pliny, xxvi. § 47 f.

<sup>15</sup> Von Schubert, *Reisen*, iii. 114, 174. See Winer,<sup>3</sup> ii. 2; Riehm, p. 877; and for the names, Schrader, *op. cit.*

<sup>16</sup> Wellhausen.

<sup>17</sup> Schwally, *Leben nach dem Tod*, p. 52.

<sup>18</sup> Rashi, Knobel, Delitzsch.

<sup>19</sup> Ch. xlv. 4.

<sup>20</sup> See xx. 16.



This is *C*'s account; what remains is from *B*. The words: *and Midianite traders passed by and drew Joseph out of the pit, i.e. carried him off as a profitable prize, plainly give a different account of the incident. The subject to וימְשֹׁכוּ in the present text is indeed אֲחֵיו; but the actual presence of another source is made evident (a) by the variation in the name of the merchants;<sup>1</sup> (b) by the absence of the article with 'מֶרֶד', which prevents them being identified with the Ishmaelites of vv. 25 and 27; and (c) by xl. 15, according to which Joseph is not sold, but stolen. *B*'s speaking of Midianites suits his authorship in xxv. 2. It has to be left uncertain whether *C* intended Ishmaelites in the wider<sup>2</sup> or narrower sense. "Another version of the whole occurrence is given in Artapan;<sup>3</sup> in it Joseph, to escape his brothers' plots, requests Arabs in the vicinity to take him with them to Egypt, and they do so."<sup>4</sup> Ver. 28*b* is also from *B*; *C* does not write הַבִּיָּא, but הוֹרִיד (ver. 25 and xxxix. 1).<sup>5</sup>*

Ver. 29*f*. From *B*. When Reuben, who had intended to rescue Joseph<sup>6</sup> (afterwards, when their meal<sup>7</sup> was over), looks for him in the cistern that he might set him free and send him home, he finds him gone, and is reduced to despair. *And I, where shall I enter, turn myself?* *B* has בָּנָה in xxviii. 20 and xli. 42, as well as שְׂמָלָה, *e.g.*, in xxxv. 2 and xli. 14. For the phrase קָרַע בְּגָדָיו, comp. Num. xiv. 6; קָרַע שְׂמֹלֹתָיו in ver. 34, xliv. 13, and Josh. vii. 6.

Ver. 31*f*. The brothers dip Joseph's garment, which they had retained for the purpose (ver. 23), in the blood of a he-goat, which is killed, and they send it to their father. Ver. 31 is from *B*, 32 from *C*;<sup>8</sup> each requires to be supplemented by the other, for in the one there is no mention of the garment being sent home, in the other of its being dipped in blood. הִפְרִינָה as in *C* in xxxviii. 25; yet see xxxi. 32

<sup>1</sup> The difference is maintained in ver. 36 from *B*, and xxxix. 1 from *C*.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 181 *f*.

<sup>3</sup> Eusebius, *Præp. Evang.* ix. 23.

<sup>4</sup> Knobel; Ewald, *Geschichte*,<sup>3</sup> i. 588 [Eng. tr. i. 411].

<sup>5</sup> Hupfeld.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. xlii. 22.

<sup>7</sup> Ver. 25*a*.

<sup>8</sup> Because of הַפְּסִים בְּתֵנֶת.

also. The disjunctive question is as in xviii. 21 and xxiv. 21, from *C*.

Ver. 33. Jacob at once draws the conclusion his sons had intended (ver. 20) from the blood-stained garment. The formula *היה רעה אכלתהו* is from *B* (see ver. 20); *טָרַף טָרַף*, from *C* (see xlv. 28). For *הכתנת*, *ויבירה*, and *טָרַף*, see Gesenius.<sup>1</sup>

Ver. 34 f. Jacob puts on mourning,<sup>2</sup> and for long mourns his loved son disconsolately. He desires to die in his mourning dress, and go down to the shadow-land.<sup>3</sup> “*אָבֵל* and *התאבל*, of one who goes about in a mourning dress.<sup>4</sup> *התאבל* recurs in the Pentateuch only in Ex. xxxiii. 4 and Num. xiv. 39.”<sup>5</sup>

The text is composite, and not wholly from *B*.<sup>6</sup> But the division is not 34 and 35*b* to *B* and 35*a* to *C*;<sup>7</sup> 34*b* and 35*a* are inseparable, and stand apart from 35*b*, which, with 34*a* is more likely from *B*,<sup>8</sup> whereas 34*b* and 35*a* betray *C*'s hand.<sup>9</sup>

Ver. 36. From *B*. The Midianites sold Joseph to Potiphar in Egypt. *פּוֹטִיפָרִים* is a contraction<sup>10</sup> or corruption from *פּוֹטִיפָרִים*, which is rendered by all the versions.

*פּוֹטִיפָר*—identical with the *פּוֹטִי פָרַע* of xli. 45 and xlv. 20, from which it is a contraction, only to distinguish the two persons in question; at least the Septuagint gives *Πετεφρῆς* or *Πεντεφῆς* for both forms.<sup>11</sup> The name is Egyptian, *Petepré* i.e. *he whom the sun-god has given*, gift of the sun. *Pa* or *Pη* is the sun-god. Brugsch<sup>12</sup> explains otherwise by *puti-par*, gift of him who has appeared. See, further, regarding these Egyptian names the notes on xli. 45. “Potiphar is called *circumcised*, eunuch, court official<sup>13</sup> of Pharaoh,<sup>14</sup> and *head of*

<sup>1</sup> *Grammatik*,<sup>25</sup> 100A. 4, 60A. 2, 113. 3A. 4.

<sup>2</sup> Winer,<sup>3</sup> ii. 352.

<sup>3</sup> See xxv. 8.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. 2 Sam. xiv. 2; Isa. lxi. 3; Ps. xxxv. 14.

<sup>5</sup> Knobel.

<sup>6</sup> Bacon.

<sup>7</sup> Kittel.

<sup>8</sup> Because of *יעקב*, and in spite of *שומלתיו*.

<sup>9</sup> Because of *אָרֶר יִשְׁאֵלָה*; cf. xlii. 38, xlv. 29, 31.

<sup>10</sup> Ewald, 164*b*.

<sup>11</sup> Lagarde, *Genesis graece*, Preface, p. 20.

<sup>12</sup> *Geschichte*, p. 248.

<sup>13</sup> See xl. 2.

<sup>14</sup> Ch. xii. 15.

*the slaughterers, i.e.* executioners, guards. He was therefore head of the palace-guard, one of whose duties was the execution of the death penalty, from which accordingly it had its name. He also superintended the state prison (xl. 3 f.). The same office is found among the Babylonians,<sup>1</sup> where the chief of the guards carried out arrests and executions as part of his duty.”<sup>2</sup>

## 2. JUDAH AND TAMAR, CH. XXXVIII.; FROM C.

In the middle of the history of Joseph a narrative is inserted which deals with the origin of the three principal clans or kinships in the tribe of Judah.<sup>3</sup> ‘Er and Onan early disappeared, or survived only in fragments,<sup>4</sup> and two others, Peres and Zerah, took their places. These were not, however, regarded as adopted grandsons, as Ephraim and Manasseh were,<sup>5</sup> but as later-born sons of Judah himself, not by his wife, however, but by his daughter-in-law.<sup>6</sup> Peres, the younger of them, like Ephraim, finally gained precedence of his brother. The connection made with the history of Joseph is quite external (see ver. 1); but the chapter is like it, a contribution to the history of the growth of the Israelite tribes, and in especial to the history of their amalgamation with the people of Canaan. Judah here already appears on the point of separating himself from his brethren and of settling in the country which became his home. He marries a Canaanite woman, and his sons by her are ‘Er, Onan, and Shelah. ‘Er marries Tamar, but dies without children. Onan, although Tamar’s brother-in-law, refuses to give her children, and is also soon carried off. Judah, for the time, hesitates to give Shelah to Tamar, because he fears for his life. Tamar in her widowhood long remains in expectation

<sup>1</sup> 2 Kings xxv. 8 ff.; Jer. xxxix. 9, lii. 12 ff.; Dan. ii. 15.

<sup>2</sup> Knobel.

<sup>3</sup> Num. xxvi. 19-22.

<sup>4</sup> 1 Chron. iv. 21, where an ‘Er appears under Shelah.

<sup>5</sup> Gen. xlviii. 5 ff.

<sup>6</sup> Ewald, *Geschichte*,<sup>3</sup> i. 543 ff. [Eng. tr. i. 380 f.]

of Shelah, and finally employs a stratagem, which results in her pregnancy by Judah, her father-in-law. Twins, Pereş and Zerach, are the result of the connection.

A secondary purpose of the narrative is found in the desire it exhibits of impressing the duty of marriage with a deceased brother's wife.<sup>1</sup> Such a marriage receives historical mention only once,<sup>2</sup> and is not prescribed in the legislation until Deut. xxv. 5 ff.; but it was an ancient custom diffused among many other peoples of antiquity also. Stories of the kind exemplified here were not, we may suppose, unique in the ancient legendary cycle and in the legendary collections. But they have not survived, though xxxv. 22 and xlix. 4 may be regarded as a fragment of the kind. The only detailed narrative of its class is this of ch. xxxiv., which *R* preserved because of its importance to Judah. When Joseph's history had so much attention devoted to it, it was desired not to pass entirely over the tribe of Judah and the history of its development.

*C* is, without doubt, the source of the narrative. The divine name used is sufficient to exclude *A*,<sup>3</sup> and the same usage puts *B* also out of the question. The Judean country was itself, without doubt, the original home of the legend; it was not an invention<sup>4</sup> to cast reproach on Judah,<sup>5</sup> nor prompted by the jealousy of the northern tribes. We cannot even conclude, from a couple of expressions, בָּיָה in ver. 21 f. and צָעִיר in xiv. 19, that *B* also told the story. "The interpretations of names in ver. 29 f. and the use of יהוה (vv. 7, 10), רַע בְּעִינָי (ver. 10), יָדַע אִשָּׁה (ver. 26), הַבִּיר (ver. 25 f.), רָע (vv. 12, 20), הָבָה come (ver. 16), בָּלָהִי (ver. 9), כִּי־עָלֶי־כֵן (ver. 26), נָא (vv. 16, 25)," <sup>6</sup> suit *C*'s authorship. The chapter has been given its present position by *R*.

<sup>1</sup> See Winer,<sup>3</sup> ii. 19; Ewald, *Alterthümer*, p. 276 ff. [Eng. tr. 207 ff.].

<sup>2</sup> In Ruth, ch. iv., where in ver. 12 reference is made to Judah and Tamar.

<sup>3</sup> Regarding xlv. 12, see note there.

<sup>4</sup> Kuenen, *Onderzoek*,<sup>2</sup> i. 226.

<sup>5</sup> Reuss, *Geschichte*, 250.

<sup>6</sup> Knobel.



Ver. 1. The words **בעת ההיא** make the time of Joseph's loss the date of Judah's marriage, and not of the birth of Pereš and Zerach (ver. 29 f.) as has been assumed for the purpose of removing chronological difficulties. In xxxvii. 26, as again in ch. xlii. ff., Judah is still with the other brethren. "Here he separates from them and joins an 'Adullamite Hirah. The two seem to have had their flocks in common (ver. 12), but Judah was the principal personage."

"*He went down*—from Hebron (? see xxxvii. 14) on the hill-land of Judah to 'Adullam which lay in the plain (Shephelah) of Judah."<sup>1</sup>

**וַיֵּט**—we are not to supply **וַיֵּט אֵלָיו**,<sup>2</sup> for that is not elsewhere omitted, and there is no place name after **עָר**. Translate *devertit*, *ἀφίκετο*,<sup>3</sup> as in ver. 16, or *inclined himself towards*, i.e. attached himself to,<sup>4</sup> as **נָטָה אַחֲרַי פְּלִנִי** elsewhere.<sup>5</sup> For **עָר**, comp. 1 Sam. ix. 9.

Vv. 2-5. There he marries the daughter of the Canaanite Shua' and has three sons by her, 'Er, Onan, and Shelah. The last is born at Kezib, a place in the plain of Judah, elsewhere named Akzib.<sup>6</sup> It was therefore later held to be the original home of the clan Shelah.<sup>7</sup> There is no hesitation shown here in speaking either of Judah's marriage with a Canaanite, and so of the half Canaanite origin of Shelah,<sup>8</sup> or of Judah's partnership with Hirah.

Ver. 3. For **וַיִּקְרָא** the Samar., Targ of Jonathan, and some Hebrew Codd. have **וַיִּתְקַרָּא**; comp. de Rossi, *ad loc.*, and the false reading in xxix. 34.

**שֵׁלָה**—Sept. *Σηλώμ*, just as **חִירָה** may be supposed to be only a variant of **הִירָה**; comp. note on xxxvi. 14. The *nomen gentile* is **שֵׁלִנִי** (Num. xxvi. 20).

<sup>1</sup> Josh. xv. 35. Knobel. See further [Dillmann's] Comm. on Josh. xii. 15.

<sup>2</sup> Delitzsch,<sup>4</sup> Keil.

<sup>4</sup> Knobel.

<sup>6</sup> Josh. xv. 44; Micah i. 14.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. xlv. 10.

<sup>3</sup> Targ. Pesh. Sept.

<sup>5</sup> Ex. xxiii. 2; 1 Kings ii. 20.

<sup>7</sup> See 1 Chron. iv. 22.

יָהִי—unendurable; Samar. ירה; Sept. better, αὐτὴ δὲ ἦν, *i.e.* ירהיא.<sup>1</sup>

Ver. 6 f. "According to Hebrew custom<sup>2</sup> he chooses a wife for his eldest son 'Er. She was a woman named Tamar, doubtless also a Canaanite. But Jahve (Sept. ὁ Θεός) brought his death upon him because He was displeased with him. The author infers this from the principle that an early death is a punishment for sin."<sup>3</sup>

Vv. 8-10. "Judah prompts Onan to agree to marry Tamar as her *levir*, that he may *raise up seed* to his dead brother, *i.e.* procure him descendants. The author is able to give particulars of what brought on him Jahve's (Sept. τοῦ Θεοῦ) displeasure."<sup>4</sup> He is unwilling to perform the service of begetting descendants for his brother, and of so preventing the extinction of his name.<sup>5</sup> He lies, indeed, with Tamar, but intentionally avoids impregnating her; he displays selfishness and want of love to his brother. For this sinful conduct God carries him away.

וַיְהִי—consecutive perfect in the sense of the habitual imperfect;<sup>6</sup> *as often as*<sup>7</sup> *he went in to her he let perish to the earth*, allowed his seed to fall on the ground.<sup>8</sup> נָתַן is found again only in Num. xx. 21.

Ver. 11. "Judah regards Tamar as a woman with whom marriage is fatal,<sup>9</sup> and does not wish to give her his third son. He does not say this directly, but only that Tamar should remain a widow until Shelah is grown up. A widow, if she had no children, returned to *her father's house*."<sup>10</sup>

Ver. 12. *The days became many*, a considerable time passed,<sup>11</sup> and Judah's wife died. *He comforted himself*, ceased

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Driver, *Tenses*,<sup>3</sup> p. 161; see also Geige, *Urschrift*, 462.

<sup>2</sup> See xxi. 21, xxxiv. 34.

<sup>3</sup> Ps. xc. 7 ff.; Prov. x. 27; Job viii. 11 ff., xv. 32.

<sup>4</sup> Knobel. <sup>5</sup> *E.g.* Job xviii. 17; Ps. ix. 7, cix. 15; Deut. ix. 14.

<sup>6</sup> As xxx. 41 f.; Num. xxi. 9. Ewald, *Syntax*, § 345b.

<sup>7</sup> Ewald, § 355b.

<sup>8</sup> See Winer,<sup>3</sup> ii. 175.

<sup>9</sup> Tobit iii. 7 ff.

<sup>10</sup> Lev. xxii. 13. Knobel.

<sup>11</sup> Ch. xxvi. 8.

to mourn for her.<sup>1</sup> After the period of mourning was over, Judah went with his partner<sup>2</sup> Hirah to Timnah for the sheep-shearing. For על, comp. xxx. 33; here it expresses also that he went for purposes of supervision. Timnah is "here probably not the better known Danite locality, but, in view of עֵלָה, the place in the Judean hill-country named along with Gibeah in Josh. xv. 57."<sup>3</sup>

Ver. 13 f. Tamar has until now waited in vain for Judah to give her Shelah, and having heard of Judah's journey, uses her opportunity so that he himself is made to do a *levir's* part. She lays aside her widow's garments,<sup>4</sup> covers her face with the veil,<sup>5</sup> so as to be unrecognised by Judah,<sup>6</sup> puts a wrapping round her, as courtesans seem habitually to have done,<sup>7</sup> and goes to 'Enaim, where she sits down at the entrance, i.e. before the place. She wishes to pass as a קְדֻשָּׁה, one dedicated,<sup>8</sup> who gave her person in honour of the goddess of love, Astarte.<sup>9</sup> Such women made the sides of the roads a favourite haunt.<sup>10</sup> Such sanctified impurity was widely diffused in Canaan and elsewhere, and is here assumed for this early period; it was certainly of very old standing.

עֵינַיִם—in ver. 21 with the article, doubtless only an expanded form of עֵינָם,<sup>11</sup> "which was a place in the plain of Judah,<sup>12</sup> and lay, according to this passage, on the road between Judah's home and Timnah."<sup>13</sup> Regarding the dual ending, see note on xxxii. 3. Some versions,<sup>14</sup> in spite of ver. 21, took the word as an appellative and translated פתח עינים, *cross-road*.

Ver. 15. Judah supposes her to be a prostitute. But

<sup>1</sup> Cf. xxiv. 67.

<sup>2</sup> Here and in ver. 20 in the Mass. text, rightly following ver. 1; Sept. Vulg. and Luther, wrongly, רֵעָהוּ.

<sup>3</sup> Robinson, *Palestine*,<sup>3</sup> ii. 17.

<sup>4</sup> Judith x. 3, xvi. 7.

<sup>5</sup> Ch. xxiv. 65.

<sup>6</sup> Job xxiv. 15.

<sup>7</sup> Prov. vii. 10; but Sept. Pesh. Onkelos, *adorns herself* with dress.

<sup>8</sup> Ver. 21 f.

<sup>9</sup> Movers, *Phönicien*, i. 679 f.

<sup>10</sup> Jer. iii. 2; Ezek. xvi. 25; Epist. Jer. 42 f. [Baruch vi. 43].

<sup>11</sup> See xxxvii. 17.

<sup>12</sup> Josh. xv. 34.

<sup>13</sup> Knobel.

<sup>14</sup> Targg. Pesh. Jerome, Saadia.

the causal sentence 'כִּי וַיֵּן does not give as the reason for his doing so that she was veiled; it explains why he did not recognise her. To make this clear the Septuagint and Vulgate add *καὶ οὐκ ἐπέγνω αὐτήν* (וַיֵּן יָרְעָה).

Ver. 16 f. Judah turns aside to her, *to the road*,<sup>1</sup> i.e. where she was sitting, and wishes to lie with her; she asks a kid in return, and meantime a pledge that he will send it her. Kids and goats were favourite offerings to the goddess of love,<sup>2</sup> especially from the hetairai.<sup>3</sup> The goddess was also depicted sitting on a he-goat.<sup>4</sup> A kid appears also as a husband's gift to his wife (Judg. xv. 1).

Ver. 18. The pledge consists of things well suited to be afterwards a convincing proof that Judah was the cause of Tamar's pregnancy, for they were always about their possessor's person. They are *a signet ring*, which Judah carried on *a cord* about his neck, as the townspeople in Arabia still do,<sup>5</sup> and *a stick*, which we have to think of as ornamented and valuable. The ancient Babylonians carried a signet ring and a stick, the latter with an ornamented carved top.<sup>6</sup> The author supposes the existence of the same custom here.<sup>7</sup> Regarding walking-sticks among the ancient Egyptians and Hebrews, see also Chabas.<sup>8</sup> The earliest interpreters took פְּתִיל (in ver. 25, פְּתִילִים) to be *neck-chain*<sup>9</sup> or *armilla*<sup>10</sup> or *cloth, mantle*;<sup>11</sup> they were not familiar with the custom of carrying the חֶמֶד on the breast.

Ver. 19. Tamar goes home with the pledge and resumes her widowhood.

Vv. 20-22. Hirah brings from Judah the kid he had

<sup>1</sup> Sept. *τῇν ὁδόν*, *by the way*, without לָכֵן; Lagarde (*Prov.* p. iii), and Olshausen prefer this reading.

<sup>2</sup> Tacitus, *Hist.* ii. 3.

<sup>3</sup> Lucian, *Dial. meretr.* vii. 1.

<sup>4</sup> Pausanias, vi. 25. 2.

<sup>5</sup> Robinson, *Palestine*,<sup>3</sup> i. 36.

<sup>6</sup> Herodotus, i. 195; Strabo, xvi. 1. 20.

<sup>7</sup> Knobel.

<sup>8</sup> *Annales du Musée Guimet*, i. 35 ff.

<sup>9</sup> ὀμφάκος, στροπτός, Sept. Aq. Sym.

<sup>10</sup> Jerome.

<sup>11</sup> Onkelos, Peshitta.



promised in redemption of the pledge, but cannot find Tamar in 'Enaim, where she had only been for the moment.

For *הקדשה הוא*, see xix. 33. *בְּזָה* in the Pentateuch only in xlviii. 9; Ex. xxiv. 14; Num. xxii. 19, xxiii. 1, 29.

Ver. 23. Judah declares she may take and keep the pledge, which was of more value than the kid, in case they may be laughed at if they search further; he had kept his promise.

Ver. 24. After about three months Judah is told that Tamar is pregnant *in the direction of prostitution*,<sup>1</sup> in consequence of it. In virtue of his power over her, as head of the family,<sup>2</sup> he decides to have her burned. She could be regarded as affianced to Shelah, and so as an adulteress. But the legal punishment for ordinary adultery is stoning,<sup>3</sup> only priests' daughters who prostituted themselves were burned.<sup>4</sup> Knobel, following the Targum of Jonathan, therefore supposes that we have here again a representation of the patriarchs as men of God.<sup>5</sup> Such could hardly be in place, however, in the case of Judah, the visitor of a prostitute. We must grant that the punishment is not that prescribed by the law. It may preserve the memory of what preceded the law or was practised in spite of it.<sup>6</sup>

*בְּמִשְׁלֵשׁ*—for the double preposition comp. *בְּמִחְרָשׁ* in the Sept. of 1 Sam. x. 27; also 1 Sam. xiv. 14 and Lev. xxvi. 37. For *שְׁלֵשׁ* the Samaritan has more correctly *שְׁלִשֶׁת*.

*הנה הרה*—see xxiv. 30.

Ver. 25 f. For the construction, see xxix. 9. When she is being led out to death she sends the pledges to Judah, who acknowledges them to be his, and declares *she is in the right*, starting from me, *against me*.<sup>7</sup> *צדקה כפוני* does not so much mean "she is more righteous than I," *i.e.* has not acted so

<sup>1</sup> Ps. xviii. 45; Num. xvi. 34; Samar. *לזנים*.

<sup>2</sup> Ch. xxxi. 32.

<sup>3</sup> Lev. xx. 10; Deut. xxii. 23 ff.; Ezek. xvi. 40; John viii. 5.

<sup>4</sup> Lev. xxi. 9.

<sup>5</sup> Chs. xv. 1, xx. 7.

<sup>6</sup> But see also Lev. xx. 14.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Job iv. 17; Gesenius,<sup>25</sup> 133. 1A. 1, footnote 3.

badly in getting me to lie with her as I have in depriving her of Shelah.<sup>1</sup> "Judah does not lie with her again, for that would have been incest."<sup>2</sup>

כִּי-עַל-כֵּן, see xviii. 5; הִבְרִינָא, xxxi. 32, xxxvii. 32. For פתיל the Samaritan has פתיל; but see Böttcher.<sup>3</sup>

Vv. 27-30. Tamar bears twins. The story of their birth is much like that in Rebecca's case (xxv. 24 ff.).

וַיֵּתֶן—then he, sc. הַפֶּתִי, gave a hand, i.e. then one of them stretched out a hand. It is unnecessary to translate impersonally *there appeared a hand*,<sup>4</sup> and reasons may also be urged against it.<sup>5</sup> The midwife<sup>6</sup> pronounces this the first-born, and ties a scarlet thread on his hand so as to recognise him again. It is not he, but the other, who first comes out of the womb.

וַיְהִי כְּמִשִּׁיב יָדוֹ—not, he was as one drawing back his hand,<sup>7</sup> for he must have drawn back in reality, and not apparently, to allow of the other coming forward. כְּמִשִּׁיב must be equivalent to כְּהִיּוֹת מִשִּׁיב,<sup>8</sup> as in post-biblical Hebrew: *as (when) he drew back*. If there is to be correction, כְּהִיּוֹת<sup>9</sup> is not sufficient, because of the change of subject in what follows; כְּהִיּוֹת is necessary.

מָה פָּרַצְתָּ עָלַיךְ פְּרִיץ—the midwife's reproach to the second, *how you have rent a rent for yourself* (on your account, xx. 3), why need you press out in front with such violence!<sup>10</sup> Hence the name *rent* (one who rends or presses forward). There is less likelihood in the view which takes פְּרִיץ as an independent exclamation, *a rent on you*,<sup>11</sup> either, you must bear the blame of rending the vagina,<sup>12</sup> or, may you be fractured.<sup>13</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Knobel, Delitzsch.

<sup>2</sup> Lev. xviii. 15, xx. 12. Knobel.

<sup>3</sup> *Neue Aehrenlese*, i. 23 (for הַתְּמָת also).

<sup>4</sup> Gesenius, Delitzsch, Keil.

<sup>5</sup> See Hitzig on Job xxxvii. 10.

<sup>6</sup> Ch. xxxv. 17.

<sup>7</sup> Delitzsch<sup>4</sup>.

<sup>8</sup> Ch. xl. 10; Jer. ii. 17; Ewald, *Syntax*, § 337c.

<sup>9</sup> Driver, *Tenses*,<sup>3</sup> p. 172.

<sup>10</sup> Sept. Aq. Luther, Delitzsch, and others.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. xvi. 5.

<sup>12</sup> Clericus, Rosenmüller, Gesenius, and others.

<sup>13</sup> Knobel.

An injury to the mother would require clearer statement, and the breaking off of the majority of the tribes from David's house after Solomon's time<sup>1</sup> did not befall Pereš as distinguished from Zerach, even if David were descended from him, but either the Davidic house or more truly all Judah. The reference is rather to nothing more than the fact that Pereš, although properly the younger, in time gained precedence of his rival, and doubtless gave rise also to complaints regarding his violence.

יָרָה—there is no statement of the etymology such as *rising*, because he rose, or wished to appear, first; or such as *indigena* (אֹרֶה); and a play on שָׁנִי, literally, *brilliant*,<sup>2</sup> is simply absent.

וַיִּקְרָא—both in vv. 29 and 30 read וַיִּקְרָא by Samar., Targ. of Jonathan, and Peshitta.

There is as little intention to disgrace Pereš by this narrative as there was in the case of Jacob in xxv. 26. For what modern tendency criticism can make out of such naïve tribal legends, full of popular wit, see Bernstein.<sup>3</sup>

### 3. JOSEPH IN PRISON, CH. XXXIX.; MOSTLY FROM *C*.

1. An Egyptian (Potiphar) buys Joseph from the Ishmaelites, and finds him so qualified that he sets him over all the affairs of his house. The pious youth firmly puts aside the unchaste suggestions of his master's wife, is therefore falsely accused by her of an attempt on her chastity, and is put by her husband in the state prison. But God brings him the favour of the head of the prison, so that he is placed by him in charge of his fellow-prisoners. Joseph's purity makes a bright contrast to the conduct of Judah and Tamar. In ch. xxxvii. he appears merely as one persecuted without cause; here he displays a strength of piety and a moral greatness which range him with the patriarchs, in the true

<sup>1</sup> Knobel.

<sup>2</sup> Delitzsch.

<sup>3</sup> *Ursprung der Sagen*, 1871, p. 52 ff.

sense of the term, and make us understand how the development of the fortunes of his house depends on him. After being so tried, he appears worthy of the advancement which awaits him.

This narrative, although essential as part of the general story of Genesis, is not from the principal narrator of the history of Joseph, *B*, but from *C*.<sup>1</sup> The Ishmaelites, spoken of by *C* in xxxvii. 25 ff., are those who sell Joseph in ver. 1. His purchaser is "an Egyptian" (ver. 1, see below), afterwards called "Joseph's Egyptian master" (ver. 2) and "the Egyptian" (ver. 5), without his name and title being given (as in *B*, xxxvii. 36). Joseph is consigned for punishment to the royal prison (בֵּית הַפֶּהַר), in charge of a governor (שֵׂר בֵּית הַסֵּהַר) whose name is not given, and is entrusted by him with the *supervision* of the captives (xxxix. 20 ff.). In *B*, on the other hand (xl. 2–4), Potiphar, captain of the guard, has the state prison (מִשְׁכַּר) in his house, is himself governor of the prison, and sets Joseph, his slave (xli. 12), to *wait upon* the king's prisoners. The passage differs therefore from *B* in regard to matters of fact, just as it shows linguistically that it belongs to *C*.<sup>2</sup> Its delicate moral tone also suits *C*'s authorship best. Wellhausen<sup>3</sup> is of opinion that only vv. 1–5 and 20–23 are from *C*, and that 6–29 are in the main from *B*.<sup>4</sup> Some support is given to this view by the doublet in ver. 10b (see below), and by the expressions יָפָה תֹאֵר וַיִּפָּה (ver. 7),<sup>6</sup> וַיְהִי אַחֵר הָרָבִירִים הָאֵלֶּה (ver. 9),<sup>5</sup> מִרְאָה (ver. 6).<sup>7</sup> רָאוּ in ver. 14 is no support,<sup>8</sup> and יָשׁ (ver. 8, as 4 f.), בְּאִשֶּׁר, *because* (ver. 9, as 23 ; never in *B*), and כְּדָבָרִים

<sup>1</sup> Ewald, Hupfeld, Schrader, Böhmer, Kuenen, *Onderzoek*,<sup>2</sup> p. 143.

<sup>2</sup> יְהוּה (vv. 2 f., 5, 21, 23), הַעֲלִיחַ (vv. 2 f., 23), בְּנִלְלָהּ and מָאֵז (ver. 5), הוֹרִיר (ver. 1), כְּדָבָרִים הָאֵלֶּה (vv. 17, 18).

<sup>3</sup> *JBDTh.* xxi. 444.

<sup>4</sup> From *A*, according to Knobel.

<sup>5</sup> But a heathen woman is addressed.

<sup>6</sup> A common formula of transition to a loosely-connected narrative ; frequent in *B*, but not peculiar to him ; cf. note on xv. 1 ; also Josh. xxiv. 29 ; 1 Kings xvii. 17, xxi. 1, and elsewhere.

<sup>7</sup> A satisfactory alternative explanation may be derived from the certain fact that מִטְבַּח הָאֵלֶּה was not an expression in use.

<sup>8</sup> Ch. xli. 41 ; but similarly xxvii. 27 and xxxi. 50 [in *C*].



הַאֵלֶּה (vv. 17 and 19), are rather proofs against it. But it is quite improbable, for the reason that the story contained in vv. 6–19 cannot be fitted on to *B*'s account in xl. 3 f., if, at least, the former ended with Joseph's imprisonment. It is true, indeed, that in *B*'s narrative we miss a statement between xxxvii. 36 and xl. 3 f. regarding what the chief of the guard did with Joseph, and how the latter gained his master's favour by tact or virtue. Probably *B*'s remarks on this point have not only been utilised by *C* himself, but have been in a fragmentary way worked into *C*'s text by *R*.<sup>1</sup> *R* has also combined the divergent statements as to Joseph's master, in a sense favourable to *B*, by the insertion of—פּוֹטִיפָר, הַטֹּבָהִים, and he has decided the difference regarding the prison governor in favour of *C* by admitting vv. 20–23 (with some redaction in ver. 20); the result is that there are two governors—one without name, who may be regarded as a subordinate official; the other Potiphar, captain of the guard (xl. 4), head of the prison. This artificial reconciliation brings with it new difficulties only removable by harmonistic hypotheses. We find, namely, a פָּרִים with a wife,<sup>2</sup> and one Potiphar, who, as an outraged husband, imprisons Joseph (ver. 20), yet as head of the prison advances him to favour (xl. 4).

Kittel and Kautzsch-Socin have given their adhesion to the analysis here presented.

2. The question as to whether it was under a native Egyptian king or under one of the Hyksos kings that Joseph came to Egypt and rose to power, cannot be answered from Genesis alone, and is of no essential importance in our interpretation of it. No attempt will be made here to give Joseph a place in the course of Egyptian history. As in the case of Abraham and the rest, Joseph must originally have

<sup>1</sup> *E.g.* וַיְהִי אִישׁ מִצְלִיחַ (ver. 2), וַיִּשְׂרַת אֹתוֹ (ver. 4; cf. xl. 4; Ex. xxiv. 13, xxxiii. 11), or ver. 6a (mainly superfluous along with ver. 4), etc.

<sup>2</sup> See note on ver. 1.

been the designation for a community of some size,<sup>1</sup> but in Genesis he appears as no more than an individual, with a history which is purely a domestic one. The Egyptian king is called Pharaoh only; his own name or that of his capital (xliv. 4) is not given. Our text gives no indication regarding the royal residence, except that it was in a city not extremely remote from Goshen,<sup>2</sup> so that we are unable to decide between the claims advanced for Šoan<sup>3</sup> and for Memphis.<sup>4</sup> Only three Egyptian names are mentioned, On, Asenath, and Potiphra'; and the last quoted is that of two different individuals, though slightly varying in form in Hebrew. If we exclude the naturalised words פֶּרְעֹה and פֶּרְעֹה, there are two other Egyptian words which occur (xli. 43, 45). The narrators show themselves well acquainted with Egyptian affairs, customs, and ideas; there are no real lapses due to ignorance,<sup>5</sup> and there are notes and descriptions which appear surprisingly faithful and happy. The legend may have had a certain Egyptian impress from the beginning, but individual traits may also have been added as the Israelites became increasingly acquainted with Egypt, which they did in the time of the Hebrew monarchy. For example, it is only in C<sup>6</sup> that special stress is laid on the Egyptian dislike of the Hebrews and of shepherds; and recently the age of several of the Egyptian proper names found in the text has been called in question.<sup>7</sup> In any case, the Egyptian colouring does not help us to determine Joseph's date, for life in Egypt remained much the same from age to age. Nor is a point of departure to be found in the statements of ch. xlvii. regarding the changes worked by Joseph's agrarian policy, for we have no definite in-

<sup>1</sup> Ewald, *Geschichte*,<sup>3</sup> i. 580 ff. [Eng. tr. i. 405 ff.].

<sup>2</sup> Chs. xlv. 10, xlvi. 28, xlviii. 1 f.

<sup>3</sup> Hengstenberg, Kurtz, Ewald, *Geschichte*,<sup>3</sup> i. 571 [Eng. tr. i. 399]; Bubastis also is a possible claimant, see Naville, *Bubastis*, 1891, p. 16 ff.

<sup>4</sup> E.g. Knobel, Delitzsch.

<sup>5</sup> See, further, notes on xii. 16 and xlvii. 17.

<sup>6</sup> Chs. xliii. 32, xlvi. 34.

<sup>7</sup> See note on xli. 45.

formation on the subject elsewhere. We cannot even draw any conclusions from the mention in the inscription of El Kab<sup>1</sup> of a famine which lasted several years, and the rock inscription from the island of Sehel<sup>2</sup> is proved to be a forgery.<sup>3</sup> Egyptian monuments and inscriptions tell us nothing of Joseph, and non-biblical writers<sup>4</sup> depend on Genesis for their information. The only way of approaching the question is to argue back from the date of the exodus.<sup>5</sup> From this starting-point it appears most probable, and is assumed by most, that Joseph rose to power in Egypt under the Hyksos dynasty; not in the time of their first wild conquest, when they were the foes and destroyers of all that was Egyptian, but in the period after their assimilation of Egyptian culture, which revived once more under their rule, while they themselves came more and more to occupy the places of the ancient Pharaohs. It may even be maintained that this alone makes Joseph's advancement comprehensible. "The elevation of a Semite shepherd to the highest office in the empire, his marriage with one who belonged to a leading priestly family, his becoming one of the priestly caste himself, and the very friendly reception accorded to the tribe of Hebrew shepherds, is almost inexplicable, when we consider the Egyptian hatred for strangers (xliii. 32), if native kings were then ruling, and more especially if it were just after the Hyksos domination, when the hatred of foreigners was particularly strong, above all towards Semites."<sup>6</sup>

Ver. 1. Joseph is brought to Egypt by the Ishmaelites (xxxvii. 28) and sold to an Egyptian. Regarding הִירָר and הִנְרָר, see xxxvii. 28.

אֵישׁ מִצְרַיִם—is superfluous in the present text, and a proof

<sup>1</sup> Brugsch, *Geschichte*, p. 244 ff. [Eng. tr. 1891, p. 121 f.].

<sup>2</sup> Brugsch, *Die bibl. 7 Jahre der Hungersnoth*, 1891.

<sup>3</sup> See Erman in *DLZ*, 1891, No. 37.

<sup>4</sup> *E.g.* Justin, xxxvi. 2.

<sup>5</sup> See Comm. on Ex. i. 8, xii. 41.

<sup>6</sup> Knobel. See, further, Riehm, p. 763 f.; and Kittel, *Geschichte*, i. 166 ff. [Eng. tr. i. 184 ff.].

that הטבחים—פּוֹטִיפֶר is a later addition. It is as little intended to stand in antithesis to the *Hebrew* slave of vv. 14 and 17<sup>1</sup> as to the Hyksos;<sup>2</sup> the distinction between natives and dominant foreigners is nowhere made in these narratives. By this addition of *B*'s a married קָרִים comes into the narrative. It is an uncertain way out of the difficulty to maintain that קָרִים denotes merely an official of the royal court and ceases to mean eunuch.<sup>3</sup> It is more to the point to recall that married eunuchs have existed and do exist.<sup>4</sup>

Ver. 2. "Joseph is fortunate in the business assigned to him in his master's house, for Jahve is with him."<sup>5</sup> יְהִי אִישׁ מַעֲלִיחַ is perhaps from *B*, for *C* writes יהוה as subject to הַעֲלִיחַ.<sup>6</sup>

Ver. 3 f. "When his master observes this he grants him his special favour, makes him his personal attendant,<sup>7</sup> sets him in the position of steward of his household, and entrusts all his other possessions to his management also. Joseph thus comes to occupy a position like that of Eliezer in relation to Abraham."<sup>8</sup>

For בעֵינֵי אֲדֹנָיו, the Samar. and Sept. have בעֵינֵי אֲדֹנָיו, see p. 352, note 1. וַיִּשְׂרַח אֹתוֹ, see p. 352, note 1. וַיִּשְׂרַח אֹתוֹ without the relative is rare in prose; but the Samar. has וַיִּשְׂרַח אֹתוֹ; cf. vv. 5 and 8. וַיִּשְׂרַח is frequent in *C*,<sup>9</sup> but in xlii. 1 also in *B*.

Ver. 5. "After this God's blessing dwells with him. *In the house and in the field*, so that he had possessions in land also. The author exhibits patriotic interest in showing how God held His protecting hand over one of their ancestors."<sup>10</sup>

מִן, Ex. iv. 10, v. 23, ix. 24. For בְּנִלְלָהּ, see xii. 13.

Ver. 6 ff. With the story of Joseph's temptation by his mistress there is to be compared a very similar tale dating

<sup>1</sup> Delitzsch<sup>4</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> Knobel.

<sup>3</sup> See Gesenius, *Thesaurus*, 973.

<sup>4</sup> Winer,<sup>3</sup> ii. 655.

<sup>5</sup> See xxi. 20.

<sup>6</sup> Ch. iii. 23; see note on xxiv. 21.

<sup>7</sup> Job xix. 16.

<sup>8</sup> Ch. xxiv. 2, xv. 2 f. Knobel.

<sup>9</sup> Ch. xxiv. 23, 42, 49, xxviii. 16, xliii. 4, 7, xlv. 20, xlvii. 6.

<sup>10</sup> Knobel.



from the 19th dynasty.<sup>1</sup> Egyptian women, at least of a later period, had not a very good reputation,<sup>2</sup> least of all in the time of the Roman empire.<sup>3</sup> But we are not therefore entitled to conclude directly regarding ancient Egypt. A comparison of the state of society in Egypt under Islam<sup>4</sup> is quite too remote to be of value.

Ver. 6. The Egyptian leaves<sup>5</sup> his whole property in Joseph's hand, under his control, and concerns himself for nothing *with him*, *i.e.* when he had already looked to it (ver. 8), except for the food he ate, doubtless as being what he could not leave to another.<sup>6</sup> Knobel's explanation would follow xliii. 32 and xlvi. 34. For *יפה-מראה*, see xxix. 17.

Vv. 7-9. The lustful mistress directs her looks to the handsome youth, and makes unchaste proposals to him. He refuses, and speaks of his master's unlimited confidence in him, which he desires to merit by faithfulness and honesty, and of the heinous sin he would be guilty of towards God if he violated his master's marriage rights.

For *שִׁכְבָּה*, see Gesenius,<sup>25</sup> 48. 5. *מה* presents no difficulty, whether taken as an interrogative or indefinite pronoun;<sup>7</sup> Samar. *מאומה*. *He is not great before me*, "he has not more control in his house than I have, having put under my authority all but his wife. The *אֵינוֹ* does not permit of the rendering, *there is no one*, or *nothing*, in this house greater than I."<sup>8</sup> *הִשֵּׁךְ*, xx. 6, xxii. 12. *אֵיךְ*, xlv. 8 and 34. *בְּאִשֶּׁר*, inasmuch as, or because, in the Pentateuch only here and in ver. 23.

Ver. 10 f. While she was thus daily<sup>9</sup> urging him, without

<sup>1</sup> Found by E. de Rougé in the Papyrus d'Orbiney, published, *e.g.*, in Ebers, *Ägypten*, i. 311 ff.; Brugsch, *Geschichte*, 249 ff. [Eng. tr. 123 f.]; Erman, *Ägypten*, 505 ff. [Eng. tr. 1894, p. 378 f.].

<sup>2</sup> Herodotus, ii. 111.

<sup>3</sup> Diod. i. 59; Martial, iv. 42. 4; Dio Cassius, li. 15.

<sup>4</sup> *E.g.* Barhebræus, *Chron. Syr.* p. 217; Burckhardt, *Arabic Proverbs*, p. 173 ff.

<sup>5</sup> Isa. x. 3; Job xxxix. 11, 14.

<sup>6</sup> Delitzsch.

<sup>7</sup> Prov. ix. 13; Job xiii. 13.

<sup>8</sup> Knobel.

<sup>9</sup> Gesenius,<sup>25</sup> 123. A1.

his agreeing to her proposal<sup>1</sup> to lie down *beside her*,<sup>2</sup> that he might be with her, have sexual intercourse with her,<sup>3</sup> it happened *like this time*, *i.e.* just then,<sup>4</sup> that Joseph came into the house about his business without any of the household being there. At that time in Egypt it was not the custom strictly to seclude the women from the men.<sup>5</sup>

להיות עמה—would surely have been too trivial to be placed as a doublet to לשכב עמה;<sup>6</sup> there is less objection to making it a gloss.

Ver. 12. "She wishes to force him, but he frees himself, and hastens out, leaving his garment behind."

Vv. 13-15. "To revenge the slight, and to secure herself by anticipating the possibility of an accusation by Joseph, she resolves to accuse him, although he was guiltless, of an attack on her chastity, and calls the servants forthwith to be witnesses."<sup>7</sup>

*He has brought in amongst us a Hebrew*—"one of the impure Hebrew pastoral people."<sup>8</sup> She desires to produce the impression that she is very discontented with Joseph's being there at all."<sup>9</sup>

לצחק בנו—to sport with, play the wanton on us. ב has a different force from that of אה in xxvi. 8.<sup>10</sup> She says *us* (ver. 17, בִּי) not in the sense of me,<sup>11</sup> as is shown by what follows, but as including, in her evil case, those (women) whom she addresses. She lets it be understood that they are no doubt also exposed to similar insolence. In proof of her assertion, she points to the garment (hence רֵאִי) which he had already laid aside and omitted to take with him on his flight. For אֵלַי the Samaritan has wrongly בִּי, for this would have betrayed herself.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Gesenius,<sup>25</sup> 114. 3.

<sup>2</sup> Vv. 15 f., 18, xli. 3.

<sup>3</sup> 2 Sam. xiii. 20.

<sup>4</sup> Sept. *then a day like this became*, came again.

<sup>5</sup> Ebers, *Aegypten*, p. 205 ff.

<sup>6</sup> Wellhausen.

<sup>7</sup> For parallels, see Rosenmüller, *ANM.* i. 185 f.

<sup>8</sup> Ch. xliii. 32, xlv. 34.

<sup>9</sup> Knobel.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. Prov. i. 26; Sept. ἐμπαίζειν.

<sup>11</sup> Knobel.

<sup>12</sup> Delitzsch.

Vv. 16-18. She lays the garment down beside her, and when Joseph's master, her husband, comes home, she relates the occurrence to him. *בא אלי* is to be taken with *לצחק בי*.

Ver. 19. The Egyptian is angry on hearing the story; but the writer does not say "with Joseph"; probably because he was not the only object of his anger, which was also against his wife, whom he did not trust.<sup>1</sup>

*ברברים האלה*—also in ver. 17, as xxiv. 28, xliv. 7.

Ver. 20. He does not subject him to the utmost rigour of the law,<sup>2</sup> putting him in prison only, because of his esteem for him apart from this incident.

*אֶרְנִי*—in xlii. 30, 33 also; elsewhere in the plural only with suffixes.

*בֵּית הַפֶּהָר*—*house of enclosure*, prison, only here (vv. 20-23) and xl. 3 and 5, where it is an insertion by *R*, following *C*. The more usual expression *בּוֹר*<sup>3</sup> occurs in xl. 15, xli. 14.

*אסורים*—*מקום*—added to help the transition to ch. xl. It results in the incongruity of allowing a private individual to put his slave in the prison where the king confined those subject to his displeasure.<sup>4</sup>

*אשר* is without *שם*, as in xxxv. 13. For the construct *מִקוֹם*, see Gesenius.<sup>5</sup>

Vv. 21-23. "Here also Jahve is with Joseph, and wins him favour. *ויתן חנוּנוֹ*, *he set his (Joseph's) favour in the eyes of*, etc., brought him favour with, the governor.<sup>6</sup> He made Joseph head of the other prisoners, the overseer and director of their tasks, so that they looked to him in everything. He himself looked after nothing *in his hand*, did not trouble himself<sup>7</sup> about anything which was entrusted to Joseph's hand (supervision). It would have been unnecessary, for Jahve caused everything to succeed which Joseph undertook. This elevation of Joseph's over the other captives does not

<sup>1</sup> Delitzsch.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Ex. xii. 29.

<sup>3</sup> *Grammatik*,<sup>25</sup> 130. 3.

<sup>4</sup> 1 Kings xii. 19.

<sup>5</sup> Diod. i. 77 f.

<sup>6</sup> Hupfeld.

<sup>7</sup> As Ex. iii. 21, xi. 3, xii. 36.

harmonise with xl. 4.”<sup>1</sup> This, in itself, is proof that vv. 20–23 are not an independent addition by *B*,<sup>2</sup> but existed in *C* as he had it.

For עֲשִׂים, see Gesenius,<sup>25</sup> 116. 5. A3. כֹּל-כַּאֲמֹרָה after the negative *nothing at all*; only here in this sense.

#### 4. JOSEPH INTERPRETS THE DREAMS OF THE TWO ROYAL SERVANTS, CH. XL.; FROM *B*.

The turning-point of Joseph's fortunes begins by his gaining the opportunity to interpret correctly, in Potiphar's prison-house, the dreams of two royal officials who had fallen into disgrace. He thus establishes the fame of possessing a divinely inspired wisdom. At home he had already shown himself to be a dreamer of divinely sent dreams;<sup>3</sup> he has also the gift of the interpretation of dreams given him by God (ver. 8). This is to be the means of bringing him to power and fame in Egypt, “that fairyland of supreme science and mysterious art” where also the belief in dreams was prevalent.<sup>4</sup>

The important part played by dreams in the course of the history is evidence for *B*'s authorship.<sup>5</sup> Further proof is given by vv. 3*a* and 4, where Joseph is slave of the captain of the guard,<sup>6</sup> and not in prison as in ch. xxxix., also by נִבְּתִי in ver. 15 (cf. xxxvii. 28), and by the connection of ch. xli. with ch. xl. The linguistic indications are not numerous, seeing that the subject-matter requires a variation in the vocabulary, and that אֱלֹהִים (ver. 8) is required by the nature of the case; but the avoidance of verbal suffixes,<sup>7</sup> which distinguishes *B* from *C*, is to be observed.<sup>8</sup> One or two references to xxxix. 20 ff., found in vv. 3*b*, 5*b*, and 15*b*, are,

<sup>1</sup> Knobel.

<sup>2</sup> Böhmner.

<sup>3</sup> Ch. xxxvii. 5 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Ebers, *Ägypten*, 321 f.

<sup>5</sup> For the author of xx. 3, xxi. 12, xxviii. 12, xxxi. 11, 24, xxxvii. 5 ff., and so for *B*.

<sup>6</sup> As in xxxvii. 36 (cf. xli. 12).

<sup>7</sup> Vv. 3 f., 6, 8, 11, 15, 17, 19.

<sup>8</sup> Wellhausen.



like ver. 1, taken by *R* from *C* to harmonise the narratives. Such fragments are proof, however, that *C* also had some similar account of the occurrence.<sup>1</sup>

Ver. 1. For the formula of transition, see note on xv. 1. The verse is to be regarded as an insertion by *R* from *C*,<sup>2</sup> because of the use of *מִשְׁקָה* and *אֹפֶה* for the *שַׂר הַמִּשְׁקִים* and *יֶשֶׁר הָאוֹפִים* in vv. 2, 4 ff., because instead of *פָּרַעַה* we find *מֶלֶךְ מִצְרַיִם*, and because the sentence from *חֲטָאוּ* onwards is not really required before ver. 2.

*מִשְׁקָה מֶלֶךְ מִצְרַיִם*—can only mean *the* cupbearer of the king, like *הָאֹפֶה*, as in ver. 5; it cannot be *a* cupbearer,<sup>3</sup> nor a collective the cupbearers (and bakers);<sup>4</sup> in the latter case the king must have made the heads responsible for their subordinates. The expression does not exclude, for either the cupbearer or the baker, that they had servants and subordinates under them. The Egyptian court was well supplied with all sorts of officials, but the title cupbearer has not yet been found in native sources,<sup>5</sup> although the court bakers have, it seems.<sup>6</sup> Comparison may be made with the Persian court<sup>7</sup> and its cupbearers,<sup>8</sup> and with the Turkish court."<sup>9</sup>

Ver. 2, from *B*. Both the officials are eunuchs.<sup>10</sup> The construct of *קָרִים* sometimes retains  $\text{—}$ , sometimes not.<sup>11</sup> *וַיִּקְצֹף* as ch. xli. 10.

Ver. 3. The king places them in confinement in the house of the captain of the guard, where the state-prison, therefore, also was. "Nothing is said regarding a special

<sup>1</sup> Knobel still assigned all ch. iv. except vv. 7 f. and 14 f. (partially) to *A*.

<sup>2</sup> Wellhausen.

<sup>3</sup> Ilgen.

<sup>4</sup> Mercerus, Böttcher.

<sup>5</sup> Ebers, *Ägypten*, 320.

<sup>6</sup> *J.A.* viii. 11, p. 259; Erman, *Ägypten*, 269 [Eng. tr. p. 191 f.].

<sup>7</sup> Xenophon, *Hellenica*, vii. 1. 38.

<sup>8</sup> Herod. iii. 34; Xen. *Cyropædia*, i. 3. 8; Neh. i. 11, ii. 1.

<sup>9</sup> Tavernier [*Voyages*, cf. Eng. tr. Appendix], Germ. tr. iii. 2, 6 f.; Klemm, *Morgenland*, p. 206 f. Knobel.

<sup>10</sup> In ver. 7 also (see xxxix. 1).

<sup>11</sup> See Gesenius, *Thesaurus*, and Ewald, § 260b.

warden of this prison other than Potiphar.”<sup>1</sup> Equally in ver. 7 *אֶל-בֵּית הַסֹּהֵר וְנִי* is an insertion by *R* from *C*.<sup>2</sup>

Ver. 4. Potiphar makes his slave (ver. 7) Joseph the servant of the two distinguished state prisoners.<sup>3</sup> For *יָמִים*, see iv. 3.

Ver. 5. During one and the same night each dreams a dream, *each according to the interpretation of his dream*, i.e. “each a dream which had a special meaning and interpretation for him.”<sup>4</sup> Ver. *b* is superfluous, agrees in contents and expression with vv. 1, 3*b*, and xxxix. 20 ff., and is an insertion by *R* from *C*. *אֲשֶׁר לִי*, as xxix. 9, xli. 43, xlvii. 4.

Ver. 6. They are troubled by the dream, and Joseph finds them next morning out of humour.<sup>5</sup>

Ver. 7 f. *אִתּוֹ*—with him, as he was with them (ver. 4). If we had to supply “as his fellow-prisoners,” the words *אִתּוֹ אֲשֶׁר אִתּוֹ* would be from *C*. See Neh. ii. 2 for *פָּנִים רָעִים* (an ill-tempered expression).

They believe that dreams are significant, and desire an interpreter. Joseph offers his services after expressly stating that interpretation of dreams is of God, i.e. comes from God, is a gift of God. “As the ancients ascribed dreams to divine influence (xli. 25), so they regarded the privilege of interpreting them truly as also a gift by which God distinguishes individuals.”<sup>6</sup> The Egyptians held that the art of a seer was wholly from the gods.”<sup>7</sup> For *פַּתְרָנִים* the Sept. has *פתרנם*, ἡ διασάφησις αὐτῶν.

Vv. 9-11. The cupbearer in his dream saw a vine before him, with three shoots on it. *It was just budding*, or putting out its leaves, i.e. had hardly put out its leaves, *when its blossom shot out*,<sup>8</sup> and *its clusters ripened grapes*. Further, he dreamed that, having Pharaoh’s cup in his hand, he pressed the grapes into it and handed it to the king.

<sup>1</sup> Knobel.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. xxxix. 20 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. xxxix. 4.

<sup>4</sup> Knobel.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Prov. xxv. 23.

<sup>6</sup> Ch. xli. 16, 38 f.; Dan. i. 17, ii. 30, iv. 6, v. 11 f.

<sup>7</sup> Herod. ii. 83. Knobel.

<sup>8</sup> Isa. xviii. 5.

בִּפְרֹחַת—the  $\text{פ}$  is not the  $\text{פ}$  of comparison;<sup>1</sup> for while the whole dream was only an appearance, in the dream the occurrence actually took place, and did not merely appear to do so. It is a temporal  $\text{פ}$ , and פִּרְחַת is equivalent to פִּרְחָה; see xxxviii. 29. The perfects after the circumstantial clause express the immediateness with which the events follow one another.

נִצָּה—post-biblical Hebrew proves the existence of a singular נִי; but that would be masculine, and there is difficulty in taking נִצָּה, alternatively, as accusative after עֲלֶיָּה, and making נִצָּה the subject of the verb;<sup>2</sup> it is easier to take נִצָּה as contracted from נִצָּחָה.<sup>3</sup>

The Old Testament speaks elsewhere also of vines in Egypt.<sup>4</sup> Classical writers distinguish different kinds of Egyptian wine, and localities distinguished for grape culture.<sup>5</sup> The monuments and inscriptions show that what they say is not to be applied to a later period only.<sup>6</sup> The culture of the vine and the use of wine was common under the ancient empire also. A further proof is found in the Egyptian belief that Osiris invented grape culture and drank wine first<sup>7</sup> in an Egyptian city.<sup>8</sup> Accordingly we must limit the statement of Herodotus,<sup>9</sup> οὐ γὰρ σφί εἰσι ἐν τῇ χώρῃ ἄμπελοι, to the Egyptians who lived περὶ τὴν σπειρομένην Αἴγυπτον.<sup>10</sup> But the king here drinks pure grape juice, though not, as suggested, because wine was forbidden to the kings before Psammetichus<sup>11</sup> or because the Hyksos kings shared the dis-

<sup>1</sup> Rashi, Knobel, Driver, *Tenses*,<sup>3</sup> p. 172.

<sup>2</sup> Ewald, § 281b.

<sup>3</sup> Ewald, § 257d.

<sup>4</sup> Ps. lxxviii. 47, cv. 33; cf. Num. xx. 5.

<sup>5</sup> Strabo, xvii. 1. 14, 35; Diod. i. 36; Athenæus, i. 60, ed. Casaubon, p. 33; Columella, *De re rustica*, iii. 2; Pliny, xiv. § 74. Knobel.

<sup>6</sup> Ebers, *Ägypten*, 323 ff.; Erman, *Ägypten*, 276 ff. [Eng. tr. p. 196 ff.].

<sup>7</sup> Diodorus, i. 15.

<sup>8</sup> Athenæus, i. 61, p. 34.

<sup>9</sup> Ch. ii. 77.

<sup>10</sup> Knobel.

<sup>11</sup> According to Plutarch, *de Iside*, vi., this was not the case, and what actually existed was at most a limitation as to time and amount by priestly regulation (Diod. i. 70).

like of the Semite nomads for wine,<sup>1</sup> but because fresh grape juice must have been, in the season when it could be had, a favourite drink with the Egyptians, as it was with other peoples.

Ver. 12 f. Joseph interprets the three branches to be three days, and what followed as the restoration of the cupbearer to his office. "Artemidorus<sup>2</sup> includes the vine among plants of rapid growth, and says that dreams in which it appears are speedily fulfilled."

"*He will raise your head*, bring you out from prison, restore you to honour."<sup>3</sup>

כֵּן—as in xli. 13; in the same sense again only in the Book of Daniel; Kuenen,<sup>4</sup> therefore, regards על כנך as a late insertion.

אשר—when; comp. 1 Kings viii. 9; 2 Sam. xix. 25.

Ver. 14 f. After giving this favourable interpretation Joseph adds for himself the request that the cupbearer, after his restoration to office, will influence the king to deliver him from his present situation. He appeals to the fact that he was *stolen*<sup>5</sup> from the land of the Hebrews,<sup>6</sup> i.e. carried off by stealth, and so is unjustly a slave; he also says he has done nothing in Egypt to merit imprisonment. It is clearly apparent that ver. 15b is not from B, but is an insertion from C.<sup>7</sup> In B, Joseph's wish is for deliverance from the condition of slavery in which he is made use of as gaoler.

כִּי אִם—but if, except, *only that*, with a perfect of condition when the verb follows directly.<sup>8</sup> *Only that you think of me in your mind*<sup>9</sup> when it is well with you,<sup>10</sup> and will please<sup>11</sup> to show kindness to me.<sup>12</sup> If כִּי be corrected to

<sup>1</sup> Knobel.

<sup>2</sup> iv. 1.

<sup>3</sup> 2 Kings xxv. 27. Knobel.

<sup>4</sup> *Onderzoek*,<sup>2</sup> 317.

<sup>5</sup> See Ex. xxi. 16.

<sup>6</sup> Anachronism for ארץ כנען.

<sup>7</sup> Against Hupfeld, *Quellen*, p. 70, and Böhmer, *Genesis*, p. 263.

<sup>8</sup> 2 Sam. v. 6; 2 Kings v. 20, xxiii. 9; Ewald, § 356b; Gesenius,<sup>25</sup>

163. 2.

<sup>9</sup> אֶתְּךָ, Job xii. 3, xiv. 5.

<sup>10</sup> Ch. xiii. 12.

<sup>11</sup> Ewald, § 342c.

<sup>12</sup> Not only in C, xxiv. 12, 14, 49, but also in B, xx. 13, xxi. 23.



אֶף<sup>1</sup>, זֶכֶר is made conditional, whereas Joseph plainly makes this a part of his request.

For בֹּרֵךְ, see note on xxxix. 20 ; for גִּנְבֹתִי, xxxvii. 28 ; for בֵּית, vv. 3 and 7.

Ver. 16 f. Encouraged by this favourable interpretation the baker tells his dream also. He dreamed he was carrying *three baskets of white*, i.e. of white, fine pastry. In the uppermost basket he had, *of* (partitive)<sup>2</sup> *all kinds*<sup>3</sup> *of Pharaoh's food*, in so far as it was *the work of a baker*, i.e. all sorts of pastry for the king. But the birds ate it from the basket on his head. אֲתֵם, *them*, the different kinds of pastry.

In ancient Egypt the men carried articles on their heads as the women also do now,<sup>4</sup> the women used their shoulders.<sup>5</sup> The boldness and importunity of the birds is illustrated in Denon.<sup>6</sup>

Ver. 18 f. The interpretation is simple ; it was necessarily unfavourable, because of the conclusion of the dream. Within three days the baker will be beheaded and impaled, and the birds will devour his flesh. נִשָּׂא was the word used in the interpretation of the cupbearer's dream also ; but here, followed by כָּעֵל, it has the signification *take away*. Compare ch. xxvii. 39.

Beheading was customary in Egypt, but not among the Israelites until the exile. The impalement of the dead body<sup>7</sup> is an aggravation of the punishment,<sup>8</sup> and the superstitious beliefs of the Egyptians regarding their bodies made it a keenly felt infliction to be cast to the beasts.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Wellhausen, xxi. 445 ; Driver, *Tenses*,<sup>3</sup> p. 142.

<sup>2</sup> As iv. 4, xxvii. 28, xxx. 14, xxxiii. 15.

<sup>3</sup> Ch. ii. 9.

<sup>4</sup> Seetzen, *Reisen*, iii. 363 f.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Wilkinson's woodcut from the monuments [*Ancient Egyptians*, 1878, ii. 34] (reproduced Ebers, *Ägypten*, 332, and Riehm, *HWB.* 326).

<sup>6</sup> [*Voyage en Egypte*, ii. 46 f.], Germ. tr. p. 327. Knobel.

<sup>7</sup> Deut. xxi. 22 f. ; Josh. x. 26 ; 2 Sam. iv. 12 ; similarly the Persians in Herod. ix. 78, iii. 125 ; Ctesias, *Persica*, ed. Lion, p. 59 ; Plutarch, *Artax.* 17 ; and the Carthaginians in Plutarch, *Timol.* 22 ; Justin, xxi. 4.

<sup>8</sup> Knobel.

<sup>9</sup> Ebers, *Ägypten*, 334.

Ver. 20 ff. On the third day after, which was the birthday of the king, the interpretations are fulfilled.

הִלָּרֶה is infin. Hophal; <sup>1</sup> its subject is in the accusative case, as in iv. 18, xvii. 5, and elsewhere. נִשָּׂא has the double sense made clear by vv. 13 and 19. The מִשְׁקֶה of מִשְׁקֶהוּ is hardly *cupbearership*,<sup>2</sup> but means *beverage*.<sup>3</sup>

The Rosetta and Canopus tablets<sup>4</sup> are evidence, for the Ptolemaic period at least, that the birthdays of the Egyptian kings were celebrated by festivities and proclamations of amnesty. Similarly among the Persians<sup>5</sup> and Jews.<sup>6</sup> For acts of clemency associated with occasions of special rejoicing, see 1 Sam. xi. 13; 2 Sam. xix. 22 f.<sup>7</sup>

Ver. 23. The cupbearer ungratefully does nothing for Joseph, who must therefore still remain in the situation in which he is.

# 5. PHARAOH'S DREAMS AND JOSEPH'S ELEVATION, CH. XLI.; MOSTLY ACCORDING TO B.

Two years later, Joseph is given the opportunity of proving his wisdom before a yet higher personage. The king has wonderful dreams regarding seven fat and seven lean cows, and ears of corn, and the Egyptian sages are unable to interpret them. The chief cupbearer tells of Joseph. He is brought, interprets the dreams of seven fruitful and seven unfruitful years, and advises that preparations be made in the time of plenty for the time of famine. His interpretation and his advice meet with approval; the king appoints him to the highest office in his kingdom, and marries him to the

<sup>1</sup> Gesenius,<sup>25</sup> 69. 2A, 7. König, *Lehrgebäude*, p. 433; cf. Ezek. xvi. 4f.

<sup>2</sup> Delitzsch<sup>5</sup>.

<sup>3</sup> 1 Kings x. 21; Gesenius, *Thesaurus*.

<sup>4</sup> Ebers, *Ägypten*, 335 f.; also Diod. xxxiv. 20.

<sup>5</sup> See Herodotus, ix. 110; Athenæus, iv. 27, p. 146; Plato, *Alcibiades*, i. p. 121.

<sup>6</sup> Matt. xiv. 6.

<sup>7</sup> Tuch, Knobel.

daughter of Potiphera', priest of On; she is afterwards the mother of Manasseh and Ephraim. The king's dreams are fulfilled in accordance with Joseph's interpretation, and when the famine sets in people from every quarter come to Egypt to get corn.<sup>1</sup>

This section is a continuation of what precedes, and has been cast in the same mould. Dreams play the same important part as before; the same significance is attached to them,<sup>2</sup> and the gift of interpretation is viewed in the same light;<sup>3</sup> vv. 10–13 expressly refer to ch. xl. 1 ff.; and the unusual expressions, פֶּתֶר, פִּתְרוֹן,<sup>4</sup> מָקוֹם, place (ver. 13), and קֶנֶף (ver. 10), recur again. Special signs of *B* are found in ver. 12, where Joseph is the slave of the captain of the guard, and in the expressions אֱלֹהִים<sup>5</sup> and בְּלִעְרִי;<sup>6</sup> see also the note on ver. 21. But the passage is not entirely uniform. The account of the dreams in ver. 12 ff. varies from the first (in ver. 1 ff.) more than we expect from the analogy of similar cases (*e.g.* ch. xxiv.), and the language is also different, *e.g.* הָאֵר (ver. 18 f., cf. מִרְאֶה in vv. 2–4), רֶקַע (ver. 10 f., cf. רֶקַע in 3 f.), מָלֵא (ver. 22, cf. בָּרִיא in ver. 5); vv. 7 and 23 contain an accumulation of expressions. The thread of the narrative is still from *B*, but *C* appears to have been used more than before. *R* has also, we may suppose, worked in doublets from *C* in vv. 31, 34*a*, 35*b* (partially), 41, 43*b*, 44, 49, 55, 56*b*, perhaps, also, יִרְצֶהוּ מִן הַבּוֹר in ver. 14. *C*, without doubt, had a very similar narrative to that of *B*. There may even be a fragment from *A* retained in ver. 46, but Ilgen and Knobel are in the wrong in supposing the greater part of the passage to be from *A*.

<sup>1</sup> Knobel.

<sup>2</sup> Vv. 25, 28, 32, 39.

<sup>3</sup> Ver. 16.

<sup>4</sup> Vv. 8, 11, 12, 13, 15.

<sup>5</sup> In ver. 51 f.; in vv. 16, 25, 32, 38 f. יְהוָה would not be in place.

<sup>6</sup> Ver. 16.

<sup>7</sup> See also Kittel, *Geschichte*, i. 131, 143 [Eng. tr. i. 145, 159]; Bacon in *Hebraica*, vii. 286.

Ver. 1. After two years' time<sup>1</sup> has passed the king has a double dream, in which he finds himself transported to the banks of the Nile.

For *והנה עמר*, see xxiv. 30. *יֵאֵר* is supposed to be a word taken from the Egyptian; <sup>2</sup> Fried. Delitzsch thinks it proved from Assyrian to be of Semitic origin.<sup>3</sup>

Vv. 2-4. "First he sees seven cows of good appearance and fat-fleshed coming out of the Nile and browsing among the reed-grass, and seven other cows ill-favoured and lean-fleshed, which come out after them and stand beside<sup>4</sup> them, and finally devour them. Then he awakes."

*אָהִי* is originally an Egyptian word. For *רָקִית*, the Samar. has *רָקוֹת* here and in ver. 4; comp. the Massoretic text in vv. 19 f., 29.

Vv. 5-7. "Next, having fallen asleep again, he sees seven fat, full, and beautiful ears of corn growing on one stalk,<sup>5</sup> and then seven thin ears, blasted by the east wind,<sup>6</sup> springing up after them, and finally swallowing them." *מִלְאוֹת* in ver. 7 stands for *טבות* in ver. 5, as it does in ver. 22 for *ברִיאֹת*.

"Both dreams receive a suitable interpretation from Joseph. The fertility of Egypt depends on the inundations of the Nile; it is therefore from the Nile that the cows come out. The Nile was symbolised by a bull,<sup>7</sup> which was specially sacred to Osiris the inventor of agriculture.<sup>8</sup> In Egyptian hieroglyphics the cow was the symbol for the earth,<sup>9</sup> for agriculture, and for nutrition.<sup>10</sup> Isis, too, was goddess of the earth, which nourishes all,<sup>11</sup> yet is itself

<sup>1</sup> See xxix. 14.

<sup>2</sup> Regarding its older Egyptian forms, see *ZDMG.* xlv. 127.

<sup>3</sup> *Hebrew Language*, p. 25.

<sup>4</sup> Ch. xxxix. 10, 15, 18.

<sup>5</sup> Ch. xl. 10.

<sup>6</sup> Hos. xiii. 15; Jonah iv. 8; Ezek. xvii. 10, xix. 12; for Egypt, we must think of the S.E. wind.

<sup>7</sup> Diod. i. 51.

<sup>8</sup> Diod. i. 21.

<sup>9</sup> Macrobius, *Sat.* i. 19.

<sup>10</sup> Clement of Alex. *Stromat.* v. p. 567.

<sup>11</sup> Macrobius, *Sat.* i. 20.



fertilised by the Nile;<sup>1</sup> the cow was specially sacred to her.<sup>2</sup> She was moon-goddess also,<sup>3</sup> and in the hieroglyphics a representation of her denoted the year.<sup>4</sup> The seven fat cows therefore signify seven fruitful years, and the seven lean cows seven unfruitful years. Their standing beside one another (ver. 3) expresses that the unfruitful years will follow the fruitful years without interval. The meaning of the ears of corn is self-evident. Their growing on one stalk signifies their coming all together."<sup>5</sup>

Ver. 8. The king is disquieted by the repeated dreams, and summons the learned men of Egypt; just as they were unable to imitate the miracles of Moses,<sup>6</sup> so they cannot interpret the dream. God did not put it in their power (xl. 8).

אותם—read אֹתוֹ with the Sept. rather than הִלְמֹתָיו for the previous הִלְמֹי,<sup>7</sup> where the Samar. has הִלְמֹי.

חרטמים—apart from the imitation of the Book of Daniel, the word is again found only in Ex. vii.—x., in *A*, of the Egyptian magicians; the singular was doubtless חֶרְטֵם. It is not an Egyptian word, but neither does it signify *one who speaks through the nose*, from Arabic *ḥaṭama*, *ḥurtum*,<sup>8</sup> for a charmer or exorcist is here quite out of place. It should rather be rendered *scribe*, and derived from חָרַט, חֶרֶט. In that case it will be identical with the Egyptian *ἱερογραμματεῖς*, who are distinguished on the monuments by having pens behind their ears and writing materials in their hands.<sup>9</sup> "They belonged to the priestly caste, were versed in hieroglyphic writing, cosmography, astronomy, and other sciences,<sup>10</sup> and were powerful magicians<sup>11</sup> who foretold the

<sup>1</sup> Plutarch, *de Iside*, 38.

<sup>2</sup> Herodotus, ii. 41; Ælianus, *Hist. animal.* x. 27.

<sup>3</sup> Diod. i. 11; Plut. *loc. cit.*, cf. 52.

<sup>4</sup> Horapollon, i. 3.

<sup>5</sup> Knobel.

<sup>6</sup> Ex. viii. 14 f., ix. 11.

<sup>7</sup> Kautzsch-Socin.

<sup>8</sup> G. Hoffmann in *ZATW.* iii. 89.

<sup>9</sup> Ebers, *Ägypten*, 345.

<sup>10</sup> Clem. of Alex. *Stromateis*, v. p. 555, and vi. p. 633.

<sup>11</sup> Lucian, *Philops.* 34 ff.; Eusebius, *Præpar. Evangel.* v. 10, ix. 8.

future.<sup>1</sup> The Egyptian priests appear in Tacitus<sup>2</sup> also as interpreters of visions by night."<sup>3</sup>

יִתְפַּעֵם—wrongly objected to by Kuenen;<sup>4</sup> in Daniel it is borrowed only.

Vv. 9-13. The chief cupbearer tells the king of Joseph as a successful interpreter of dreams. For אֶת־פִּרְעָה the Sept. and Samar. have, better, אֶל־פִּרְעָה (see ver. 17), also אֲתָם more correctly for the first אֲתִי of ver. 10.

כִּזְבִּיר—I *must mention* my sins, not *I remember* them.<sup>5</sup> His sins against the king are intended; the plural is used in a self-depreciatory tone. He does not think of his ingratitude to Joseph.<sup>6</sup>

For קֶנֶף, see xl. 2; for בְּמִשְׁמֵר, xl. 3; and for וְנִחַלְמָה, Gesenius.<sup>7</sup> With ver. 11 comp. xl. 5; אִישׁ כְּחִלְמוֹ, *according to the dream of each*.<sup>8</sup> נֶעַר in ver. 12 is rather in the sense of attendant; יָקָר is B's word for youth. For בְּנֵי, ver. 13, see xl. 13.

Ver. 14. Pharaoh sends for Joseph immediately.

*And they made him run from the hole*—released him in haste from the prison. בֹּר, as in xl. 15; the Sept. (ὄχρωμα) appears to have read בֵּית; comp. xl. 14.

וְיִנְלָה—may stand without אֶת רֹאשׁוֹ as object (comp. רִהֵן). Those who appeared before the king of Egypt required to be perfectly clean; the shaving of the head and beard, and the changing of the clothes,<sup>9</sup> which are Joseph's preparations, were included in this requirement by Egyptian custom.<sup>10</sup> We need not suppose that according to Egyptian practice he allowed his hair and beard to grow as a sign of mourning for his captivity,<sup>11</sup> so the words may belong to B.

Ver. 15. The king praises Joseph's skill.

<sup>1</sup> Diodorus, i. 87; Suidas, *sub. ἰερογγραμματοῖς*.

<sup>2</sup> *Histories*, iv. 83.

<sup>3</sup> Knobel. See Ebers, *Egypten*, p. 341 ff.

<sup>4</sup> *Onderzoek*,<sup>2</sup> p. 318.

<sup>5</sup> Gesenius.

<sup>6</sup> Knobel.

<sup>7</sup> *Grammatik*,<sup>25</sup> 49. 2.

<sup>8</sup> Gesenius,<sup>25</sup> 139. 1.

<sup>9</sup> Ch. xxxv. 2.

<sup>10</sup> Herodotus, ii. 36.

<sup>11</sup> Tuch, Knobel, Delitzsch<sup>4</sup>.

'וַיֹּאמֶר וְנִ', see xl. 8. עֲלֶיךָ, as 1 Kings x. 6. *You hear a dream to interpret it*, require only to hear it in order to be able immediately to interpret it; see xii. 13.

Ver. 16. Joseph refuses the compliment.

בֶּל עָדִי—*I in no wise*, as xiv. 24.

"*God will answer Pharaoh's welfare*—it is God who gives a true interpretation (xl. 8), and He will give it, will reveal what will be for the king's highest good. It is an *answer*,<sup>1</sup> inasmuch as God gives it, by Joseph, at the king's request."<sup>2</sup>

עֵנָה—Samar. and Sept. לֹא יֵעֲנָה, with the words בֶּל עָדִי אֱלֹהִים taken to mean ἀνευ τοῦ Θεοῦ.

Vv. 17-21. "Pharaoh relates his first dream. As compared with the previous account there are some additions, e.g. that the king had never seen anywhere in Egypt cows so ill-favoured as were the second seven, and that they seemed in no way different after they had swallowed the fat ones. Some other expressions are also used."<sup>3</sup>

For הִנְנִי (ver. 17) the Samar. has וְהִנְנִי; see xl. 9, 16. דָּקוֹת in ver. 19 as in vv. 20 and 27; in 3 f. and 23 f. דָּקוֹת (cf. 6 f.). Lengthened forms like קִרְבָּנָה occur elsewhere in B,<sup>4</sup> but also in xxx. 14. מִרְאִיָּהִם is singular.<sup>5</sup>

Vv. 22-24. The second dream.

צָנֹה = *hard, dried*; only here.<sup>6</sup> אַחֲרֵיהֶם with masculine suffix, see xxxi. 9; only here in the chapter thus for the feminine.

Ver. 25. Joseph declares that the two dreams have one meaning (cf. xxxvii. 5-11). Dreams which recur at a short interval are the same in meaning, the purpose of the repetition being to secure attention and belief.<sup>7</sup> By these dreams God reveals to the king what He is on the point of doing.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Jer. xxiii. 35; Micah iii. 7.

<sup>2</sup> Knobel.

<sup>3</sup> Knobel.

<sup>4</sup> Chs. xxi. 29, xxxi. 6, xlii. 36; regarding the , see Ewald, § 247d.

<sup>5</sup> Gesenius,<sup>25</sup> 93. 3A. 3.

<sup>6</sup> See Gesenius, *Thesaurus*.

<sup>7</sup> Artemidorus, *Oneir.* iv. 27. Knobel.

Vv. 26-28. The seven cows and the seven ears of corn are both seven years; see note on ver. 7.

Ver. 26. פִּירוֹת טֹבֹת, see xxi. 29.<sup>1</sup>

Ver. 27. רָקוֹת, unlike רָקוֹת in vv. 23 and 6 f., is a suitable antithesis to כְּלָאוֹת (vv. 7, 22), but may be an erroneous transcription for רָקוֹת (see note on ver. 19). The words רָקוֹת, for which we expect שְׁנֵים הֵנָּה, anticipate the more minute interpretation which is afterwards to be given (in ver. 29 ff.).

Ver. 28. הוּא הָרֹבֵר, referring to ver. 25.

Vv. 29-31. Particulars are given: there will be first seven years of plenty, then seven years of famine. Ver. 31 is somewhat superfluous after ver. 30, and may well be from the other source;<sup>2</sup> it is to be understood in relation with 'וְלֹא נֹדַע וְג' in ver. 21.

With וְנִשְׁכַּח, comp. Job xi. 17. *The superfluity is forgotten*, is so completely expended in the time of famine, that its existence is no longer remembered.

Ver. 32. The repetition of the dream signifies that the decision on God's part is certain, and that the fulfilment will shortly come about (see ver. 25).

For עַל, comp. Ruth iv. 7, and לְ in Gen. xvii. 20. קִי = it is *because* (cf. xviii. 20).

Vv. 33-36. "Joseph adds the advice that a wise intelligent man should be looked out, *i.e.* chosen,<sup>3</sup> and set over the country, with overseers under him for each province. The proposal was that the king should *fifth* the country, *i.e.* in the years of plenty take from the cultivators of the land a fifth of their grain harvest and store it in granaries as provision for the unfruitful years";<sup>4</sup> see further, xlvii. 24. Egypt was so fertile that such a measure, especially in years of plenty, was not oppressive; and then it was for the ultimate advantage of the people.

<sup>1</sup> Gesenius,<sup>25</sup> 126. 5A. 1a.

<sup>2</sup> כִּבְר, see xlvii. 4.

<sup>3</sup> Ch. xxii. 8.

<sup>4</sup> Knobel.



יִרְאָ—Ewald, § 63*d*; Baer's edition has יִרְאָ<sup>1</sup>

יַעֲשֶׂה—Olshausen reads בֹּה יַעֲשֶׂה; Delitzsch<sup>2</sup> translates it in close connection with וַיִּפְקֹד, *may he make*<sup>3</sup> *that he appoint*, i.e. let him take action and appoint. If we render *constituit* Pharao et *praeficiat* praefectos,<sup>4</sup> either יַעֲשֶׂה or יִפְקֹד is superfluous. Perhaps the object of יַעֲשֶׂה has fallen out or been omitted, and 34*a* may well be an insertion from *C*,<sup>5</sup> like the words וַיִּצְבְּרוּ—פָּרַעַה<sup>6</sup> in 35*b*, where אֶבֶל is pleonastic alongside of בַּר, and where the original reading was וַיִּתְּנִי (ver. 48). Ver. 35 may have undergone more alteration; in vv. 35 *f.* and 48 *f.* אֶבֶל (*C*) and בַּר (*B*) seem quite arbitrarily interchanged.

*Under the hand of Pharaoh*—under his control and charge.<sup>7</sup>

*In the towns*—where the granaries were, and to which the surrounding country was in each case attached as an administrative department (ver. 48).

פִּקְדוֹן—Again in the O.T. only in Lev. v. 20, 23.

הָאָרֶץ—the population of the country, as in x. 25.

Ver. 37 *ff.* “Pharaoh and his courtiers think Joseph’s proposal good. The king concludes that Joseph has received his interpretation from God; for the dream was from heaven, they believed, as well the power to interpret it,<sup>8</sup> and they felt that Joseph’s explanation recommended itself. He therefore sees in Joseph the man filled with the Divine Spirit<sup>9</sup> whom he ought to set over Egypt.”<sup>10</sup>

הַנִּמְצָא—1 pers. pl. impf. Kal (ver. 38).

Ver. 40. He resolves to set him over his house<sup>11</sup> and people.

<sup>1</sup> Gesenius,<sup>25</sup> 75*A*. 3*b*; König, *Lehrgebäude*, 561.

<sup>2</sup> *New Comm.*, following Gesenius, *Thes.* 1077.

<sup>3</sup> 1 Kings viii. 32.

<sup>4</sup> With עֲשֶׂה as 1 Sam. viii. 16; 1 Kings xii. 31.

<sup>5</sup> Kittel, Bacon.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. ver. 49.

<sup>7</sup> 2 Kings xiii. 5; Isa. iii. 6.

<sup>8</sup> Note on xl. 8.

<sup>9</sup> Dan. v. 11, 14.

<sup>10</sup> Knobel.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. Isa. xxii. 15.

עַל-פִּיךָ יֵשֶׁק—the kiss of homage<sup>1</sup> cannot be intended, for that was not given on the mouth, least of all by all the people, and for the reason that עַל-פִּי is not so used. עַל-פִּיךָ is to be taken with the versions, as in xlv. 21; Ex. xvii. 1; Num. iii. 16, and elsewhere. יֵשֶׁק is, then, not *shall run*,<sup>2</sup> nor *equip self, arm*,<sup>3</sup> but *fit or submit itself*.<sup>4</sup> Translate, therefore, freely, *my whole people shall submit itself to thy mouth (command)*,<sup>5</sup> be guided by it. פִּיךָ is not sufficiently definite to express the idea of kissing the *written* command, a well-known custom.

*Only to the extent of the throne*<sup>6</sup> *will I be greater than you*—surpass you in dignity and honour only by my seat on the throne. רָ is common in C; it occurs in B, xx. 11.

Ver. 41 ff. The carrying out of the resolve.

Ver. 41, which is resumed in 43b, seems to be the parallel to ver. 40.<sup>7</sup>

נָתַתִּי as xxvii. 27, xxxi. 50, xxxix. 14. נָתַתִּי, I give you herewith.<sup>8</sup>

Ver. 42. To mark his rank the king gives him the royal signet ring,<sup>9</sup> a vesture of byssus,<sup>10</sup> such as the Egyptian priests wore,<sup>11</sup> and the *golden neck-chain*; they all belonged to the insignia of royalty.<sup>12</sup>

Ver. 43. Having thus arrayed him, the king sends Joseph in his chariot of second rank, in the second of his royal chariots, to make a public procession, with heralds before him calling on the people to pay him homage.—

<sup>1</sup> 1 Sam. x. 1; also 1 Kings xix. 18; Hos. xiii. 2.

<sup>2</sup> From יֵשֶׁק, Lud. de Dieu.

<sup>3</sup> Græcus Venetus, Mercerus.

<sup>4</sup> Intrans. of the trans. *fit on, kiss*.

<sup>5</sup> Tuch, Delitzsch; Vulg. Sept. ὑπακούσεται.

<sup>6</sup> Gesenius,<sup>25</sup> 118. 2c.

<sup>7</sup> So also Kittel and Bacon.

<sup>8</sup> See i. 29.

<sup>9</sup> In Esth. iii. 10, viii. 2, carried by the first minister of the Persian empire, and by the regent in 1 Macc. vi. 15.

<sup>10</sup> יָשֵׁן, see Comm. on Ex. xxv. 4.

<sup>11</sup> Linen according to Herod. ii. 37; Plutarch, *de Iside*, 4; cotton acc. to Pliny, xix. § 14; cf. Philostratus, *Apollonius*, ii. 20.

<sup>12</sup> Knobel.

Regarding the construct form מִרְכָּבָה, see Ewald;<sup>1</sup> and regarding Egyptian chariots, Erman.<sup>2</sup> For אִשָּׁר לוֹ, see xl. 5.

אֲבִיךָ—presumably an Egyptian word given a Semitic form. The interpretations, *father of the king*,<sup>3</sup> *tender (young) father*,<sup>4</sup> and *God's strong one*,<sup>5</sup> are without value. Various Egyptian explanations are offered: **amg pek**, *caput inclinare*,<sup>6</sup> **ap-reχ-u**, *head of the wise*,<sup>7</sup> *thy command is our desire*,<sup>8</sup> *prostrate yourself*.<sup>9</sup> The last of these approaches most nearly a possible interpretation of the word from the Hebrew *bend the knee*,<sup>10</sup> it being taken as infin. absol. Aphel, for Hiphil, used as imperat.<sup>11</sup> But the question of its correctness remains. Brugsch<sup>12</sup> holds it to be a Semitic word, *bend your knees*, adopted into Egyptian. The Assyrian *abarakku*<sup>13</sup> is too remote to allow of its being introduced into the discussion.<sup>14</sup>

וְיָתֵן—no longer the words of the herald, but a continuation of the narrative, resuming where וַיִּרְכַּב left off,<sup>15</sup> and as it were concluding the episode; it attaches itself to ver. 41 (an insertion by *R*).

Ver. 44, in which Pharaoh confers supreme authority on Joseph, nearly coincides with ver. 40, and so is from *C*.<sup>16</sup>

*I am Pharaoh, king, supreme ruler. You shall be*

<sup>1</sup> § 188c.

<sup>2</sup> *Ægypten*, 650 f. [Eng. tr. p. 491 f.].

<sup>3</sup> Targ. רַךְ, רִיכָא = *rex*, cf. xlv. 8.

<sup>4</sup> Targ. II.; Jerome, *Quæstiones*.

<sup>5</sup> אֲבִיךָ, Book of Jubilees, ch. xl., ed. Röscher, p. 158 f.

<sup>6</sup> Rossi, *Etym. Ægypt.* pp. 1, 339.

<sup>7</sup> Harkavy in *B. Ag. Z.* 1869, p. 132.

<sup>8</sup> Lepage Renouf in *SBAP.* 1888, xi. 1, p. 5 ff.

<sup>9</sup> A sign of the imper., **scop** *projicere*, **k** sign of the second pers. Benfey, *Verhältn. der Ægypt. Sprache*, 302 f.; but see Rüdiger in Gesenius, *Thes. addit.* p. 64.

<sup>10</sup> Aquila in Jerome, *Quæstiones*, et clamavit in conspectu ejus ad geniculationem.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. נִשְׁתַּי in ver. 51.

<sup>12</sup> *Geschichte*, 247.

<sup>13</sup> Delitzsch, *Paradies*, 225; *Hebr. Language*, 26; *Prolegomena*, 145.

<sup>14</sup> See Schrader, *KAT.*<sup>2</sup> 152 [Eng. tr. i.], and Nöldeke in *ZDMG.* xl. 734.

<sup>15</sup> Gesenius,<sup>25</sup> 113. 4a; cf. Ex. viii. 11, and frequently.

<sup>16</sup> Kittel, Bacon, who compares Ex. x. 26, xi. 7.

regent; no one in Egypt shall move (lift) hand or foot without your will, do a single action, or take a single step.

Ver. 45. The king gives him a suitable Egyptian name.

נַפְתָּלִי פַעֲנֵחַ—Sept. *Ψονθομφανήχ*. Jerome says<sup>1</sup> that in Egyptian Zapfanethfane, sive (Sept.) Psontonphanekh, signifies *salvator mundi*. But the efforts to reach this meaning by means of *εωτε* *redemptio, salus*, and *αιεξ* *sæculum*, have been in vain,<sup>2</sup> and the statement is perhaps of no more value than another in Philo.<sup>3</sup> The proposal *sustentatio* or *sustentator vita*,<sup>4</sup> from the Egypto-koptic *εἰτ*, *εἰουτ* *sustentare*, and *αιε* *vita*, presupposing transposition of *ς* and *ε*,<sup>5</sup> seemed better. Brugsch's alternative,<sup>6</sup> *za-p-u-nt-p-a-ānkh, governor of the province of the district of life, i.e. of the nomos Sethroites*, unduly limits the character the name requires to express. After attention was drawn<sup>7</sup> to a series of Egyptian names of the form *t'* — *cf-ōnch*, the remaining middle section of the name, viz. נַפְתָּלִי, was determined<sup>8</sup> to be *n-noṛte* *the deity*, and the whole, therefore, as *xe-nnoṛte-eg-cone* *God says, he lives*. A proper name of this type, but with the name of a particular Egyptian god instead of *nnoṛte*, is found at the close of the 20th dynasty; they become more usual under the 22nd dynasty, and quite common under the 26th or Saitic dynasty.<sup>9</sup> The Jews<sup>10</sup> and the Fathers<sup>11</sup> interpret by *occultorum revelator*, with reference to Hebrew נָפֶחַ and a supposed פַּעַן = *φαίνω*; hence Luther's "privy councillor."<sup>12</sup>

The king also gave him *Asenath* to be his wife. The name is *Ns-nt*, or with *n* dropped and replaced by a vocalic

<sup>1</sup> *Quæstiones*.

<sup>2</sup> Gesenius, *Thesaurus*, 1181.

<sup>3</sup> *De nom. mutatione* in Mangey, p. 592.

<sup>4</sup> Bunsen, *Ægypten*, i. 562, 583; Lepsius, *Chronol.* i. 382. Knobel, Delitzsch.

<sup>5</sup> Ewald, § 78b.

<sup>6</sup> *L'Érude*, 17; *Geschichte*, 248. [Eng. tr. p. 122].

<sup>7</sup> J. Krall in *VII. Orient. Congr.* 1886, Egypto-African section, p. 98 ff.

<sup>8</sup> By G. Steindorff, *B. Äg. Z.* xxvii. 41.

<sup>9</sup> *B. Äg. Z.* 1892, xxx. 49 ff.

<sup>10</sup> Onkelos, Pesh., Saadia; Josephus, *Antiq.* ii. 6. 1.

<sup>11</sup> See Parthey, *Vocab.* 578.

<sup>12</sup> *Der heimliche Rath*.



prefix,<sup>1</sup> *s-nt*, with the meaning *belonging to* (the goddess) *Neit*. Names compounded with *Ns* occur even in the ancient and middle kingdoms; those formed with the help of *Pētē* (P3 di')<sup>2</sup> are found under the 22nd dynasty. Both are extremely common in the time of the Saitic dynasty, and this fact is used by Lagarde<sup>3</sup> in assigning *B's* date. There is a later romance regarding Asenath.<sup>4</sup> For פוטי פרע, see xxxvii. 36. By כהן high priest is intended.

אֵן or אֵן<sup>5</sup>—Sept. *Ἡλιούπολις*; two hours north of Kairo on the eastern bank of the Nile;<sup>6</sup> from the earliest times the seat of a sun cultus, and possessing a famous temple of the Sun, the priests of which were pre-eminently distinguished for their learning.<sup>7</sup> "The caste of the priests was the royal caste. Kings who had been of the warrior caste were, on attaining royalty, admitted as priests and initiated in their learning."<sup>8</sup> This is plainly what happened in the case of Joseph,<sup>9</sup> whom the king desired to dignify in the eyes of the people, and for whom he wished the support of the leading caste. Chairemon<sup>10</sup> makes Joseph a *ἱερογραμματεὺς*, and from xliv. 5 we learn that he understood divination by water. The narrative presupposes that there was in the city a temple belonging to the Egyptian cultus."<sup>11</sup>

וַיִּצַח—wanting in the Sept., and like a mutilated version of ver. 46*b* or a corrected parallel to it. But על is scarcely explicable even with the help of Ps. lxxxi. 6; some MSS. read בְּכָל. To put וַיִּצַח אֶת for וַיִּצַח,<sup>12</sup> inserts what is against the linguistic usage of the writer.

<sup>1</sup> *B. Äg. Z.* 1889, p. 41.

<sup>2</sup> Page 341.

<sup>3</sup> *GGN.* 1889, p. 319 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Fabricius, *Psalms* (Cod. Ps. Vet. Test. ii. 85 ff.).

<sup>5</sup> Also ver. 50, xlv. 20; Ezek. xxx. 17 (cf. Ex. i. 11, Sept.; Jer. xliii. 13).

<sup>6</sup> See Brugsch, *Geo. Inschr.* i. 254; Ebers in Riehm, *Handwörterbuch*, 1111 f.

<sup>7</sup> Herod. ii. 3; Strabo, xvii. 1. 29; cf. E. Meyer, *Geschichte*, § 93.

<sup>8</sup> Plutarch, *De Iside*, ch. ix.

<sup>9</sup> See xliii. 32, xlv. 5.

<sup>10</sup> Josephus, *Contra Ap.* i. 32.

<sup>11</sup> Knobel.

<sup>12</sup> Olshausen.

Ver. 46 interjects a statement that Joseph was thirty years old when he stood before Pharaoh, was admitted to an audience with him.<sup>1</sup> It then adds that *he went out from before*<sup>2</sup> him and made a progress through the country in order to become acquainted with it and make the arrangements he proposed. A comparison with xxxvii. 2 gives the result that Joseph's slavery lasted twelve or thirteen years. The formula *פרעה מלך מצרים*<sup>3</sup> and the other expressions<sup>4</sup> are evidence that the verse is an insertion from *A*.

Vv. 47—49. The dreams are fulfilled as Joseph had interpreted them. During the seven fruitful years the land bears *לְקַמְצִים* *by full handfuls*, *i.e.* most abundantly; it produces its utmost. *קמץ* is elsewhere only in *A*.<sup>5</sup> In ver. 48 we must either substitute *שְׁנֵי הַשָּׁבָע* for *שְׁנֵי שָׁנִים*<sup>6</sup> or read *הַשָּׁבָע הַזֶּה* for *הַשָּׁנִים הָאֵלֶּה* for *הָיוּ*—*שְׁנֵים*, as the Sept. and Samaritan. Joseph collects all the grain, to the extent defined in ver. 34, and places what he receives from each district in the granaries of the capital of that district. In this way he accumulated such stores of grain that they ceased to keep a reckoning of the quantity. The change of expressions in ver. 49 (*בַּר* and *צָבָר*) leads us to conjecture the other source (cf. ver. 35). *As the sand of the sea*, is like xxxii. 13 (from *C*; xxii. 17); *הַרְבֵּה מְאֹד*, as xv. 1, cf. xvi. 10; for *הָרַל*, see xi. 8, xviii. 11.

Vv. 50—52. Before the (first) year of famine Joseph obtains two sons by Asenath. The first he names *Manasseh*, because God has *caused him to forget* all his trouble and his father's house, his disconsolate thoughts of it, by his good fortune in the foreign country. The second he names Ephraim, for God has *made him fruitful* in the land of his distress by giving him children.<sup>7</sup>

For *יָלַד*, see xxxv. 26; and for *אִשֶּׁר יָלְדָה לוֹ*, xxxiv. 1. The

<sup>1</sup> Ch. xlvii. 7.

<sup>2</sup> A<sup>s</sup> xlvii. 10.

<sup>3</sup> Ex. vi. 11, 13, 27, 29, xiv. 8, in *A*.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. xlvii. 7, 10.

<sup>5</sup> In the laws of Lev. ii. 2, v. 12, vi. 8; Num. v. 26. Knobel.

<sup>6</sup> Following ver. 53. Olshausen.

<sup>7</sup> Hos. xiii. 15.

punctuation of נִשֶּׂה, Pacl for Piel (cf. ver. 43), is for the sake of the assonance with מִנִּשֶּׂה,<sup>1</sup> and the Piel is used for the Hiphil for the same reason.

Ver. 53 f. The seventh year brings the time of plenty to an end and the period of famine follows, affecting not only Egypt, but the other countries also. In Egypt, however, food has been stored in the granaries. הִיא, in ver. 53, refers to הַשֶּׁבַע.

Ver. 55 is surprising after ver. 54a, describes the situation found in xlvii. 13 ff., and may best be ascribed to C.<sup>2</sup> The Egyptians begin to starve; they appeal to the king, and are referred by him to Joseph. Ver. 56b attaches itself to ver. 55, and is an insertion from C. Ver. 56a, on the other hand, was B's transition from ver. 54 to ver. 57; Olshausen wishes, therefore, to place it after 56b. הָאָרֶץ, in ver. 56a, can only be *the earth*, not *the land* (of Egypt).

'וּפְתָחָהּ—*and Joseph opened all in which was* (anything), is taken to mean opened all the granaries. But a sentence thus doubly abbreviated may be regarded as impossible. The Samaritan reading אִשֶּׁר בָּהֶם בָּר would pass for want of a better; but other versions<sup>3</sup> directly render אִשֶּׁר בָּר in place of, or along with, אִשֶּׁר בָּהֶם. The text is corrupt. Wellhausen conjectures a derivative of שֶׁבַע, which should mean granary; Lagarde,<sup>4</sup> some such word as (!) אִישְׁבִּירָא, *sirus*.<sup>5</sup>

וַיִּשְׁכַּר—read וַיִּשְׁכַּר, from xlii. 6;<sup>6</sup> he sold the Egyptians corn.

'וַיִּחֶק וְג'—omitted by the Sept. as being an unsuitable transition to ver. 57, and emended by Ilgen by the substitution of כָּנַע for כִּצְרִים, conveys the meaning that in spite of the sale of grain to the people, the famine described in ver. 55 *kept growing greater*.

Ver. 57 continues 56a, and tells how every country came to Joseph in Egypt to buy corn, because the famine scourge

<sup>1</sup> Gesenius,<sup>25</sup> 52. 2A. 1.

<sup>3</sup> Sept. (σισιροβελωγενς) Vulg. Pesh. Onk.

<sup>5</sup> Buxtorf, *Lex. Talmud*, 2321.

<sup>2</sup> Kittel, Bacon.

<sup>4</sup> *Symnicta*, i. 57.

<sup>6</sup> Olshausen.

was everywhere. Brugsch<sup>1</sup> gives instances of distributions of grain in Egypt from granaries in times of famine.

*B.* THE WANDERINGS AND HUMILIATIONS OF JOSEPH'S BRETHREN, UNTIL THEIR RECONCILIATION, CHS. XLII.—XLV.

*B* and *C* continue to be the narrators, as in what has preceded, and *C* complicates and heightens the interest, as before, by what he adds to *B*'s narratives. So early as by Knobel the acknowledgment of fragments by *A* was withdrawn, in spite of the presence of El Shaddai in xliii. 14. The paragraphs from *B* and *C* are pretty completely preserved, and are distinguishable by a number of material and linguistic features. Yet the compiler has made changes here also.

1. THE HUMILIATION AND PUNISHMENT OF JOSEPH'S TEN BRETHREN, CH. XLII.; MOSTLY ACCORDING TO *B*.

Jacob suffers from the famine, and sends his ten elder sons to Egypt to buy corn. They arrive, and prostrate themselves before Joseph. He recognises them, but does not betray himself. He first puts them to the proof. He declares them to be spies, and arrests them. But he releases them on the third day, and they are allowed to return home with their corn, all except Simeon, who is to be kept as a hostage until they bring their youngest brother with them. They already recognise, in what has befallen them, a punishment for their crime against Joseph. But Joseph, without their knowledge, returns them their money in their sacks, that they, or at least their father, might surmise a brother's presence behind the aspect of the stern ruler. This very money, however, when discovered, causes fresh dismay to the conscience-stricken men, and is an additional cause of their father's refusal to let Benjamin go with them on the next

<sup>1</sup> *Geschichte*, 130, 246 [Eng. tr. pp. 61 f., 121 f.].



occasion. Here, as in ch. xli., Joseph appears as the instrument of providence. The distress which his brothers experience was required in retribution of their evil deeds and to rouse their penitence. The execution of the punishment by Joseph's own hands was a consequence of the position he had attained. Even ver. 24, still more the issue of events in ch. xlv., is an indication from the writer that Joseph played his part, not in a spirit of vengefulness, but against his natural feelings, and under the impulse of a higher will. Nor could the old father's suffering, endured by him along with his sons, be avoided without sacrifice of the primary end. In reality, however, it was for him the preliminary to that extreme happiness, which, in the divine providence, is not attained except when deep depression has gone before.

The reference in vv. 6 and 9 to Joseph's dreams at home, and in ver. 22 to Reuben's intercession for him, as well as the part played by Reuben as first among the brothers,<sup>1</sup> are evidence of *B*'s authorship. Equally the use of ילד (ver. 22) for נער, of יעקב<sup>2</sup> for ישראל, of שָׁק<sup>3</sup> for אֲמִתָּה, of אֶרֶץ<sup>4</sup> האֲדָמָה instead of האֲדָמָה alone, of מִשְׁמֶר (vv. 17, 19), כִּלְכָּה (ver. 36), and צָרָה (ver. 25), as well as of צָרָה (ver. 21), and זָכַר (ver. 9). Still *B* has worked in some scattered sentences from the corresponding narrative of *C* regarding this first journey, namely, 2*a*, 4*b* (?), 5\*, 6\*, 7\* (ver. 10, ? אֶכֶּל), and especially vv. 27*f*. and 38.<sup>5</sup> The expression אֶרֶץ כְּנָעַן, which repeatedly occurs here and later in *B* and *C*,<sup>6</sup> is due to the antithesis with Egypt.

Ver. 1*f*. Jacob asks his sons to bring corn from Egypt. Ver. 2*a* adds nothing new to 1*a*, and is rendered surprising by its also having וַיֹּאמֶר (omitted by the Sept.). It may be taken to be an insertion from *C*.

<sup>1</sup> Ver. 37; otherwise in xliii. 3*ff*.

<sup>2</sup> Vv. 1, 4, 29, 36.

<sup>3</sup> Vv. 25 (27), 35.

<sup>4</sup> Vv. 30, 33.

<sup>5</sup> See below.

<sup>6</sup> Vv. 5, 7, 13, 29, 32, xliv. 8, xlv. 17, 25, xlvii. 13, 15.

שֶׁבֶר—used of corn, especially when it is an article of commerce, and occurring more frequently from now onwards.<sup>1</sup>

*Why do you gaze at one another?* in perplexity and helplessness, each expecting advice and initiative from the other.

Vv. 3-5. Ten of Joseph's brethren journey to Egypt. Benjamin is kept by their father to secure against any misadventure happening to him. He was a special favourite of Jacob's, because the youngest and the only surviving son of Rachel.<sup>2</sup>

Ver. 3. לִשְׁבֹּר בָּר. Lagarde<sup>3</sup> wishes to read לִשְׁבֹּר.

Ver. 4b may be regarded as from C,<sup>4</sup> since it is found elsewhere in his narrative (ver. 38 and xlv. 29); but there is a possibility of its having been taken by C from B.

אֶסֶן, as early as in Ex. xxi. 22 f. קָרָא for קָרָה,<sup>5</sup> as in ver. 38, Ex. i. 10, and also Gen. xlix. 1.

Ver. 5 may be<sup>6</sup> from C, because of the use of בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל,<sup>7</sup> and because it is unrequired along with ver. 3. *In the midst of those coming*, amongst the others who came from Canaan they came; not definitely<sup>8</sup> in the same caravan.

Ver. 6. It is questionable if the whole verse,<sup>9</sup> or at least clauses *a* and *ba*,<sup>10</sup> are to be assigned to C. B must also have had some statement accounting for the brethren coming before Joseph himself; and *ba*, especially if ver. 5 belongs to C, along with *bβ*, is in any case indispensable for B. The most, therefore, that can be said is that there are elements from C in the verse.

Joseph superintends the sale of corn, so that the arrivals from abroad have to make application to him. They appear before him and prostrate themselves;<sup>11</sup> Joseph's dreams<sup>12</sup> are thus fulfilled.

<sup>1</sup> Vv. 2, 19, 26, xliii. 2, xlv. 2, xlvii. 14.

<sup>2</sup> Ch. xlv. 20 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *Bildung der Nomina*, 230.

<sup>4</sup> Wellhausen, Kittel, Kautzsch-Socin, Bacon.

<sup>5</sup> Ver. 29, xlv. 29.

<sup>6</sup> Kautzsch-Socin, Bacon.

<sup>7</sup> See xxxv. 10; but also l. 25.

<sup>8</sup> Knobel.

<sup>9</sup> Bacon.

<sup>10</sup> Kittel, Kautzsch-Socin.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. xliii. 26, 28.

<sup>12</sup> Ch. xxxvii. 7, 9.

שָׁלִיט—Joseph is emphatically described as *lord* or *ruler* of Egypt. *B* uses אֲדֹנָיִם and מֵיֶשֶׁל;<sup>1</sup> so the word is not from him. But it is questionable if it be any the more from *C*, for it occurs elsewhere only in the Aramaic parts of Ezra, Ecclesiastes, and Daniel. The surprising coincidence with Salatis or Silitis, the name of the first of the Hyksos rulers of Egypt,<sup>2</sup> suggests the conjecture that, in the present context, it is a technical expression, which the tradition has preserved. Otherwise it must be an insertion by a late reader in place of some other word.<sup>3</sup>

For the second הוּא the Samar. Pesh. and Targ. of Jonath. have והוּא. In xix. 1 הַשְׁתַּחֲוָה אֲפִים אֶרֶצָה occurs in *C*, but in xlviii. 12 in *B* also, with the slight variation לְאַפֵּי.

Ver. 7 f. *C*'s authorship is indicated by וַיִּכְרַם וַיִּתְנַבֵּר אֵלֵיהֶם, parallel to ver. 8, and by אָכַל, but it does not therefore follow that the whole verse<sup>4</sup> is from him; the words וַיִּדְבֵּר אֵת אֲחֵם קִשּׁוֹת וְנָ (cf. ver. 30) appear to have been transferred from their original place in *B* after 9a.

“Joseph is unrecognised by his brothers, for in the twenty years which have passed since he left them<sup>5</sup> the youth has become a man,”<sup>6</sup> and his whole costume and bearing are those of an Egyptian. None the less he recognises them. But he *conducts himself as a stranger* towards them, and *speaks to them hard things*, addresses them ungraciously and imperiously,<sup>7</sup> bringing hard accusations (ver. 9 ff.) against them. “His questions are intended to ascertain at once how Benjamin is, for he does not see him among the others.”<sup>8</sup>

Ver. 9. As he sees his brothers standing humbly before him *he recalls*<sup>9</sup> the dreams<sup>10</sup> he had had *with reference to them*.<sup>11</sup> “He accuses them of being spies who wish to see the

<sup>1</sup> Vv. 30, 33, xlv. 8, 26.

<sup>2</sup> Josephus, *Contra Ap.* i. 14; Eusebius, *Chron. Arm.* i. 224.

<sup>3</sup> Kuenen, *Onderzoek*,<sup>2</sup> 318.

<sup>4</sup> Kautzsch-Socin, Bacon.

<sup>6</sup> Knobel.

<sup>8</sup> Knobel.

<sup>10</sup> Ch. xxxvii. 5 ff.

<sup>5</sup> Ch. xxxvii. 3, xli. 46.

<sup>7</sup> 1 Sam. xxv. 3; Isa. xix. 4.

<sup>9</sup> Ch. xl. 14, 23.

<sup>11</sup> Chs. xvii. 20, xix. 21.

*nakedness of the land*,<sup>1</sup> to find out the districts which are unoccupied and easily accessible. The use of עֲרִיָה may be paralleled from the Kōran,<sup>2</sup> the *Iliad*,<sup>3</sup> and Cæsar's commentaries.<sup>4</sup> The accusation comes naturally from the mouth of the first minister of the empire."<sup>5</sup>

Vv. 10-13. The brothers meet the accusation with protestations of their sincerity, and a statement of particulars regarding their home.

לֹא אֲדִי, as xxiii. 11. וְעַבְדִּי, after the negation is used for the ordinary כִּי, as xvii. 5; Isa. x. 20, etc.<sup>6</sup> אֲנִיָּהּ for אֲנִי, which the Samar. has.<sup>7</sup> בְּנִים, *straight*, in the sense of *upright, honourable*, only here and in xix. 31-34 in the Pentateuch.

Ver. 13. אֲנִיָּהּ is either to be struck out as a gloss from ver. 32,<sup>8</sup> or is to be taken with what goes before, contrary to the accents:<sup>9</sup> *thy servants are twelve, brothers we are*. The little one, *i.e.* the youngest,<sup>10</sup> is with their father, and *one is not* to be found, has vanished.<sup>11</sup> "They avoid particulars so as not to increase Joseph's distrust."<sup>12</sup>

Ver. 14. As one in high position, Joseph will not allow that he is in the wrong. *It is what I have said*, my assertion that you are spies remains true. For הוּא compare xx. 16; Job xiii. 16.<sup>13</sup>

Ver. 15 f. He demands to see their youngest brother; one of them is to bring him from Canaan while the others remain his prisoners. *By this*<sup>14</sup> *ye shall be proved, sc.* whether your assurances are true or false.<sup>15</sup> He thinks it possible that they may have treated Benjamin as badly as they did himself, and desires to ascertain. But his ostensible pur-

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Num. xiii. 18; Josh. ii. 1.

<sup>3</sup> xii. 399, γυμνοῦσθαι.

<sup>5</sup> Knobel.

<sup>7</sup> See Ges.<sup>25</sup> 32 A. 2.

<sup>9</sup> Delitzsch.

<sup>11</sup> Ch. v. 24.

<sup>13</sup> Knobel.

<sup>15</sup> Cf. xx. 33.

<sup>2</sup> xxxiii. 13, عورة.

<sup>4</sup> *Bel. gall.* vii. 70, nudari.

<sup>6</sup> Ewald, § 354a.

<sup>8</sup> Olshausen.

<sup>10</sup> See ix. 24.

<sup>12</sup> Knobel.

<sup>14</sup> See xv. 8.



pose is that he desires to see whether their statement is true.

פָּרַעַה—*Pharaoh is living, i.e. by the life of Pharaoh.*<sup>1</sup> The use of the pronunciation פָּרַעַה for פָּרַעַי,<sup>2</sup> when the word God does not follow, is a merely rabbinical distinction similar to that between אֶרְנִי and אֶרְנִי. The oath is the more appropriate since the Egyptians revered their kings *ὡς πρὸς ἀλήθειαν ὄντας θεούς.*<sup>3</sup> The Israelites swore by the life of the king, at least when addressing him.<sup>4</sup>

For אָם see xiv. 23; for הִנֵּה, xxi. 23, xlv. 5, 8, 13.

Vv. 17-20. He brings them together<sup>5</sup> under guard<sup>6</sup> "that they may have the experience of a captive<sup>7</sup> who has the worst to expect."<sup>8</sup> But on the third day he announces that he will keep only one of them as a hostage while the others return home with the necessary supplies of corn, and fetch their youngest brother. The brothers agree to this proposal. It is unnecessary to reject וַיַּעֲשׂוּ בָן.<sup>9</sup>

*Do this and live*—you shall not be executed (as spies) if you do as follows. זֹאת עֲשׂו in xlv. 17 and 19, but also in xliii. 11.<sup>10</sup> *I fear God*, and so am unwilling to treat you with unnecessary severity on mere suspicion. The words, *if you are true men*, state a condition to all the proposal which follows; we may supply, *You will willingly accept the offer I make.*

אֲחֶיךָ—without the article,<sup>11</sup> as in xliii. 14; in xlii. 33, האָהר.

רָעֲבָן—the corn *for the famine*<sup>12</sup> of your houses, i.e. the corn required by your families during the famine; cf. מִטָּר וְרֵעֶךָ in Isa. xxx. 23.<sup>13</sup> In ver. 33 רָעֲבָן stands alone as if it

<sup>1</sup> Ges.<sup>25</sup> 93. 1A. 7, footnote.

<sup>2</sup> See Lev. xxv. 36 where פָּרַעַי is verbal.

<sup>3</sup> Diod. i. 90.

<sup>4</sup> 1 Sam. xvii. 55; 2 Sam. xi. 11. Knobel.

<sup>5</sup> Ezek. xxiv. 4; Josh. ii. 18.

<sup>6</sup> Ver. 19, xl. 3, 7.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. his own case in xxxvii. 24.

<sup>8</sup> Knobel.

<sup>9</sup> Kautzsch-Socin.

<sup>10</sup> [Comp. note on xlv. 17.]

<sup>11</sup> Ges.<sup>25</sup> 126. 5A. 1b.

<sup>12</sup> Ewald, § 163d.

<sup>13</sup> Olshausen.

could mean *that which is required for the famine*; but the Sept. Pesh. and Onkelos have, better, יִשְׁכַּר רֶעֱבֹן.

Ver. 21. Their conscience awakens to a sense of their sin against Joseph,<sup>1</sup> and they find that they are all at one in the thought that it is on his account that they have to suffer. Similarly in xliv. 16, in *C.* אֶבֶל, as xvii. 19; צָרָה, as xxxv. 3.

Ver. 22. Reuben, as Joseph's protector,<sup>2</sup> is conscious of innocence, and is in a position to reproach them with their crime. The words he attributes to himself are not literally those reported previously, but they express the spirit in which he acted. יָלַד in xxi. 8, 14, and frequently.

*And also his blood, behold it is demanded*—his blood, his death which you occasioned, is now accordingly in due course being avenged (cf. ix. 5 f.). Reuben assumes that Joseph's sudden disappearance from the pit was explained by his having been devoured by a wild beast, or having lost his life in some way. Everything agrees with *B's* account in ch. xxxvii.

Ver. 23. The brothers' conversation is open and aloud, for they are unaware that Joseph *hears*, i.e. understands<sup>3</sup> them, seeing that *the* interpreter, customary in such cases,<sup>4</sup> was between them. בִּינִית, as in xxvi. 28. Egyptian was, of course, the language of the court.<sup>5</sup>

Ver. 24. Joseph is moved by their sorrow and penitence, and turns away from them that he may weep. Then he comes back and talks with them, and has Simeon bound before their eyes. אָסַר may simply mean to *make prisoner*.<sup>6</sup> Joseph does not detain Reuben, his defender, but the eldest of the others.

Ver. 25. By Joseph's orders their corn sacks are filled, they are given provision for their journey, and inside each one's sack, on the top, the money is placed.

<sup>1</sup> Ch. xxxvii. 21 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Ch. xxxvi. 22, 29 f.

<sup>3</sup> Ch. xi. 7.

<sup>4</sup> See xiv. 13.

<sup>5</sup> See p. 354.

<sup>6</sup> 2 Kings xxiii. 33.

The finite verb **וַיִּמְלֹא** is surprising because followed by infinitives. It cannot express the intention, but only the execution of the orders: he gave command, and accordingly they filled their sacks; and, further, he ordered them to replace, etc.

**כִּסְפֵיהֶם**—plural, to designate separate sums of money belonging to several individuals;<sup>1</sup> cf. ver. 35. The inflectional stem with sheva silent and daghesh in the **פ** is occasional in the construct plurals of segholates, or before heavy suffixes.<sup>2</sup>

*In each one's sack*—as in ver. 35; see ix. 5. **צִדָּה**, as xlv. 21.

**וַיַּעַן**—the indefinite subject is very awkward after **וַיִּצַּן**; the reading is probably an error for **וַיַּעֲזֹב** (cf. **וַיִּמְלֹא**); the Septuagint extricated itself by the pointing **וַיַּעֲזֹב**.

Ver. 26. They load their animals and depart.

Ver. 27 f. An insertion from *C*, according to whose account, otherwise than in ver. 35, the brothers discover at a halting-place on the way home that their money has been returned to them (cf. xliii. 21). The discovery was not made by one only, but by all of them, which better suits the statement that they *all* fell into a state of fear.<sup>3</sup> But *R* has obliterated this feature in our present text for harmonistic reasons; it is presupposed, however, in xliii. 21. The expressions **מָלֵן**,<sup>4</sup> **מִסְפּוֹא**,<sup>5</sup> and **אִמְתַּחַת** are evidence for *C*. But **שָׁקוֹ** in ver. 27 must be from *R* to secure the connection with ver. 25, and in ver. 28 the words from **לְאֹמֶר** onwards are shown by **אֱלֹהִים** to be from a passage of *B*'s; they may have stood after ver. 35.

**הָאֶחָד**, *the one* who commenced, *i.e. the first*;<sup>6</sup> for originally the statement followed that the others then opened their sacks also. **אִמְתַּחַת**, *a packing-cloth*,<sup>7</sup> or *sack*, used consistently

<sup>1</sup> Ewald, § 176c.

<sup>2</sup> Wellhausen, *JBDTh.* xxi. 446.

<sup>3</sup> Ch. xxiv. 25, 32.

<sup>4</sup> See Lexicon.

<sup>5</sup> Ges.<sup>25</sup> 93 A. 1 F.

<sup>6</sup> Ex. iv. 24.

<sup>7</sup> See ii. 11, iv. 19.

in ch. xliii. f. **פָּ**, also, as in ch. xliii. 12 and 21. **אִם הִנֵּה**, as in xxxviii. 24. *And their heart went out*, their courage left them, they completely lost heart; the idiom does not occur elsewhere. *And they trembled one to another*, turned to one another trembling; a pregnant construction, similar to xliii. 33.<sup>1</sup> They now feared that they would be treated as thieves, and in this new misfortune recognise God's chastising hand. **מִה זֹאת**, as in xxix. 25; in iii. 13, xii. 18, xxvi. 10, it is from *C*.

Vv. 29-34. Having reached home they tell their father all that had occurred, and impress on him the necessity of taking Benjamin to the Egyptian ruler.

**הַקֹּרֶת**, in a perfect sense.<sup>2</sup> **אֶרְצִי**, in ver. 33 also; for the form see xxxix. 20, and for the title ver. 6. After **אֶתְּנִי** the Sept. read **בְּמִשְׁמַר** <sup>3</sup> (*ἐν φυλακῇ*); translate the Mass. text *gave us as spies*, treated us as spies. **אֲנַחְנוּ אַחִים** (ver. 32), Samaritan **אַחִים אֲנַחְנוּ**. For **רַעְבּוֹן** (ver. 33) see note on ver. 19. **סַחַר** (ver. 34) with the accus. *journey through* for trading purposes.<sup>4</sup>

Ver. 35. Only now that they have reached home do they empty their sacks, according to *B*, and their bundles of money are not found till the sacks are quite emptied out instead of being on the top (**בְּפִי**). They and their father take alarm at the discovery.

Ver. 36. The old father breaks into peevish complaint: *Me you have made childless*, "it is I who suffer, not you; it is all very well for you to talk and make proposals when my children, not yours, are put to the hazard."<sup>5</sup> *It is on me that all this has come*, I alone have to bear the burden of these events; comp. **קִרָּה** in ver. 29; **בְּלָלָהּ** for **בְּלָלָהּ**, as Prov. xxxi. 29.<sup>6</sup>

Ver. 37. Thereupon Reuben, who is spokesman here also (see ver. 22), offers *both his sons* as pledges; the father

<sup>1</sup> Ges.<sup>25</sup> 119. 4.

<sup>3</sup> See xl. 3.

<sup>5</sup> Knobel.

<sup>2</sup> Ges.<sup>25</sup> 116. 2a.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. xxxiv. 9, 21.

<sup>6</sup> See note on xli. 21.



may kill them if Benjamin perishes. According to *A*, Reuben had *four* sons at the time of the emigration to Egypt.<sup>1</sup>

*Give him on my hand*—trust him to my power.<sup>2</sup>

Ver. 38. "Jacob refuses to allow Benjamin, who alone is left him (of Rachel's children), to go with them. Something might happen to him on the journey, and they would in this way *bring his grey hair down to Sheol with sorrow*,<sup>3</sup> grieve and sadden the closing days of his already far advanced life."<sup>4</sup>

There is no mention here of Simeon, whose release was nevertheless in question, according to xxiv. 33. The reply is, therefore, not much in harmony with the preceding narrative, *B*'s. It suits *C* alone, for in his account Simeon was not a captive, though the condition of seeing Joseph's face again was that Benjamin should be brought.<sup>5</sup> The language of the verse is also that of *C*, as determined in xliv. 29, 31. At ver. 37, therefore, *B*'s narrative breaks off. We no longer know whether or when, or under what conditions, Jacob accepted Reuben's offer as given in *B*. Instead of telling us this, *R* in ver. 38 has given the conclusion of *C*'s history of the adventures of the brothers in Egypt and of their report to their father, all of which has been omitted in what goes before, but may be reconstructed from xliv. 20–24 and xliii. 3, 7.<sup>6</sup> *R* made the substitution in order to be able to proceed at once in ch. xliii. 1 ff. with the text of *C*. In *C*, ver. 38 was not the reply to an offer such as Reuben's, but only to the announcement that they would not be able to see Joseph again without Benjamin.

<sup>1</sup> Ch. xlv. 9.

<sup>2</sup> 1 Sam. xvii. 22; Job xvi. 11. Knobel.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. xxxvii. 35.

<sup>5</sup> Ch. xliii. 3, xlv. 23, 26.

<sup>4</sup> 1 Kings ii. 6, 9. Knobel.

<sup>6</sup> Wellhausen.

2. THE BROTHERS' SECOND VISIT TO JOSEPH AND HOW  
HE TESTS THEM, CH. XLIII F.; FROM *C*.

It becomes necessary to make fresh purchases of corn in Egypt, and Judah persuades Jacob to let Benjamin go. The brothers arrive in Egypt with a present for Joseph and double money for the corn. When Joseph sees Benjamin he receives them kindly and invites them to a meal. In spite of the fears which the discovery of the money in their sacks had caused them, everything, to begin with, passes off well. Joseph's conduct towards his guests even gives some indication of how he stands towards them. But before they leave he orders his cup to be secretly concealed in Benjamin's sack, and then he sends in pursuit after them. Benjamin is found to be guilty of the theft of the cup. They are brought back to Joseph and sternly reproached by him; he declares his resolve to punish Benjamin by detaining him as his slave. Judah thereupon endeavours, in touching words, to move Joseph's heart, and offers himself in his brother's place. This second journey accordingly not only results in fresh humiliation before Joseph, in fresh distress and anxiety, it reveals the spirit the brothers cherish toward one another and toward their father, and so marks an advance as compared with the first journey, where they had not got beyond the stage of self-accusation. Forgiveness and salvation can be the portion only of those who have shown true amendment by their deeds.

*B* also must have described the second journey (for Simeon's release), but *R* has not inserted his description. The account here is not from the author of ch. xlii.<sup>1</sup> but from *C*, and not merely from *C* in the main,<sup>2</sup> but entirely,<sup>3</sup> apart from the fragments in xliii. 14 and 23b.<sup>4</sup> The principal facts which prove this are the differences between the account of the first journey found in ch. xlii. and that pre-

<sup>1</sup> Knobel, Böhmer.

<sup>3</sup> Wellhausen, Kuenen.

<sup>2</sup> Schrader.

<sup>4</sup> See notes.

supposed here,<sup>1</sup> the substitution of Judah<sup>2</sup> for Reuben<sup>3</sup> as leader of the brothers, and the consistent use of certain words in place of others used in ch. xlii., viz. הָאִישׁ of Joseph, when Jacob and the brothers are the speakers;<sup>4</sup> נָעַר of Benjamin,<sup>5</sup> אֲמַתְחַת,<sup>6</sup> יִשְׂרָאֵל,<sup>7</sup> and אָכַל (for בָּרַךְ).<sup>8</sup> Besides, C's special diction is everywhere perceptible.<sup>9</sup> On the other hand, the use of אֱלֹהִים,<sup>10</sup> where it is an Egyptian who is addressing the brothers, or conversely, is no evidence for B, and as little is the expression נָחַשׁ,<sup>11</sup> which belongs to C in xxx. 27 also. In general C's narrative style as known from chs. xviii. f., xxiv. etc., is apparent here also.

Ver. 1 f. The famine *was heavy* in the land. After their purchase of corn is exhausted, Jacob calls on his sons to make a second journey to Egypt.

כָּבֵד, as in xii. 10, 47, iv. 13; on the other hand, חֹק in xli. 57. כָּלָה, followed by ל and an infinitive, is a favourite usage of C's.<sup>12</sup> מָעַט, in the construct, elsewhere<sup>13</sup> always in C.

Vv. 3-5. Judah declares that they will not leave without Benjamin, since the man had expressly stated that they will not see his face,<sup>14</sup> will not be admitted to his presence,<sup>15</sup> *unless*<sup>16</sup> their youngest brother is with them. This was C's

<sup>1</sup> Ch. xliii. 3, 5, 7, 21, xliv. 19 f., 22 f., 26.

<sup>2</sup> Ch. xliii. 3 ff., xliv. 16, 18 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Ch. xxxvii. 26 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Ch. xliii. 3, 5, 6 f., 11, 13 f., xliv. 26.

<sup>5</sup> Ch. xliii. 8, xliv. 22, 30 f., 33 f.; for יָלַךְ in xliv. 20 see note.

<sup>6</sup> Ch. xliii. 12, 18, 21-23, xliv. 1 f., 8, 11 f.

<sup>7</sup> Ch. xliii. 6, 8, 11.

<sup>8</sup> Ch. xliii. 2, 20, 22, xliv. 1, 25

<sup>9</sup> כָּבֵד, xliii. 1; כָּלָה, followed by ל *cum Infin.*, xliii. 2; מָעַט, xliii. 2, 11, xliv. 25; יֵשׁ with suff. and partic., xliii. 4; הִתְמַהֲמָה, xliii. 10; אֹנִי, xliii. 12; הוֹרִיד and הוֹרִיד of going to Egypt, xliii. 11, 15, 20, 22 (xlii. 38); פָּתַח, xliii. 19; מִסְפּוֹא, xliii. 24; קָדַר וְהִשְׁתַּחֲוּהוּ, xliii. 28; בִּי, xliii. 20, xliv. 18; כְּדֹבְרִים הָאֵלֶּה, xliv. 7; חָלִילָה followed by מִן and *infin.*, xliv. 7, 17; the termination נָן in xliii. 32, xliv. 1, 23, etc.; observe also the names of the fruits of the country in xliii. 11 (cf. xxxvii. 25).

<sup>10</sup> Ch. xliii. 29, xliv. 16.

<sup>11</sup> Ch. xliv. 5, 15.

<sup>12</sup> See note on xxvii. 30; in xvii. 22, xlix. 33, in A.

<sup>13</sup> Ver. 11, xliv. 25, xviii. 4, xxiv. 17, 43.

<sup>14</sup> Ch. xliv. 23, 26.

<sup>15</sup> 2 Sam. iii. 13, xiv. 14, 28.

<sup>16</sup> Ges.<sup>25</sup> 163. 2.

version; in *B*,<sup>1</sup> their bringing Benjamin was to be the proof that they were not spies, and was to effect Simeon's release.

יִצְחָק—with partic., as in xxiv. 42, 49.

Ver. 6 f. Israel<sup>2</sup> reproaches them with having told the man *whether*<sup>3</sup> they had another brother. They defend themselves by the plea that they required to answer the man's questions concerning<sup>4</sup> their family, *in accordance with*<sup>5</sup> *these words* which he put to them; *could we know*<sup>6</sup> *then* that he would demand to see Benjamin.

Here, again, and also in xliv. 19 f., there is some variation from *B*'s account in xlii. 13, 32, where the brothers speak of their home circle as part of their defence against the accusation of being spies.

Vv. 8-10. Judah asks his father to entrust Benjamin to him. He will be surety for him, will answer for him. Ch. xlii. 37 is *B*'s parallel to this. Regarding נָעַר, see p. 390.

Ver. 9. הַצֵּנְתִּי, as in xxx. 38, xxxiii. 15, xlvii. 2. וְהָטַאֲתִי לָךְ, *then I sin to you* for all time, will be convicted to you, will be your debtor,<sup>7</sup> all my life, so that you may do with me according to your pleasure.

Ver. 10. But for their excessive delay they might have been there and back twice. הַתְּמַהְמַהּנוּ, as in xix. 16. בִּי עָתָה, as xxxi. 42. זֶה פַעַמִּים, see xxvii. 36.

Ver. 11. Israel resigns himself to the inevitable, and tells his sons to take with them a present for the man. "The custom of making presents to exalted personages, to secure their favour, was and is seldom departed from in the East."<sup>8</sup> אֶפְסָא, as xxvii. 33, 37; and זֹאת עֵשׂוּ, as xlii. 18.

מִזְמֶרֶת הָאָרֶץ—the usual translation,<sup>9</sup> *of the song of the country*, is explained to mean, of the song-lauded, *i.e.* cele-

<sup>1</sup> Ch. xlii. 20, 34.

<sup>2</sup> See note on xxxv. 10.

<sup>3</sup> Ch. viii. 8, xlii. 16.

<sup>4</sup> Ch. xxvi. 7.

<sup>5</sup> Ex. xxxiv. 27 and frequently.

<sup>6</sup> Ewald, § 136*d*; Ges.<sup>25</sup> 107. 4*b*. 2.

<sup>7</sup> 1 Kings i. 21.

<sup>8</sup> Ch. xxxii. 14 ff.; 1 Kings x. 25; Matt. ii. 11. Knobel.

<sup>9</sup> Following Targum and Vulgate.



brated, products of Canaan,<sup>1</sup> and something like this is what we expect. But it is true that an expression so poetical seems strange,<sup>2</sup> and the root זמר is almost solely used of song that is a part of divine worship. Still, *cutting* in the sense of crop or produce<sup>3</sup> is an inadmissible rendering, since זמר is only used of the cutting off of what is unnecessary and obstructive. The Septuagint is simply καρποί, *fruits* or *products*; Norris<sup>4</sup> quotes an Assyrian *zumri* in this sense; and Hartmann compared Arabic *thamar* and *thamír*, but against the laws of the transmutation of sounds. The meaning is, besides, too general.

For לט, נבאה, and צר, see xxxvii. 25.

דבש—“here doubtless not honey made by bees, but a thick syrup made from grape-juice by continued boiling, Arabic *dibs*. It was exported from Palestine in ancient times,<sup>5</sup> as it is still.<sup>6</sup> Vines were cultivated in Egypt,<sup>7</sup> but it was not characteristically a vine country; on the other hand, bee-keeping is much practised, in modern times at least.<sup>8</sup>

פִּסְטָכִיּוֹת—only here; probably *pistachio nuts*.<sup>9</sup> The nuts of the *pistachia vera*<sup>10</sup> have always been much in request as dainty morsels. According to Rosen,<sup>11</sup> they no longer grow in Palestine, but are found in Syria, at Aleppo, and even Ma'lûlâ, eight hours north of Damascus.<sup>12</sup> The pistachio belongs to the genus terebinth, which is in Arabic *butm*, and was called πιστάκια by the Syrians.<sup>13</sup> The Septuagint and

<sup>1</sup> Gesenius, Tuch, Knobel, and others.

<sup>2</sup> Delitzsch.

<sup>3</sup> Delitzsch.

<sup>4</sup> *Assyr. Diet.* ii. 354.

<sup>5</sup> Ezek. xxvii. 17.

<sup>6</sup> Wellsted, *Arabia*, i. 320, Germ. tr. i. 222; Winer,<sup>3</sup> i. 510.

<sup>7</sup> Ch. xl. 10 f.

<sup>8</sup> Bruns, *Erdbeschreib. v. Afrika*, i. 114 f.; Savary [*Lettres sur Egypte*,<sup>2</sup> 1786, ii. 283 f.], *Zustände Ägypt.* ii. 219. Knobel.

<sup>9</sup> Löw, *Pflanzennamen*, No. 44; a Punic word also, see Blair in *ZDMG.* xi. 520; and Assyrian, see Schrader in *MBAW.* 1881, 419.

<sup>10</sup> Riehm, *Handwörterbuch*, 1211.

<sup>11</sup> *ZDMG.* xii. 502, against Schubert, ii. 478, iii. 114.

<sup>12</sup> Wetzstein in *ZDMG.* xi. 520.

<sup>13</sup> Athenæus, xiv. 61, p. 649.

Vulgate may accordingly have meant pistachio by their *τερέβινθος*.<sup>1</sup>

אֲמָרִים—*almonds*; "cultivated, it is true, in Egypt also,"<sup>2</sup> but to a very small extent."<sup>3</sup>

Ver. 12 f. They are also to take with them *money two times*, that which they require for their purchase of corn, and that which they had taken before and brought back with them; *perhaps*<sup>4</sup> there has been a mistake.

כִּסְפָּה is an adverbial accusative;<sup>5</sup> in ver. 15 כֶּסֶף is the adv. accus.: *two times in money*.<sup>6</sup> בְּפִי אִמְחַחְתִּיכֶם, as xlii. 27 and xliii. 21.

Ver. 14. Jacob then sends them away with his best wishes.

*But I, as I am bereaved, I am bereaved*, "if I must lose my children, so be it; an expression of composed resignation with which he yields to destiny."<sup>7</sup>

The verse is from *B*, since the *other brother* is Simeon whom Joseph detained, according to *B*<sup>8</sup> (Samar. and Sept. had אֶחָד for אֶחָדִים). But *R*'s hand is perceptible in הָאִישׁ, and likely also in אֶל שָׂרִי, which *B* does not use elsewhere.

אֶל שָׂרִי, see xvii. 1. יְהוֹן רַחֲמִים, Deut. xiii. 18; Jer. xlii. 12. אֶחָד, without article, see xlii. 19. אֶשְׁכַּחְתִּי, ā in pause for ō.<sup>9</sup>

Ver. 15. They journey to Egypt and come before Joseph. For מִשְׁנֵה, see ver. 12.

Ver. 16 f. Joseph when he sees Benjamin among them, and learns that they had previously spoken the truth, and that Benjamin is alive, resolves to treat them kindly. He bids his steward<sup>10</sup> take them to his house and prepare for them a midday meal.

<sup>1</sup> See, further, Celsius, *Microbotanicon*, i. 24 ff.; Ritter, *Erdkunde*, xi. 561 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Abdollatif, *Memor. Egypt.* p. 33, ed. White.

<sup>3</sup> Bruns, *op. cit.* p. 99. Knobel.

<sup>4</sup> See note on xvi. 2.

<sup>5</sup> As Ex. xvi. 22.

<sup>6</sup> Jer. xvii. 18; Gesenius,<sup>25</sup> 131 A. 5.

<sup>7</sup> Similarly Esth. iv. 16; 2 Kings vii. 4. Knobel.

<sup>8</sup> Ch. xlii. 24.

<sup>9</sup> Gesenius,<sup>25</sup> § 29, end.

<sup>10</sup> Ch. xxxix. 4

טָבַח for טָבַח; a form not found elsewhere,<sup>1</sup> occasioned by the wish to contrast with טָבַח.<sup>2</sup> “The author is not guilty of a slip here,<sup>3</sup> for kings and priests partook of flesh also, and that even daily;<sup>4</sup> priests in general abstained only from the flesh of certain animals, *e.g.* sheep and swine,<sup>5</sup> and only certain of them from all flesh.”<sup>6</sup>

Ver. 18. “The brothers are alarmed at being taken into Joseph’s house. The harsh treatment which was their previous experience prevents them from thinking of its being a special honour; they are afraid Joseph will treat them still worse, because of *the money which got back into their sacks*. The indefinite expression הֵשֵׁב implies their view that some chance agency had operated against them.”<sup>7</sup>

*To roll (themselves) over us*<sup>8</sup> and set (themselves) on us, fall on us in great numbers and make us slaves; compare Ex. xxii. 2 [3] for the punishment of theft in Israel. For לָקַח the Samar. and Sept. have לָקַח.

Vv. 19–22. In order to escape their danger they turn to the steward while they are still *at the entrance of the house*,<sup>9</sup> before going in, explain to him about the money, and make their excuses. Their story presupposes that things happened otherwise than as described in xlii. 35.<sup>10</sup>

וְ, a particle of request, always with אֲדָנִי. So xliv. 18, Ex. iv. 10, 13, in *C.* *Our money with its (full) weight*, without deficiency; see xxiii. 16.

Ver. 23. The steward tranquillises them. שְׁלוֹם לָכֶם, *peace to you, i.e.* banish care.<sup>11</sup> “Their money had come into his hands; what they had found must accordingly be a treasure put for them in their sacks by *the God of their father and themselves, i.e.* by the tutelary deity of their family. The

<sup>1</sup> Ewald, § 226*d*.

<sup>2</sup> Böttcher, *Lehrbuch*, § 1051.

<sup>3</sup> Herod. ii. 37, 77; Diod. i. 70.

<sup>4</sup> Porphyry, *de Abstinencia*, iv. 7. Knobel.

<sup>5</sup> Knobel.

<sup>6</sup> Ch. xviii. 1, 10.

<sup>7</sup> Judg. vi. 23; 1 Sam. xx. 21.

<sup>8</sup> Von Bohlen.

<sup>9</sup> Plut. *de Iside*, v.

<sup>10</sup> Job xxx. 14.

<sup>11</sup> See note on xlii. 27.

gifts of fortune were ascribed by each recipient to the particular god he worshipped."<sup>1</sup> For אַבִּיכֶם the Samar. and Sept. have אַבֹּתֶיכֶם.

The words, *then he brought out Simcon to them*, are an insertion by *R* from *B*'s account of the second journey.

Ver. 24 f. They enter the house, make themselves ready,<sup>2</sup> and prepare their present.

*That they are to dine there*,<sup>3</sup> and see Joseph on the occasion. The Septuagint reads more simply יֹאכֵל for יֹאכְלוּ, with Joseph as subject.

Ver. 26. When Joseph enters the house (room) they bring in to him the present *which was in their hand*, which they had brought with them,<sup>4</sup> and present it with the customary obeisance.<sup>5</sup>

וַיְבִיאוּ—for particulars regarding the mappik in the א, see Gesenius.<sup>6</sup>

Ver. 27 f. Joseph makes inquiries, first regarding themselves, then regarding their father.<sup>7</sup> יָקָר combined with הִשְׁתַּחֲוָה, as in xxiv. 26, 48, in *C*.

Ver. 29. Noticing Benjamin, *his mother's son*, *i.e.* his full brother, he asks if it is he; then immediately, without an express reply from them, he greets him with the words, *God be gracious to you*. He addresses him as son. *B* and *C* represent Benjamin throughout as considerably younger than Joseph.<sup>8</sup> Ch. xlvi. 21 implies something different.

יְהִיָּךְ for יְהִיָּךְ, as in Isa. xxx. 19.<sup>9</sup>

Ver. 30 f. Joseph hastens, *i.e.* breaks off quickly, because *his bowels*, his feelings of tenderness, *are kindled towards his brother*,<sup>10</sup> and he retires to the (inner) chamber, because he

<sup>1</sup> Hos. ii. 7 ff. Knobel.

<sup>2</sup> See xxiv. 32.

<sup>3</sup> Gesenius,<sup>25</sup> 107. 3*b*.

<sup>4</sup> Ch. xxiv. 10, xxxv. 4; Num. xxii. 7, 29.

<sup>5</sup> Ch. xviii. 2, xix. 1, xxiv. 52, xxxiii. 3, xxxvii. 10.

<sup>6</sup> *Grammatik*,<sup>25</sup> 14. 1*A*. 2 [in printed texts only in four passages, but in certain MSS. frequent, to denote consonantal power of א].

<sup>7</sup> Ex. xviii. 7; Judg. xviii. 15, and frequently.

<sup>8</sup> This agrees with xxxv. 17 f.; comp. note on xxxiv. 1.

<sup>9</sup> Ges.<sup>25</sup> 67. 8*A*. 2.

<sup>10</sup> 1 Kings iii. 26; Hos. xi. 8.



feels the need of tears for the recovery of his composure. Then he returns, *pulls himself together*, or puts constraint on himself,<sup>1</sup> and orders the meal to be served.

נבמר — Lam. v. 10 is sufficient evidence against Delitzsch's interpretation,<sup>2</sup> *be overcome*, based on Assyrian *kamāru*.

Ver. 32. He, the Egyptians who ate with him, and the brothers were served separately (at separate tables). "In his own case the explanation is found in his rank and in his membership in the priestly caste (xli. 45), which kept aloof from the laity;<sup>3</sup> his Egyptian guests, though probably not priests, *could* not, *i.e.* might not, eat with the Hebrews.<sup>4</sup> Egyptian national prejudice, and the narrowness with which they excluded everything foreign, were noted facts.<sup>5</sup> The priests ate and drank nothing which came from abroad;<sup>6</sup> an Egyptian would use none of a Greek's cooking utensils.<sup>7</sup> This was their attitude towards the Hebrews also, more especially as they were a pastoral people."<sup>8</sup>

Ver. 33. The brothers are assigned their places in the order of seniority; they express to one another their astonishment at this.

רמה אל, pregnant construction, as in xlii. 28. For בבור and צעיר, see note on xxix. 26.

Ver. 34. "As a mark of special favour Joseph, in accordance with an ancient custom, sends them dishes<sup>9</sup> from his own table. That received by Benjamin amounts to five *hands*, *i.e.* handfuls,<sup>10</sup> portions, more than that of any of the others. The most honoured guest was given the largest and finest pieces.<sup>11</sup> Among the Spartans the king had a double portion,<sup>12</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Ch. xlv. 1.

<sup>2</sup> *Hebrew Language*, p. 41 f.

<sup>3</sup> Porphyry, *de Abstinencia*, iv. 6.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Deut. xii. 17, xvi. 5, xvii. 15.

<sup>5</sup> Diod. i. 67; Strabo, xvii. 1. 6.

<sup>6</sup> Porphyry, iv. 7.

<sup>7</sup> Herod. ii. 41.

<sup>8</sup> See xlv. 34. Knobel.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. 2 Sam. xi. 8.

<sup>10</sup> Ch. xlvii. 24; 2 Kings xi. 7.

<sup>11</sup> 1 Sam. ix. 23 f.; *Iliad*, vii. 321, viii. 162, xii. 310; *Odyssey*, iv. 65 f., xiv. 437; Diod. v. 28.

<sup>12</sup> Herod. vi. 57; Xenoph. *Laced.* xv. 4.

among the Kretans the archon four times more than others.<sup>1</sup> The number five is specially Egyptian."<sup>2</sup> Knobel professed to explain this Egyptian preference for five by their assumption that there were five planets,<sup>3</sup> which is also connected with their designation of the number five by a star.<sup>4</sup> But we might equally well refer to their week of ten days,<sup>5</sup> or still more simply make a connection with the five fingers of the hand. After the meal they drank largely together.

סֵדֶם, subject indefinite; see xlii. 25. The Sept. and Pesh. render a plural.

Ch. xliv. The brothers are again put to the test by a scheme which Joseph devises.

Ver. 1. He commands their sacks to be filled to overflowing with corn, and each one's money to be put in his own sack. By this he clearly indicates his friendship. He also, however, commands his silver cup to be put in Benjamin's sack along with the money.

Kittel finds evidence of a parallel text of *B*'s in the use of הִקְטָן here and in other verses.<sup>6</sup> It is true that in xliii. 33 and xxix. 26 *C* writes בִּכּוּר and צִעִיר; but must he always have done so?<sup>7</sup> In any case *R* may have introduced a variation. There are no other signs of *B*'s presence.

Vv. 3-6. The construction in ver. 3 f. as in xxxviii. 25 and xix. 23. When the morning became light<sup>8</sup> they were sent away. They were still not far from the city<sup>9</sup> when Joseph ordered his steward to pursue them and call them to account for the cup they had with them. The versions<sup>10</sup> prefix to ver. 5 the words, Why have you stolen my silver

<sup>1</sup> Heraclides, *Pol.* iii.

<sup>2</sup> Ch. xli. 34, xlv. 22, xlvii. 2, 24; Isa. xix. 18. Knobel.

<sup>3</sup> Macrobius, *Somn. Scip.* i. 21; Seneca, *Quæs. nat.* vii. 3; cf. Diod. ii. 30; Eusebius, *Chron. Armen.* i. 26.

<sup>4</sup> Horapollon, i. 13.

<sup>5</sup> Lepsius, *Chron.* i. 132 f.

<sup>6</sup> Vv. 20, 23, 26 (also xliii. 29), and especially גִּדּוּל and קָטַן in ver. 12.

<sup>7</sup> See xix. 11, xlviii. 19 (xxvii. 15, 42, ix. 24).

<sup>8</sup> Intrans. perf.; Gesenius,<sup>25</sup> 72. A. 1.

<sup>9</sup> Which? See note on xlvi. 31, and above, p. 353.

<sup>10</sup> Sept. (Vulg. Pesh.).

cup? The Hebrew text is less direct: *is it not that*, is not what is in question that, in which *i.e., from*<sup>1</sup> *which my lord drinks?* something valuable therefore. *And he is accustomed to observe*<sup>2</sup> *the signs in*, or by, *it*, to examine the future; so that its use is an important one, and itself of a consecrated character.

"Such divination by a cup was called *κυλικομαντεία*; and, together with divination from dishes (*λεκανομαντεία*), was named *ὕδρομαντεία*.<sup>3</sup> Water was poured into a glass or other vessel, and little pieces of gold, silver, and precious stones might also be thrown into the water which had been filled in; then observations were made of the results, of the figures, etc., which appeared, with the expectation of learning the future or the unknown by this means. *λεκανομάντεις* and *ὕδρομάντεις* were indigenous to Persia also.<sup>4</sup> Such divination is reported to exist in Egypt even in modern times.<sup>5</sup> This was the art which, according to the passage here, Joseph practised, in connection, no doubt, with his membership in the priestly caste."<sup>6</sup>

Ver. 7 f. The brothers try to prove their honesty, and the impossibility of the theft, by appeal to the fact of their having brought back the money they found with them on their first return journey.

כדברים האלה, see note on xxxix. 19. חלילה ונ', also in ver. 17; see xviii. 25. For הֵן בְּכֶסֶף the Samar. and Sept. have אֵיפֶה הֵן הַכֶּסֶף, as xxxix. 9.

Ver. 9. Further, whoever of them is found to have the cup shall die,<sup>7</sup> and the others of them will be his slaves.

וְכָמֵת, as in xxii. 31; Ewald, *Syntax*, § 243a.

<sup>1</sup> כ *instrumenti*; Amos vi. 6.

<sup>2</sup> Ch. xxx. 27.

<sup>3</sup> For particulars, see Jamblichus, *Myster.* iii. 14, and Varro in Augustine, *Civit. Dei*, vii. 35 (Pliny, xxxvii. § 192; Damascius in Photius, *Bibliotheca*, cod. 242, p. 567).

<sup>4</sup> Strabo, xvi. 2. 39.

<sup>5</sup> Norden, *Travels* [Eng. tr. 1757], Germ. tr. by Steffens, p. 423.

<sup>6</sup> Ch. xli. 45. Knobel.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. xxxi. 32.

Ver. 10. The steward says, *let it be now also according to your words*, let it be as you say.<sup>1</sup> But he at once modifies the proposal, and requires only the guilty one, not for execution, but to be Joseph's slave.

נִם placed at the beginning of the sentence.<sup>2</sup>

Vv. 11-14. Each in turn is searched,<sup>3</sup> from the oldest to the youngest, and the cup is found in Benjamin's sack. In grief and despair they rend their clothes,<sup>4</sup> reload their animals, and return to the town. They enter Joseph's presence with Judah, Benjamin's surety,<sup>5</sup> at their head, and prostrate themselves before him, imploring his compassion.

Regarding הַנְּדוּל and הַקֶּטֶן, see note on ver. 2. For יִבְא, see ix. 23.

Ver. 15. Joseph addresses them sharply: Did they not know that a man like himself, one of the sages of Egypt,<sup>6</sup> understood divining, and would accordingly at once detect the theft?

Ver. 16. Judah is only spokesman for them all.<sup>7</sup> He does not attempt to brave appearances and clear them from the accusation of theft. In the consciousness that this is what they have merited by their conduct towards Joseph,<sup>8</sup> he yields their case. *God Himself*<sup>9</sup> *has searched out and found the guilt of your servants*, discovered and exposed it, shown that we are guilty; no denial will remove the fact. He declares their readiness to be his slaves, Benjamin and all.

Ver. 17. Joseph will not keep more than Benjamin. לְשָׁלוֹם; so that you will be at peace, undisturbed.<sup>10</sup>

Ver. 18. Judah now advances from among the others, and approaches Joseph to save his father's favourite. He

<sup>1</sup> Cf. xxx. 34.

<sup>2</sup> For parallels, see xxvii. 33.

<sup>3</sup> As in xxxi. 35.

<sup>4</sup> Ch. xxxvii. 34.

<sup>5</sup> Ch. xliii. 8 ff.

<sup>6</sup> Isa. xix. 11. Knobel.

<sup>7</sup> Wellhausen wishes to omit יהודה because of ver. 18, and to read וַיֵּאמֶר.

<sup>8</sup> Ch. xlii. 21.

<sup>9</sup> Sam. and Sept. והאלהים as circumstantial clause.

<sup>10</sup> 1 Sam. i. 17, xx. 42.



asks to be granted the favour of speaking freely before him.<sup>1</sup> He is aware of the greatness of the request, for Joseph is like the king in authority and dignity.

בְּ—בְּ, as xviii. 25. For בִּי, see xliii. 20.

Ver. 19 ff. He first tells their whole history in so far as connected with Joseph's demand to see Benjamin, and explains how and why it was with the utmost unwillingness that his father had allowed him to come with them.

Ver. 19. A passage of *C*'s, which has not been preserved, and which differed from *B*'s account in ch. xlii., is here pre-supposed; see note on xliii. 6 f.

Ver. 20. *And a young boy born to him in his old age*; cf. xxxvii. 3, in *C*. Probably the expression נער זקנים was not used; hence ילד, though elsewhere in ch. xliii. f. Benjamin is always called נער. כִּה, as in xlii. 38; in xlii. 13, 32, from *B*, אינו is used. They regarded him as really dead.<sup>2</sup>

Ver. 21. *I wish to set my eye on him*, "to show him attention, take him under my protection."<sup>3</sup> Judah ventures to interpret Joseph's request as a sign of favour towards Benjamin."<sup>4</sup>

Ver. 22. At the time they had raised the objection that the boy could<sup>5</sup> not leave their father, for he would die in such a case. This was in *C*'s account only (not in *B*, xlii. 13, 32).

ומה—ועוב [one type of conditional sentence, without special particle in protasis].<sup>6</sup>

For ver. 23, see xliii. 3, 5; for vv. 24-26, xliii. 2 ff. For אָבִי, Samar. Sept. Pesh. Vulg. have אבִינו. But see ver. 27. אם יש וג' is apodosis to וירדנו.

Vv. 27-29. See xxxvii. 33 and xlii. 38. For אָף, see note xxix. 14; and for עֲרִיבָה, xv. 16.

בְּרָעָה, *in evil*, i.e. misfortune, which would cloud his closing days. The antithesis is *in peace*.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Ch. xx. 8, xxiii. 16, l. 4.

<sup>2</sup> Ch. xlii. 22.

<sup>3</sup> Jer. xxxix. 13, xl. 4; Ps. xxxiii. 18, xxxiv. 16.

<sup>4</sup> Knobel.

<sup>5</sup> See xliii. 32.

<sup>6</sup> Gesenius,<sup>25</sup> 159. 2e.

<sup>7</sup> Ch. xv. 15. Knobel.

Ver. 30 f. The inference from all this is now drawn: if Judah returns to his father without the son *to whose soul the father's soul is bound*, i.e. to whom he was attached with all his soul,<sup>1</sup> it will cost him (the speaker) his life,—a result which Joseph cannot, so he assumes, desire. The principal clause, to which ver. 30 is subordinate, begins with וְהִיא in ver. 31; and within it, in turn, כִּרְאוֹתָיו is subordinate to וְנָתַת.

It is not at all obvious why וּנְפִישׁוֹ should be corrected to וּנְפִישׁוֹ.<sup>2</sup> After אֵין הַנֶּעַר the versions<sup>3</sup> have אֶתְנוּ, as in ver. 30; but it is unrequired. See, further, xlii. 38.

Ver. 32. Their father is hoping without misgiving that he will return, *for your servant got the boy for a pledge from his father*, was trusted with him after giving a pledge.<sup>4</sup> This, too, is the reason why he is making his appeal in this way.

Ver. 33 f. His final appeal, which has been prepared for by the account of their father's love for Benjamin (vv. 19-29) and of his own suretyship (ver. 32). He asks to be allowed to take Benjamin's place as slave, and for permission to Benjamin to depart with the others. If his request is not granted,<sup>5</sup> he will have to be a witness of his father's misfortune.

Judah's speech is in the name of the others, and so an expression of their desires also.

### 3. JOSEPH REVEALS HIMSELF, AND INVITES MIGRATION TO EGYPT, CH. XLV.; FOLLOWING *B* AND *C*.

Joseph is now convinced of his brothers' change of feeling, and at length reveals himself. At the same time he calms their fears regarding the consequences of their sin against him, and proposes to them to hasten back to Canaan and tell his father, and invite him to migrate to Goshen in Egypt. The king extends to them a similar invitation,

<sup>1</sup> 1 Sam. xviii. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Wellhausen, *JBDTh.* xxi. 447.

<sup>3</sup> Sam. Sept. Pesh. Vulg.

<sup>4</sup> See xliii. 9.

<sup>5</sup> For יָדָה, cf. iii. 22, xxxviii. 11, xlii. 4.

and offers the waggons which would be required in the migration. The brethren return home with presents from Joseph for themselves and their father. Jacob is overjoyed, and at once shows his resolution to go to be with Joseph. The whole tangled history is thus now unravelled, and the guiding influence of divine providence (vv. 5–8) streams out as a light from the obscurity which had enveloped the actions and fortunes of those involved.

Both narrators must, of course, have written about this preliminary conclusion to the history. We find, as a matter of fact, that *R* has made *B*'s account his main source, but has worked into it not a little from *C*. *C* is represented principally in vv. 1a,<sup>1</sup> 2,<sup>2</sup> 4b, and partially 5a;<sup>3</sup> traces are also present in vv. 7,<sup>4</sup> 13 f.,<sup>5</sup> 28,<sup>6</sup> and probably also ver. 10.<sup>7</sup> What remains is a well-connected whole, which is proved to belong to *B* by its divergences from *C*,<sup>8</sup> by references to it afterwards,<sup>9</sup> by the emphasis it lays on the agency of divine providence and on Joseph's high position in Egypt, and by its language.<sup>10</sup> At least it offers no decisive reasons against *B*'s authorship. Regarding vv. 19–21 and a surprising expression in ver. 23, see below.

Ver. 1a. Joseph has succeeded thus far in playing his part of stranger only because of his uncertainty regarding his brothers' state of mind. Now that Judah has spoken as he did he can no longer *restrain himself*,<sup>11</sup> as he must do, *because of all those standing before him*. He therefore commands all to withdraw except his brothers.

נָצַב עָלָיו—in xviii. 2, xxviii. 13, from *C* (in Ex. xviii. 14, from *B*).

<sup>1</sup> הַתַּאֲפֵק.

<sup>2</sup> Contrast ver. 16.

<sup>3</sup> Joseph's sale ; נָעַב.

<sup>4</sup> Redundant.

<sup>5</sup> Parallel to ver. 9 ; הוֹרִיד.

<sup>6</sup> יִשְׂרָאֵל.

<sup>7</sup> See notes.

<sup>8</sup> *E.g.* ver. 3 contrasted with xliii. 27f. ; Pharaoh's offer (ver. 17ff.) contrasted with xli. 31 ff., where it is not presupposed.

<sup>9</sup> In xli. 5 to vv. 19, 21, in xlvii. 12, l. 21 to ver. 11.

<sup>10</sup> *E.g.* אֱלֹהִים (vv. 5, 7f., 9), יַעֲקֹב (ver. 25), חָרָה בְּעֵינָיו (ver. 5), טָעַן (ver. 17), צָדָה (ver. 21), בָּרַךְ (ver. 23).

<sup>11</sup> Ch. xliii. 31.

Ver. 1*b* may also be from *C*, but may be taken from the introduction to *B*'s recognition scene. הִתְחַדַּע, *make one's self known*, elsewhere only in Num. xii. 6.

Ver. 2, from *C* Joseph gave free vent to his voice in weeping, *i.e.* broke into loud weeping, so that Egypt, *i.e.* the Egyptians,<sup>1</sup> outside or near by, heard it; the court also heard it, *i.e.* probably learned of it. Comp. ver. 16. Joseph lived in the royal city (xlvi. 31).

מְצָרִים has not the article, and so is not to be pointed מְצָרִים.

Ver. 3 *f*. After thus revealing himself Joseph's first question is regarding his father; this is natural in *B*, in *C* it would be superfluous after xliii. 27 *f*. and xlv. 19-34. Their trepidation is so great they cannot reply. They had started back from him (John xviii. 6), and he now tells them to come nearer,<sup>2</sup> so that they might gain confidence and courage. The further declaration, that he is Joseph whom<sup>3</sup> they sold into Egypt,<sup>4</sup> is taken from *C*.<sup>5</sup>

Ver. 5*aa* and γ, also from *C*. He exhorts them not to be downcast and depressed because of what they had done, but to regard it as of God's working, and themselves as His instruments. God sent him before them to Egypt to preserve them and others alive.

תַּעֲצֹבוּ<sup>6</sup> and the sale recall *C*; יָחַר בְּעֵינֵיכֶם<sup>7</sup> and אֱלֹהִים, *B*. For הֵן, see xlii. 15.

Ver. 6. For now<sup>8</sup> the famine had lasted two years already (a period during which he had been the means of preserving people), and there still awaited them five years in which there would be no tillage and no harvest.

Ver. 7. It was for this purpose God sent him before them to Egypt, that he might preserve them by his care.

*To place a remnant for you on the earth*, "to bring it

<sup>1</sup> Ch. xli. 55.

<sup>2</sup> Ch. xlv. 18.

<sup>4</sup> Chs. xxxvii. 28, xxxix. 1.

<sup>6</sup> Chs. vi. 6, xxxiv. 7.

<sup>8</sup> Chs. xxxi. 38, 41, xxvii. 36, xliii. 10.

<sup>3</sup> Gesenius,<sup>25</sup> 138. 1 A. 1.

<sup>5</sup> Contrast xl. 15*a*.

<sup>7</sup> Ch. xxxi. 35.



about that you should have descendants on the earth, and that your race should not be extirpated from the earth.”<sup>1</sup> The words which follow, *to give you life* פְּלִיטָה נְרוּלָה, are very difficult, whether the untranslated words are taken in apposition to לָכֵן,<sup>2</sup> or as dative of the product, *so that there may be a numerous rescued band*.<sup>3</sup> The difficulty is increased by the fact that *B* elsewhere<sup>4</sup> uses הָהִיא with the accusative, for it is even less easy to supply נִשְׁאָרִית. In view of 2 Chron. xii. 7 we can hardly strike out ל before פְּלִיטָה.<sup>5</sup> Ver. *b* may be a mutilated insertion from *C*. The thought may be paralleled from 1. 20 (in *B*); for פְּלִיטָה, comp. xxxii. 9 (xiv. 13).

Ver. 8. To execute this plan of His, accordingly, God sent him to Egypt, not the brothers, and has given him the needful position.

*Pharaoh's father*—paternal councillor of the king; a title of honour designating the king's chief minister.<sup>6</sup> According to Brugsch,<sup>7</sup> *ab en pirāo* is an official title of the principal (house) minister in documents of the 19th dynasty; and “*adon* of the whole country” occurs in a similar sense in a document of the 18th dynasty.

*Lord of his house*, xli. 40. *Ruler* (as ver. 26), see note xlii. 6.

Ver. 9 f. The brothers are to hasten back to Canaan and invite Jacob, in Joseph's name, to migrate without delay to Egypt with all his possessions and dependants. We have to assign ver. 10 to *C*,<sup>8</sup> because it is presupposed in xlv. 28. But we can scarcely doubt that Goshen was to be, and became, the place of residence in *B* also, for we cannot assume, in spite of Pharaoh's offer in ver. 17 ff., that Israel, according to his account, lived in the city beside Joseph.

<sup>1</sup> 2 Sam. xiv. 7; Jer. xlv. 7. Knobel.

<sup>2</sup> Schumann.

<sup>3</sup> Knobel, Delitzsch.

<sup>4</sup> Chs. xlvii. 25, l. 20.

<sup>5</sup> Sam. Sept. Olshausen.

<sup>6</sup> See Gesenius, *Thes.* p. 7, also Esther (Apocr.) xiii. 6, xvi. 11; 1 Macc. xi. 32.

<sup>7</sup> *L'Exode*, p. 17; *Geschichte*, 207, 248, 252, 592, etc. [Eng. tr. i. 265, ii. 140, 180, 348].

<sup>8</sup> Wellhausen, Kittel; the first three words, Kautzsch-Socin,

נִשְׁ—in *C*,<sup>1</sup> whereas *A* has *Land of Ramesses*.<sup>2</sup> “Both names refer to the same district, which permits of the Septuagint rendering of נִשְׁ in xlvi. 28 by ‘*Ραμεσσή*. Its situation was at least on the eastern side of the Nile; for while the Hebrews extended as far as the river,<sup>3</sup> there is no mention of their crossing it either on the occasion of their arrival or departure.” In xlv. 10 and xlvi. 34 the Septuagint has *Γεσὲμ Ἀραβίας*. In the Greco-Roman period *Ἀραβία* was one of the twenty-three *νομοί* into which the Delta was divided; its principal town was *Φακοῦσσα*.<sup>4</sup> Even in the *Peregrinatio Sylviæ*,<sup>5</sup> Arabia, in this sense, and Gesse are identified. During the 18th and 19th dynasties Lower Egypt had only fifteen *nomes*, and the later *νομοί* of Arabia and Bubastis were still included in the great province of On (Heliopolis), which was bounded on the east by what was later the *νομός* of Heroonpolis (Pithom). נִשְׁ has not yet been found as a *νομός* in the inscriptions of that date. But a text which dates from King Merenptah<sup>6</sup> says of the neighbourhood of Pi-Bailos (probably Bilbeis), “the country around was not cultivated, but was left as pasture for cattle, because of the strangers; it was abandoned since the time of the ancestors.” Now the Egyptian name of the region two or three hours east of Bubastis was *Kesem* or *Kes*; and *Φακοῦσσα*, already referred to, has long been supposed<sup>7</sup> to be a compound from this very *Kes*, in the form Pa-Kes, while *Kes* itself has been identified with נִשְׁ.<sup>8</sup> Naville’s excavations have shown that Sopt, the modern *Saft el-Henneh*, was the religious capital of this district. The country round Sopt east of the canal Abu-l-Munagge, between Belbeis on the south and Abbaseh on the

<sup>1</sup> Chs. xlvi. 28 ff., 34, xlvii. 1, 4, 6, 27, l. 8; Ex. viii. 18, ix. 26.

<sup>2</sup> Ch. xlvii. 11; cf. Ex. xii. 37; Num. xxxiii. 5.

<sup>3</sup> Ex. ii. 3 ff.; Num. xi. 5.

<sup>4</sup> Ptol. iv. 5. 53; cf. Strabo, xvii. 1. 26.

<sup>5</sup> Ed. Gamurrini, p. 46 ff.

<sup>6</sup> Mariette, *Karnak*, lii. line 8.

<sup>7</sup> Von der Hardt, Champollion, Brugsch, Ebers.

<sup>8</sup> See Naville, *Land of Goshen*, 1887, pp. 15 ff. and 26.

east, would then be Kesem. We have accordingly to think of the Old Testament Goshen as lying east of Bubastis (Zagazig) in the direction of Tell el-Kebir, and as extending south to a point beyond Bilbeis. This does not deny that the Israelites may in time have extended farther east. "Saadia and Abusaid still put *Sadîr* for גִּשְׁן; it is a place north-east of Bilbeis <sup>1</sup> between Abbasia and Chashbi.<sup>2</sup> Makrizi<sup>3</sup> defines Goshen as the land of Bilbeis, principal town of the modern province of esh-Sharḳiye, as far as the country of 'Amaleḳ. Goshen was counted one of the best parts of Egypt,<sup>4</sup> and was a pastoral country.<sup>5</sup> The province of esh-Sharḳiye is still reckoned the best and most productive in Egypt."<sup>6</sup> The name גִּשְׁן, which was also that of a city and district in southern Canaan,<sup>7</sup> may have been semitised from Kes, Kesem.<sup>8</sup>

Ver. 11. He will *nourish* <sup>9</sup> Jacob here, beside him, during the five years of famine which remain.

פֶּן־תִּחְרֹשׁ—that you may not come to poverty, decline in wealth;<sup>10</sup> the Sept. has ἐκτριβῆς, Aquila ἀναλωθῆς, Vulg. and Pesh. *percas*. The rendering, *that you may not be possessed*, i.e. being pressed by want, become the property of others,<sup>11</sup> is less natural.

Ver. 12. He bids them be convinced, in spite of their surprise, of the truth of what they see (or hear). *That it is my mouth which speaks to you*, not that of another.

Ver. 13. Commission to tell his father of his exalted station, and to bring him to Egypt with all speed. Practically a repetition of ver. 9 ff., and so, in view also of הוֹרִיד, no doubt an insertion from C.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Ritter, *Erdkunde*, xiv. 59.

<sup>2</sup> Yâḳût, *Mushtarik*, p. 242.

<sup>3</sup> In Rosenmüller, *Alterthumskunde*, iii. 247.

<sup>4</sup> Ch. xlvii. 6, 11.

<sup>5</sup> Ch. xlvi. 34.

<sup>6</sup> Robinson, *Palestine*,<sup>3</sup> i. 54. Knobel.

<sup>7</sup> Josh. x. 41, xi. 16, xv. 51.

<sup>8</sup> See also Riehm, *Handwörterbuch*, 528.

<sup>9</sup> Chs. xlvii. 12, l. 21.

<sup>10</sup> Onkelos, Gesenius, Delitzsch, and others.

<sup>11</sup> Knobel, with reference to xlvii. 19 ff.

<sup>12</sup> Wellhausen.

Ver 14 f. Now that he has made them fully comprehend the situation, the actual greeting is given them, by embraces, kisses, and tears of joy; Benjamin receives the first and warmest welcome. After this pledge of reconciliation they venture, on their part, to address him. Ver. 14 is from C,<sup>1</sup> ver. 15 from B.

עֲלֵהֶם—on them, while he embraced them.

Ver. 16. The *news* of the arrival of Joseph's brothers reaches the royal palace also, and pleases the king and his court. Joseph's person and services were duly esteemed. C, in ver. 2, has already shortly stated the same thing.

וַיִּטֵּב בְּעֵינֵי—as in xli. 37; still in xxxiv. 18 also.

Ver 17 f. "Independently of Joseph's wishes, but in agreement with them, it occurs to the king to invite Jacob and his family to Egypt; he empowers Joseph to make the necessary proposals."<sup>2</sup>

וְזאת עשו, in xlii. 18, but also xliii. 11, xlv. 19. טענו, whereas in xliv. 13, in C, עָמַס עַל בְּעֵיר, see Ex. xxii. 4; elsewhere in the Pentateuch in Num. xx. 4, 8, 11 (in B).

טוב ארץ מצרים—"not the best part of Egypt, Goshen,<sup>3</sup> for which כִּיטָב is the correct expression,<sup>4</sup> but the best things, possessions and products,<sup>5</sup> afterwards the fat of the land, the finest products. The king does not think of the Hebrews dwelling in Egypt for long."<sup>6</sup>

Ver. 19. In particular, he offers them waggons from Egypt for the conveyance of their family and father.

וְאַתָּה צִוִּיתָה—can only mean *and you have command*, or *are empowered*. But in קחו עשו the brothers are addressed, not Joseph, so that the intermediate words אֶל-אֶחָיו אֲבוֹתָם,<sup>7</sup> are required. The text is therefore in confusion, more especially

<sup>1</sup> Cf. xlv. 29 (xxxiii. 4).

<sup>2</sup> Knobel.

<sup>3</sup> Rashi, Fagius, Vatablus, Clericus, J. D. Michaelis, Gesenius, Rosenmüller, Schumann.

<sup>4</sup> Ch. xlvii. 6, 11.

<sup>5</sup> As vv. 20, 23, xxiv. 10; 2 Kings viii. 9; Sept., Vulg., Tuch, Knobel, Delitzsch.

<sup>6</sup> Knobel.

<sup>7</sup> Peshitta.



as the use of the passive צִיָּה is very suspicious.<sup>1</sup> We might read צִיָּה אֶתָּם from the Sept. (Vulg.) σὺ δὲ ἐντεταλαι. But the words לַטַּבְכֶּם וְלַנְּשִׁיכֶם<sup>2</sup> are also surprising, for B does not elsewhere name נְשִׁים specially along with טָף.<sup>3</sup> Further, חָסֶם הָעֵץ עַל is written elsewhere in the Pentateuch only by D, כִּי טוֹב וְנָ, in ver. 20 has already been expressed in ver. 18, and וַיַּעַזְבוּ בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל in ver. 21 is absolutely proleptical. It may accordingly be conjectured that ver. 19 f. with וַיַּעַזְבוּ—יִשְׂרָאֵל and עַל פִּי פָרַעָה in ver. 21<sup>4</sup> are due to insertion and redaction by R, who considered it of importance that Pharaoh himself should have given the orders related. B's text, וַיִּתֵּן ל' יוֹסֵף וְנָ, (ver. 21, cf. 27), was simpler.

עֲגֹלָה—a waggon, differs from the מְרֻכָּבָה<sup>5</sup> among the Egyptians also.<sup>6</sup> Nothing is said of horses being yoked to it;<sup>7</sup> the use of other animals, oxen or asses, is presupposed; in xlvi. 29 and l. 9 it is different.

Ver. 20. "They may leave their effects in Canaan, for in Egypt, the land of civilisation and industry, they will be able to procure the best there is. *Let not your eye take pity on your effects*, do not be so attached to them as to think you must take them with you. Compassion receives expression in the look."<sup>8</sup>

Ver. 21. They act accordingly. עַל־פִּי, xli. 40; צָרָה לָדֶרֶךְ, xlii. 25.

Ver. 22. Joseph also presents his brothers with new suits of clothes, in accordance with the Eastern custom of doing so.<sup>9</sup> חֲלָפוֹת שִׁמְלֹת, *dress-changes*, i.e. garments for change, valuable garments for which the ordinary dress was changed on holiday occasions.<sup>10</sup> Each of the ten brothers received

<sup>1</sup> See Num. xxxvi. 2.

<sup>2</sup> Also in xlvi. 5.

<sup>3</sup> See Comm. on Num. xxxii. 36.

<sup>4</sup> And so, of course, also xlvi. 5b.

<sup>5</sup> Ch. xli. 43.

<sup>6</sup> Erman, *Aegypten*, p. 650 f. [Eng. tr. 491].

<sup>7</sup> See xii. 16.

<sup>8</sup> Deut. vii. 16, xiii. 9, and frequently.

<sup>9</sup> Winer,<sup>3</sup> i. 411, 663.

<sup>10</sup> Ch. xxvii. 15. See Judg. xiv. 12 f., 19; 2 Kings v. 5, 22 f.

the garments of a full suit; Benjamin is given five times as many,<sup>1</sup> and 300 shekels<sup>2</sup> of silver in addition.<sup>3</sup>

Ver. 23. He also sends his father presents, namely, ten asses laden with Egyptian products, and ten she asses with corn and provisions for his journey.

כֹּזֶה—*in like manner, equally*,<sup>4</sup> not “garments and money also,” but “also as a present.”

כִּזְיוֹן—more an Aramaic word; perhaps a later gloss for an original צִדָּה (ver. 21, xlii. 25).

Ver. 24. “He sends them away. The words אַל תִּרְאוּ do not mean *tremble not, i.e. fear not*,<sup>5</sup> for such encouragement was unnecessary in the case of men who had repeatedly made the journey, and to express it תִּירָאוּ would be used. Translate *be not moved, do not get angry on the road*.”<sup>6</sup> They are to abstain from quarrelling about their offence against Joseph, “and make no reproaches.”<sup>7</sup> The Samaritan has the reciprocal form of the verb, תִּתְרַאוּ.

Ver. 25 f. They return home and tell their father.

וְכִי—*and that*, transition to the indirect speech.

וְיָפָה—*not remained cold*,<sup>8</sup> but *became cold*. A numbness of consciousness and sensation was the first result of the sudden news, which he could not at once believe. The expression פֶּנִּי<sup>9</sup> need not be assigned to R.<sup>10</sup>

Ver. 27. Only after they repeat to him some of Joseph's words, in which he recognises him, and after he sees the waggons, does Jacob feel the news to be true. *His spirit came to life*; <sup>11</sup> the life of joyful emotion entered him.

Ver. 28, from C. Now, putting aside every other thought, and dominated by the single idea that Joseph is

<sup>1</sup> Cf. xliii. 34.

<sup>2</sup> See xx. 16.

<sup>3</sup> Knobel.

<sup>4</sup> Ewald, § 105b.

<sup>5</sup> J. D. Michaelis, Ilgen, Bohlen, Tuch, Baumgarten, Gesenius.

<sup>6</sup> Versions, Rabbinical writers.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. xlii. 22; comp. Prov. xxix. 9; Isa. xxviii. 21. Knobel.

<sup>8</sup> Knobel, Keil.

<sup>9</sup> Hab. i. 4; Ps. xxxviii. 9.

<sup>10</sup> Giesebrecht, ZATW. 1881, p. 237.

<sup>11</sup> Ps. xxii. 27, lxix. 33.

alive, Jacob wishes to set out without delay to see him. Comp. xlv. 30.

רב, *much*, i.e. *enough*.<sup>1</sup> For בטרם אמות, cf. xxvii. 4.

C. FROM THE MIGRATION INTO EGYPT TO THE END  
OF JACOB'S HISTORY, CHS. XLVI.-L.

From now onwards all three sources are again present. Three subdivisions are marked out. *a.* Chs. xlv. 1-xlvii. 27, the immigration of the Israelites, their settlement in Goshen, and the course of affairs as long as the famine lasted. *β.* Chs. xlvii. 28-xlix. 33, Jacob's last instructions and arrangements, and his death. *γ.* Ch. l. 1-26, his burial, and events up to Joseph's death. The first two of these subdivide still further into several sections.

1. THE MIGRATION OF ISRAEL, CH. XLVI. 1-27; ACCORDING  
TO *B* (*C*) AND *A*.

Jacob journeys to Beersheba, offers God sacrifices, and in a vision by night receives encouraging revelations regarding his emigration. From here he sets out for Egypt with all his family and his possessions. The house of Israel at this date numbered seventy souls; a list of all their names is given.

Vv. 1-5 are from *B*;<sup>2</sup> the vision by night, the Egyptian waggons (ver. 5), the words אלהים (ver. 2), שים לפני (ver. 3), and more in ver. 3 f. prove his authorship. But *R* has made changes in vv. 1 f. and 5,<sup>3</sup> and 1*a* is mainly from *C*. Of what remains, ver. 6 f., by universal consent, belongs to *A*.<sup>4</sup> But so in the main does the list in vv. 8-27, which has a very appropriate position, and is neither superfluous

<sup>1</sup> 2 Sam. xxiv. 16; 1 Kings xix. 4; in the Pentateuch, Ex. ix. 28; Num. xvi. 3, 7; Deut. i. 6, ii. 3, iii. 36.

<sup>2</sup> Knobel, Schrader, Wellhausen.

<sup>3</sup> See notes.

<sup>4</sup> זרעו אמו, רכש, רכוש.

nor inconsistent with the short recapitulation of Ex. i. 1-5, and the lists of Ex. vi. 14 ff. and Num. xxvi. In style and language<sup>1</sup> it agrees with other sections from *A*. It is not from *C*,<sup>2</sup> with whose statements it is irreconcilable, nor simply by a later hand from *A*'s material,<sup>3</sup> nor from that of *A* and *C*,<sup>4</sup> or of other sources.<sup>5</sup> While in the main from *A*,<sup>6</sup> it has, however, been redacted by *R* on the basis of *C* *B* in vv. 8, 12*b*, 15, 20, 26 f.,<sup>7</sup> and in a manner similar to x. 36 and xi. 27 ff. We may here leave undecided the question whether Deut. x. 22 depends on *A*<sup>8</sup> or on a tradition independent of *A*.<sup>9</sup>

Ver. 1*a*, from *C*, because of ויסע ישראל;<sup>10</sup> in his history Jacob was resident in Hebron.<sup>11</sup> There is no trace of an account from *C*, also, regarding the sacrificial feast in Beersheba', and we have to assign ver. 1*b* to *B*, in whose history Jacob started for Egypt from Beersheba'.<sup>12</sup> The words ויבא באר שבע are accordingly a connecting link from *R*. It is not clear whether in *B*'s account Jacob arrived in Beersheba' on his way to Egypt from elsewhere, or whether he was already in Beersheba', perhaps for the sake of being nearer Egypt during the famine, or because of what had happened in Shechem.<sup>13</sup>

Here in Beersheba', where Isaac had previously built an altar,<sup>14</sup> Jacob, on the occasion of his leaving the country, sacrifices *to the God of his father*,<sup>15</sup> in token of thanksgiving and petition for grace.<sup>16</sup> The זבח was a sacrificial feast.

Ver. 2. Here God speaks to him in the visions of night—

<sup>1</sup> *Eg.* בכר יעקב (ver. 8), פדן ארם (ver. 15), נפשו (vv. 15, 18, 22, 25, 27), יצאי ירכו (ver. 26).

<sup>2</sup> Hupfeld, Böhlmer.

<sup>3</sup> Wellhausen.

<sup>4</sup> Kayser.

<sup>5</sup> Kuenen, *Onderzoek*,<sup>2</sup> i. 69, 317 f.

<sup>6</sup> Knobel, Nöldeke, Schrader.

<sup>7</sup> Nöldeke, Bruston.

<sup>8</sup> Knobel, Nöldeke, Bruston.

<sup>9</sup> Wellhausen, Kuenen.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. xxxv. 5, xvi. 21.

<sup>11</sup> Chs. xxxv. 27, xxxvii. 15.

<sup>12</sup> Ver. 5.

<sup>13</sup> Ch. xlviii. 22.

<sup>14</sup> Ch. xxvi. 25; cf. Abraham in xxi. 33.

<sup>15</sup> Cf. xxxi. 54, 42.

<sup>16</sup> Cf. also the sacrifices in Bethel, xxxv. 1, 3, 7.



the customary visions of night.<sup>1</sup> Compare notes on xx. 3 and xv. 1. This is the last revelation. The immigration into Canaan rested on one,<sup>2</sup> and now the emigration from it does so also.

The phraseology is as in xxii. 11. For the repetition of *וַיֹּאמֶר* see note on xxii. 7. *יִשְׂרָאֵל* instead of *יַעֲקֹב*, which comes immediately after, is probably an expression carried on by *R* from ver. 1.

Ver. 3. God announces Himself as *El, God of your father*,<sup>3</sup> and takes away his fear<sup>4</sup> of migration to a foreign country by telling him that He will make him a great people.

*רָדָה*—for *רָדַת*, as *רָעָה* for *רָעַת* in Ex. ii. 4, also in *B*.<sup>5</sup>

*שִׁים לָנוּ*—as in xxi. 13, 18. It is not apparent why *לָנוּ* should be held to be an insertion by *R*.<sup>6</sup>

Ver. 4. God Himself will journey with him, and He, too, will be the one to bring him back to Canaan. The reference is to the return of his descendants, and not to the bringing back of Jacob's dead body.<sup>7</sup> There is no mention of divine agency in connection with the latter event, while it is always emphasised in connection with the exodus from Egypt.<sup>8</sup> His loved son Joseph will close his eyes (in the foreign land).<sup>9</sup> "This last service of love was a custom among other peoples of antiquity."<sup>10</sup>

*נִם עָלָה*—as in xxxi. 15, from *B*; infin. *Kal*, although verb Hiphil, cf. xxxvii. 33.

Ver. 5. Jacob sets out from Beersheba'. The waggons sent by Pharaoh are made use of.<sup>11</sup> Ver. *b* is probably redacted by *R*; see note on xlv. 19.

<sup>1</sup> Job iv. 13.

<sup>2</sup> Ch. xii. 1 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. xxxv. 7, xxxiii. 20, and the note on xiv. 18.

<sup>4</sup> Ch. xlv. 28 is not from *B*.

<sup>5</sup> Knobel.

<sup>6</sup> Kautzsch-Socin.

<sup>7</sup> Chs. xlvii. 29 f., l. 5 ff.

<sup>8</sup> Ex. iii. 8, vi. 8, and frequently. Knobel.

<sup>9</sup> Ch. l. 1.

<sup>10</sup> *Iliad*, xi. 453; *Odys.* xi. 426, xxiv. 296; Euripides, *Phœn.* 1465; *Hecuba*, 430; *Æneid*, ix. 487; Ovid, *Heroid.* i. 102. Knobel.

<sup>11</sup> Ch. xlv. 21, 27.

Ver. 6 f., from *A*.<sup>1</sup> For זָרְעוֹ אִתּוֹ, cf. xvii. 7, 9 f., xxxv. 12, etc.

Ver. 7. He took with him all his descendants, including daughters and granddaughters. Although only one daughter plays a part in the legend,<sup>2</sup> others are, of course, to be supposed.<sup>3</sup> In the list which follows, one daughter and one granddaughter are named (vv. 15 and 17). The daughter's name is an interpolation; the granddaughter must have possessed some significance in the tribal history of later times.<sup>4</sup> The other daughters, granddaughters, and daughters-in-law (ver. 26) are not named.

Ver. 8. *These are the names*, as in xxv. 13, xxxvi. 10. The list is said to contain the names of the *sons of Israel who came to Egypt*; ver. 17 includes a granddaughter. The statement is corrected by the words *Jacob and his sons*, which are doubtless an insertion of the redactor, who desired to retain the number thirty-three, given in ver. 15, in spite of his insertion of ver. 12*b* *a*. In the list the sons are arranged according to their mothers.<sup>5</sup> The names are repeated elsewhere with certain variations.<sup>6</sup>

כָּבֵר יַעֲקֹב—as xxv. 13, xxxv. 23, xxxvi. 15; Num. iii. 2.

Vv. 9-15. The sons of Leah.

Ver. 10. יִמְיָאֵל is replaced by נְמוּיָאֵל in Num. xxvi. 12, 1 Chron. iv. 24. אֶהֱר is not given in Num. and Chron. נִחֵר in Ex. vi. 15 also, but זִרָה in Num. and Chron.

*Saul, son of the Canaanite*<sup>7</sup>—her history is supposed to be known to us from the legends or genealogies. See ch. xxxviii. regarding the intermingling of the sons of Jacob with the Canaanites.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. xii. 5, xxxi. 18, xxxvi. 6.

<sup>2</sup> Chs. xxx. 21, xxxiv. 1 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Ch. xxxvii. 35; as v. 4 ff., xi. 11 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Num. xxvi. 46; see also Ewald, *Geschichte*,<sup>3</sup> i. 541 ff. [Eng. tr. i. 378 f.], and cf. cases like Num. xxix. 1 ff.; 1 Chron. ii. 34, iv. 3, vii. 24, 32, xxv. 5; also Gen. xxxvi. 22, 25.

<sup>5</sup> As xxxv. 23-26 and xxxix. 9-14.

<sup>6</sup> Ex. vi. 14-16; Num. xxvi.; 1 Chron. ii.-viii.

<sup>7</sup> Also in Ex. vi. 15.

Ver. 12. Regarding Pereš and Zerach, see xxxviii. 29 f. From וַיָּמָת to כָּנָעַן is an insertion of the redactor from ch. xxxviii. as it is in Num. xxvi. 19. Descendants who died in Canaan could have no place here (see ver. 8). Seeing that *A* included 'Er and Onan, he was guided by a theory other than that of ch. xxxviii.

Ver. 13. פִּזָּה; in 1 Chron. vii. 1, פִּזָּה.<sup>1</sup> Lagarde<sup>2</sup> makes פִּזָּה mean *sea-wrack*, and תוֹלֵעַ the *carmine worm* (*Purpurschnecke*; *cochineal insect*). יוֹב; Sept. Ἀσούμ; Samaritan, Num. xxvi. 24 and 1 Chron. vii. 1, יִשָּׁב.

Ver. 15. Concluding sentence, וְאֵת דִּינָה בָתּוּ, is awkwardly attached,<sup>3</sup> and without doubt an insertion by the redactor;<sup>4</sup> Dinah was therefore not included by *A* in his enumeration, although he knew of her.<sup>5</sup> וּבְנוֹתָיו, which is out of harmony with ver. 8, will also be an insertion. Thirty-three is exactly the total of the "sons of Leah," Reuben having four, Simeon six, Levi three, Judah seven, Issachar four, and Zebulun three, both sons and grandsons being reckoned. But the redactor, who could not count 'Er and Onan, must have included Dinah and Jacob himself.

Vv. 16-18. The sons of Zilpah.

Ver. 16. For צָפִיץ the Sept. has Ζαφών, and the Samar. and Num. xxvi. 15, צָפֹן, which is to be preferred because of צָפֹנִי.<sup>6</sup> אֶצְבֹּן; Samar. אַצְבֵּעַן; Sept. Θασοβάν; Num. xxvi. 16, אֶצְנִי. אֶרְדִּי in Num. xxvi. 17 is אֶרֶד.

Ver. 17. יִשָּׁה is given in 1 Chron. vii. 30, but absent in Num. xxvi. 44. Jastrow<sup>7</sup> suggests a connection between הָבֶר and מִלְכִּיָּאל and the much quoted Habiri and Milkil of the Tell Amarna letters.

Ver. 18. The total sixteen agrees with the particulars which give seven sons to Gad, and four sons, a daughter and two grandsons to Asher.

Vv. 19-22. The sons of Rachel. Ver. 19 does not

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Judg. x. 1.

<sup>2</sup> In *GGN*. 1889, p. 282 [error].

<sup>3</sup> Olshausen.

<sup>4</sup> In accordance with xxxiv. 26.

<sup>5</sup> Ch. xxxiv.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Josh. xiii. 27.

<sup>7</sup> In *JBL*. xi. 120.

commence as before **ובני יוסף מנשה ואפרים**, because the information that Joseph's two sons were born in Egypt is to be given here.

Ver. 20. From **אשר** to **אן** is an insertion of the redactor's from xli. 50; **אשר** must be made to refer to a **בנים** which may be supplied from **ויגדר**.<sup>1</sup>

Ver. 21. In the Septuagint only *Balá, Boxóρ, 'Ασβήλ* are the sons of Benjamin; *Γηρά, Νοεμάν, 'Αγχίς, 'Ρώς, Μαμφίμ* are sons of *Balá*, and *'Αράδ* son of *Γηρά*.

**בפר**—not in 1 Chron. viii.; in Num. xxvi. 35<sup>2</sup> under Ephraim.

**נרא**—absent in Num. xxvi. 38; in 1 Chron. viii. 3 (5), son of **בלע**.

**נעמן**—son of **בלע** in Num. xxvi. 40 and 1 Chron. viii. 4.

For **אחי וראש כפים**, Num. xxvi. 38 f. (**אחיהם** and **שפופם**) and 1 Chron. viii. (ver. 1, **אחיה**,<sup>3</sup> and ver. 5, **שפופן**,<sup>4</sup>) have two names only, but the total in ver. 22 presupposes three.

**חפים**—wanting in Sept.; in Num. xxvi. 39, **חופם**; in 1 Chron. viii. 5, **חיהם**, grandson of **בלע** (?); but see vii. 12, 15, **חפם** and **חפים**.

**אדר**—son of **בלע** in Num. xxvi. 40; probably in 1 Chron. viii. 3, also, under the name **אדר**.

Ver. 22. The total tallies, and shows that if the names of ver. 21 are in part corrupt there were still originally ten names there. It is the last place for the suggestion of a patchwork from other genealogies (Num. xxvi. in especial).<sup>5</sup> For **ילד** the Samar. and Sept. have, better, **ילדה**; comp. ver. 20.

Vv. 23-25. The sons of Bilhah.

Ver. 23. **בני**, although only one name follows; see xxxvi. 25. **חשים**; Sept. *'Ασόμ*; Num. xxvi. 42, **שוחם**.

Ver. 24. **שלם**; Sept. *Σολλήμ*; **שלום**, Samar. and 1 Chron. vii. 13. The total tallies.

Ver. 26. The sum total of Jacob's direct descendants

<sup>1</sup> See v. 3.

<sup>3</sup> Or **אחור**, ver. 6.

<sup>5</sup> Kuenen.

<sup>2</sup> Not Sept. text.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. vii. 12, 15, **שפים**.



who came with him to Egypt was 66, excluding daughters-in-law. From Leah 32 are counted, from Zilpah 16, from Bilhah 7, and from Rachel 11. Joseph and his sons do not come into consideration until ver. 27.

לְיַעֲקֹב, by Jacob, or under his leadership; with him (Sept. *μετά*). יֵצְאֵי יִרְכּוֹ, Ex. i. 5; Gen. xxxv. 11. For מִלְכָּד, see xxvi. 1.

Ver. 27. יָלַד; cf. ver. 22, xxxv. 26. וְשָׁנִים, Ewald, § 318*a*. הַבָּאָה, see xviii. 21.

The remark is only now made that when Joseph and his two sons, who were already in Egypt, are added, the complete total of the House of Jacob, as it came to Egypt, was 70. But it is immediately clear that this final reckoning ( $66 + 3 + 1$ <sup>1</sup>) is a correction of the original, which was made up of  $33 + 16 + 14 + 7$ ,<sup>2</sup> and that it connects itself with the secondary understanding of the number 33 remarked under ver. 15. In this light we see that וְשָׁנִים וָשֵׁשׁ, in ver. 26, and all ver. 27 as far as מַצְרִימָה, is from the redactor, and perhaps מִלְכָּד נָשִׂי בְנֵי יַעֲקֹב (ver. 26) also. He counted 69 without Jacob, but *A* 70.<sup>3</sup> *R*'s correction makes still more obvious the system by which<sup>4</sup> each subordinate wife is given a number half that of the corresponding principal wife (Leah 32, Zilpah 16; Rachel 14, Bilhah 7). The number 70 recurs in Ex. i. 5 (70 without Jacob), and Deut. x. 22 (70 with Jacob (?)). But in ver. 27 the Septuagint gives 75, and so also Acts vii. 14. In ver. 26 the Septuagint, as well as the Massoretic, number is 66. Its total 75 is obtained by giving Joseph (ver. 20) 3 grandsons and 2 great-grandsons.<sup>5</sup> The partial total in ver. 22, the sons of Rachel, is 18; for while Joseph has 5 more than the Massoretic number,<sup>6</sup> Benjamin has one less. The deliberate character

<sup>1</sup> The 1 is the head of the house, Jacob himself.

<sup>2</sup> Vv. 15, 18, 22, 25.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Ex. v. 1.

<sup>4</sup> Ewald, *Alterthümer*,<sup>3</sup> 331 [Eng. tr. 250].

<sup>5</sup> From l. 23; Num. xxvi. 28 ff.; 1 Chron. vii. 14 ff.

<sup>6</sup> The number 9, given by the Sept. in ver. 27 as the number of Joseph's descendants born in Egypt, can only be an erroneous reading for 7.

of the change is clear. The Septuagint wishes to put side by side all the ancestors of the families enumerated in Num. xxvi.; *A* includes only those whom he thinks were already in existence at the time of the migration. Ver. 21 has also been corrected in accordance with Num. xxvi.

When the genealogy is compared with those in Num. xxvi. and 1 Chron. ii.—viii., there are to be found, not only variants in the readings of the names, but also all sorts of divergences in number and arrangement; such as that sons become grandsons, etc. This is not at all surprising when we consider the continuous historical change in such family and tribal groupings. The divergence of *A*'s list in Num. xxvi. from that here, is no reason for denying his authorship of the latter.<sup>1</sup> It is only a proof that, while in Num. xxvi. he describes later, legally-constituted conditions, here his purpose is more a historical one, so that he includes names which afterwards became insignificant, but had once been of consequence.<sup>2</sup> The number 70 is no more merely accidental than 12 was in the enumeration of tribes. It appears from the time of Moses onwards as the number of the membership of the body of elders, who were the representatives of the tribes and principal kinships;<sup>3</sup> and it retained its significance in the whole history of Israel down to the time of the Sanhedrim itself. It is postulated as an ideal number of this kind here also. But it is to be observed that individuals and not kinships are always spoken of. Even so, however, the representation is inconsistent with the stage which has been reached in the development of Israel, according to the narrative of *B C*, up to ch. xlv. Even if we allow that Pereš might have sons<sup>4</sup> twenty-one years after the date of Joseph's being sold,<sup>5</sup> there is an evident contra-

<sup>1</sup> Hupfeld.

<sup>2</sup> *E.g.* ver. 12. Ewald, *Geschichte*,<sup>3</sup> i. 594 f. [*History*, i. 415].

<sup>3</sup> Ex. xxiv. 1, 9; Num. xi. 16; Ewald, *Alterthümer*,<sup>3</sup> 328 ff. [*Antiquities*, 245 ff.].

<sup>4</sup> Ver. 12b.

<sup>5</sup> Chs. xxxvii. 2, xxxviii. 1 ff., xli. 46, xlv. 11.

diction between Benjamin the youth of xliii. 8, xliv. 20, etc., and Benjamin the father of twelve sons.<sup>1</sup> "To remove the inconsistencies, it has been assumed that besides Manasseh and Ephraim, others also of the enumerated descendants of Jacob were born in Egypt.<sup>2</sup> But the assumption is unallowable. It is only in the two cases that the narrator records birth in Egypt.<sup>3</sup> If others had been similarly regarded it would certainly have been remarked in their case also. The narrative represents all the sons, grandsons, and great-grandsons enumerated, except Joseph, Manasseh, and Ephraim, as having participated in Jacob's migration. There was certainly no thought of their having done so *in lumbis patrum*."<sup>4</sup> We gain nothing by the assertion that the author *mistook* a list of descendants born in Jacob's own lifetime for one of those who migrated to Egypt with him, and that as such he used and inserted it;<sup>5</sup> we also do injustice to the author. In *A*'s chronology, if only we keep it apart from *B* and *C*,<sup>6</sup> a growth of the house of Jacob to the extent represented is possible.<sup>7</sup>

## 2. ARRIVAL, MEETING WITH JOSEPH, ASSIGNMENT OF GOSHEN, CHS. XLVI. 28—XLVII. 11; ACCORDING TO *C* AND *A*.

Jacob, having sent Judah on in front to Joseph, arrives in Goshen with all he has. Joseph hastens there to greet his father, and directs his brothers to tell the king, at an audience he will obtain for them, that they are shepherds. The purpose is to secure a residence in Goshen. Five of them are presented to Pharaoh; they follow Joseph's direc-

<sup>1</sup> Cf. in the case of Reuben, ver. 9 and xlii. 37.

<sup>2</sup> Vater, Rosenmüller, Kanne, *Bibl. Untersuch.* ii. 58 ff.; Hengstenberg, *Pent.* ii. 354 ff.; Lengerke, *Ken.* i. 348 f.; Kurtz, *Geschichte*,<sup>2</sup> i. 299 ff.; Reinke, *Beiträge*, i. 104 ff.; Delitzsch, Keil.

<sup>3</sup> Ver. 27; cf. ver. 20; Ex. i. 5.

<sup>4</sup> Knobel.

<sup>5</sup> Köhler, *Geschichte*, i. 160.

<sup>6</sup> See p. 311 f.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. xxvi. 34 and xxviii. 1 ff. with xlvii. 9.

tions, with the wished for result (xlvi. 28—xlvii. 6). Jacob himself is presented to Pharaoh by Joseph, and receives for himself and those with him the assignment of a place of residence in the district of Ra'meses (xlvii. 7—11).

It is at once obvious that xlvii. 7—11 cannot be from the author of what immediately precedes. Jacob himself is presented to Pharaoh, whereas, before, five sons are presented. By Pharaoh's command Joseph here appoints them the land of Ra'meses, in the other case Pharaoh assigns them Goshen. *A* is indicated as the author by the statement of age (ver. 7), by the phrase 'ימי שני חי פ' (ver. 8 f.), by מְנַעֲרִים (ver. 3), and אֶהְיֶה (ver. 11). Vv. 5*b* and 6*a* should stand before ver. 7 (Sept.), and were also *A*'s originally (see below). On the other hand, ch. xlvi. 28—xlvii. 5*a*, 6*b* is from *C*. Plain indication of its authorship is found in the prominence assigned to Judah (xlvi. 28) and in its vocabulary.<sup>1</sup> Confirmation is found in the want of any mention of Pharaoh's voluntary offer made in xlv. 18 (*B*).

Ver. 28. *A* has already announced the arrival in Egypt (ver. 6); this verse continues the story of the start in ver. 1 ff., and relates that Israel sent Judah before him to Joseph *to show the way before him to Goshen*. The meaning cannot be that Judah is to show the way from Palestine to Egypt, but only that in Egypt either *the way should be shown* them to Goshen (xlv. 10), or that *the necessary directions should be proclaimed* to Goshen, so that there might be no obstacles in the way of Jacob's entrance with his flocks. Joseph had to see to this, and the subject to הוֹרֵת is Joseph,<sup>2</sup> not Judah.<sup>3</sup> The expression is condensed but the meaning is suitable.<sup>4</sup> It is true that the Samaritan and Peshitta read להראות as infin. Niph., which might seem con-

<sup>1</sup> נפל על-צוואריו and ישראל (xlvi. 29 f.), הפעם (ver. 30), עורך חי (ver. 30), מְנַעֲרִים and תועבה (ver. 34), הציג (xlvii. 2), כבד (ver. 4), etc.

<sup>2</sup> Gesenius, Knobel.

<sup>3</sup> Delitzsch, supposing הוֹרֵת to mean *to bring word*.

<sup>4</sup> Against Kautzsch-Socin.



firmed by **וירא אליו** in ver. 29. The meaning then is, with the commission *that he* (Joseph) *should appear before him*, meet him, *in Goshen*.<sup>1</sup> But *before him*, temporally, is excluded by ver. 29, where Joseph appears only *after* Jacob's arrival, and **לפניו** would be unsuitable for *to him* (**אליו**, ver. 29). The Septuagint gives **συναντῆσαι αὐτῷ καθ' Ἡρώων πόλιν εἰς γῆν Ῥαμεσσή**, but did not read such a thing as **פלן . . . להירו** (**καθ' Ἡρώ . . . πόλιν**,<sup>2</sup> Lagarde's solemn verdict!). Its rendering is only a free one with an insertion got from a better acquaintance with the locality. Jacob is to be met on entering Egypt at Pithom, *i.e.* Heroonpolis. This city was not in Goshen proper,<sup>3</sup> but more eastward, in a district where Ra'meses II. had built much, and which was named from him.<sup>4</sup> In ver. 29 also the Septuagint accordingly gives **καθ' Ἡρώων πόλιν** for **גשנה**. They probably read also **להקרא(א)ת**<sup>5</sup> for **להורת**, and either omitted ver. *b*, or read **ויבא** (for **ויבאו**).

Judah's being chosen as messenger agrees with xxxvii. 26, xliii. 3 ff., xlv. 14 ff., in *C*. Then *they came*, *i.e.* Jacob and those with him, to Goshen.

Ver. 29. Joseph orders the horses to be put in his chariot<sup>6</sup> and *drove up* to meet his father from the Nile land, in its narrower sense, to the more elevated district of Goshen, and *gave himself to be seen to him*, showed himself to him.<sup>7</sup>

**ויפל על-צואריו**, xxxiii. 4, xlv. 14. **עוד** repeatedly and long (Ruth i. 14).

Ver. 30. Israel will die willingly now that he has attained the dearest wish of his life.<sup>8</sup>

**הפעם**, see ii. 23. **עודף הי**, xliii. 28, xlv. 28.

Ver. 31 f. In order to obtain the king's permission to remain in Goshen, Joseph intends to go to the king,

<sup>1</sup> J. D. Michaelis, Ilgen, Wellhausen; *Comm.*<sup>5</sup>

<sup>2</sup> *GGN*. 1890, p. 159.

<sup>3</sup> See p. 405 f.

<sup>4</sup> Naville, *Goshen*, pp. 18, 20; *Store City of Pithom*,<sup>3</sup> p. 9 ff.

<sup>5</sup> See 2 Sam. xviii. 9.

<sup>6</sup> Chs. xli. 43 and l. 9; see note on xlv. 19.

<sup>7</sup> 1 Kings xviii. 1; Lev. xiii. 7.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. xlv. 28.

announce their arrival, and tell him that they are shepherds (iv. 2), and have brought their flocks and herds and other property with them.

אֶעֱלֶה—Joseph had *gone up* to Goshen (ver. 29), from the royal residence we have no doubt to suppose; now, when returning, he still *goes up*: the real or ideal elevation of the residence explains the word.<sup>1</sup> Knobel has Memphis in mind as residence of the Hyksos,<sup>2</sup> and explains the expression of an *ascent* of the Nile valley to Memphis.

היו—כִּי—for they were till now owners of cattle (cattle-breeders); the היו is in itself surprising, and the words may be conjectured<sup>3</sup> to be an addition from ver. 34 to pave the way for the immediate mention of בָּקָר as belonging to shepherds.

Ver. 33 f. He instructs them also to say, on being presented to Pharaoh, when asked regarding their *occupation*,<sup>4</sup> that they have been from their earliest days, like their fathers, raisers of cattle.

For the use of היה, compare xxix. 17 and xxvii. 23. מְעַיְרֵנוּ, as viii. 21; גַּם—גַּם, xxiv. 25, 44, xliii. 8, xlv. 16, xlvii. 3, 19; בַּעֲבוּר, xxi. 30, xxvii. 4, 19, 31; Ex. ix. 14; תּוֹעֲבָה, xliii. 32; רָעָה, see xlvii. 3; Samaritan, in both places, רָעִי.

This statement will be followed by permission to live in Goshen, for all shepherds are objects of aversion to the Egyptians. In xlvii. 17 and Ex. ix. 3, flocks and herds are Egyptian possessions, and in xlvii. 6 there is mention of cattle which are the property of the king himself. The monuments show that the Egyptians kept numbers of asses, cattle, sheep, and goats.<sup>5</sup> They required, therefore, herdsmen to take charge of them, and they had such among their castes.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Gesenius, *Thesaurus*, 1022; Delitzsch, Keil.

<sup>2</sup> Syncellus, i. p. 113 f. (ed. Dindorf); Josephus, *Contra Apion*, i. 14; Eusebius, *Chron. Arm.* i. 224.

<sup>3</sup> Kautzsch-Socin.

<sup>4</sup> Ex. v. 4.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. xii. 16; see Erman, *Aegypten*, 579–590 [Eng. tr. 427–445].

<sup>6</sup> Plato, *Tim.* p. 24; Diodorus, i. 74.

But their occupation prevented their satisfying the Egyptian standard of cleanliness and refinement in the care of their bodies; they were despised and avoided as men of the lowest class. This was true not only of swine herds<sup>1</sup> but of cattle herdsmen, who were called "swamp-dwellers," because, during a part of the year they took their herds to the uncultivated marshes, particularly of the north, for pasture.<sup>2</sup> These facts sufficiently explain the statement of the text, which would not harmonise with the facts if it were restricted to the case of sheep and goat herds.<sup>3</sup> The reasons given for this restriction<sup>4</sup> are insufficient. But if herdsmen in general were an aversion to the Egyptians, still more would foreign nomads from the land of 'Amu be so.<sup>5</sup>

Ch. xlvii. 1 ff. As he had promised,<sup>6</sup> Joseph announces to the king the arrival of his family in Goshen, and introduces to him five of his brothers whom he had brought with him as representatives of the numerous whole.

מִקְצֵה, *of the total*; <sup>7</sup> otherwise in xix. 4. Regarding the number 5, see xliii. 34. After לָקַח, the Samar. and Sept. have עָמַד. For וַיָּצַג, see xliii. 9.

Ver. 3 f. As had been foreseen, the king inquires regarding their occupation, and they give their answer according to Joseph's instructions,<sup>8</sup> with the request that they may be allowed to dwell as strangers in the land of Goshen.<sup>9</sup>

For אָחֵי, Samar. Sept. Pesh. and Targ. of Jonath. have אָחֵי יוֹסֵף. וַיֹּאמְרוּ אֶל-פַּרְעֹה at the beginning of ver. 4 is not a mistaken repetition from 3b,<sup>10</sup> but makes their request something apart, added to their answer: *they said further*.<sup>11</sup>

רָעָה—written wrongly for רָעָה; so doubtless in xlv. 34 also, although more tolerable there after the singular בֶּל.

<sup>1</sup> Herod. ii. 47, 164. <sup>2</sup> Erman, p. 583 [Eng. tr. 439]. <sup>3</sup> Knobel.

<sup>4</sup> Derived from Herod. ii. 42, 45 f., 81; Plutarch, *de Iside*, ch. 4 f.; Diodorus, i. 70; Strabo, xvii. 1. 23.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. xliii. 32.

<sup>6</sup> Ch. xlv. 31.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Ezek. xxxiii 2; 1 Kings xii. 31.

<sup>8</sup> Ch. xlv. 33 f.

<sup>9</sup> Chs. xlv. 10, xlv. 34.

<sup>10</sup> Kautzsch-Socin.

<sup>11</sup> See ix. 25 f., xv. 5, xix. 9, xx. 9 f.

כִּבְר—xii. 10, xli. 31, xliii. 1, xlvii. 13.

Ver. 5 f. Ver. 5b does not suit as a reply to the request of Joseph's brothers, nor serve any purpose as a continuation of vv. 2-4. The Septuagint is therefore right in making 6b directly follow 5a. When that is added to C's narrative all that remains belongs to A. The Septuagint alone has preserved his text completely and in its original connection; the Massoretic text is the result of a later revision intended to obliterate by omission and transposition the astonishing opposition between two mutually exclusive accounts.<sup>1</sup> The Septuagint after ver. 6b continues: ἦλθον δὲ εἰς Αἴγυπτον πρὸς Ἰωσήφ Ἰακώβ καὶ οἱ υἱοὶ αὐτοῦ.<sup>2</sup> καὶ ἤκουσε Φαραὼ βασιλεὺς Αἰγύπτου. καὶ εἶπε Φαραὼ πρὸς Ἰωσήφ λέγων; then follow vv. 5b, 6a.

In vv. 5b, 6a<sup>3</sup> (from A) Pharaoh, on hearing of Israel's arrival, offers Joseph the best part of the land for them.<sup>4</sup> In 6b (from C) Pharaoh permits their residence in Goshen, and commissions Joseph "to appoint from the Israelites skilled men to be the chief of those in charge of his cattle,<sup>5</sup> with the other herdsmen as their subordinates."<sup>6</sup>

Ver. 7. Continuation of A's account. Joseph presents his father to Pharaoh. The surprising presentation of the father after his sons is due to the combination of two accounts. Note the העמיר here for the הציג of ver. 2. ויברך is to be understood of the formulæ of blessing used as greetings.<sup>7</sup>

Ver. 8. "People naturally ask an old man his age, and this leads to his telling something of his history. So the king does here. The expression as in xxv. 7."

"Ver. 9. Jacob feels himself at the close of his life, and regards the 130 years of it which are past as the whole. In

<sup>1</sup> Wellhausen, *JBDTh.* xxi. 441.

<sup>2</sup> A's continuation of xlvii. 7 (but following xlvii. 7-27).

<sup>3</sup> לפניך, again in A, in xxxiv. 10, 21; see also xiii. 9 and xx. 15, in C and B. מיטב, only again in ver. 11 (A's), Ex. xxii. 4, and 1 Sam. xv. 9, 15.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. xlv. 18 ff., in B.

<sup>5</sup> *Magistros regii pecoris*, Livy, i. 4.

<sup>6</sup> Varro, *De re rustica*, ii. 10. Knobel.

<sup>7</sup> As 1 Sam. xiii. 10; 2 Kings iv. 29.



comparison with the years of his fathers,<sup>1</sup> he calls his own few; and he calls them *evil* when he thinks of his long oppressive service for Laban, and of the misfortunes his sons had brought him.”<sup>2</sup>

מְנוּדִם—migratory life, pilgrimage.<sup>3</sup> The expression is the more appropriate as applied to Jacob's life, because he was ever on the move, without fixed abode or proper home, and has come to live in Egypt after having lived in two other countries before.

Ver. 10. On taking leave he salutes the king again with formulas of blessing.<sup>4</sup> וַיֵּצֵא מִלִּפְנֵי, as xli. 46.

Ver. 11. Joseph accordingly (in accordance with ver. 6*a*) assigns his family a place of residence, and gives them possession in Egypt in the best of the land, that best suited for cattle-grazing.

אֶרֶץ רַעַמְסֵס—Sept. γῆ ‘Ραμεσσή; only here and in the Sept. text of xli. 28. It includes somewhat more than גִּשֶׁן.<sup>5</sup> The district probably has its name in *A* from the town of Ra'meses,<sup>6</sup> from which the exodus took place under Moses' leadership.<sup>7</sup> The situation of the city is not yet definitely settled. Naville<sup>8</sup> conjectures it was in the neighbourhood of Phacusa, not far from the modern Tell el-Kebîr.

כְּאִשֵּׁר צִוָּה פַּרְעֹה—see ver. 6*a*.

### 3. JOSEPH'S SUPPORT OF ISRAEL, AND THE POLITICAL CHANGES HE MAKES IN EGYPT, CH. XLVII. 12–27; FROM *C* (IN VER. 12 *B*, IN VER. 27 *C*, *A*).

While Israel is being supported by Joseph in Goshen during what remains of the period of famine, the Egyptians have to give up all their money and cattle in return for corn from the royal granaries. Finally, they have even to sell

<sup>1</sup> Abraham lived 175, Isaac 180 years (xxv. 7, xxxv. 28).

<sup>2</sup> Knobel.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. xvii. 8, xxviii. 4, xxxvi. 7, xxxvii. 1.

<sup>4</sup> (Ver. 7); 2 Sam. xiii. 25, xix. 40.

<sup>5</sup> See pp. 405, 420.

<sup>6</sup> Ex. i. 11.

<sup>7</sup> Ex. xii. 37; Num. xxxiii. 3, 5.

<sup>8</sup> *Goshen*, p. 20; *Exodus*, p. 7.

their land and themselves to the king so as to be able to remain alive. Joseph thus brings the Egyptians, the priests excepted, into a permanent relation of dependence on the crown. They receive their land from the king, and in return deliver to him yearly a fifth of its produce. Israel meantime attaches itself to the country, increases, and becomes very numerous. Only the first verse and the last has here anything to say of Israel. The rest is all about Egyptian affairs. But the purpose of this detailed narrative is not to represent such dependency of the people on royal power as a model and goal for Israelite statecraft, still less as the type<sup>1</sup> of Israel's relationship to Jahve. Its intention is partly to contrast the straits to which the famine reduced the Egyptians with Joseph's perfect care for Israel, and partly to portray the influence which Joseph exercised on Egypt, and the service he rendered to its royal house.<sup>2</sup>

The passage seems to have been given its present position by *R*. The opening verse (ver. 12) is from *B*, and tells how Joseph, after Israel's migration, kept his promise given in xlv. 11; and the concluding verse (ver. 27*a*) is from *C*, and provides the finish of ver. 6*b*. But ver. 13, from *C*, attaches itself to xli. 55 f.; and it is therefore not improbable that ver. 13 ff. were originally the continuation of ch. xli. As to the source of vv. 13–26, words are found in the passage which are unusual in the Pentateuch,<sup>3</sup> and there is little to remind us of *B*.<sup>4</sup> On the other hand, there are numerous expressions which belong to *C*'s special vocabulary.<sup>5</sup> We

<sup>1</sup> Keil.

<sup>2</sup> *E.g.* Ex. i. 8.

<sup>3</sup> לָהֶם (ver. 13), אָפֶס (ver. 15 f.), שָׂמָם, קָל (ver. 19), הָא (ver. 23).

<sup>4</sup> *E.g.* הָבָה, הָבָה (ver. 15 f.), *give*, as xxix. 21, xxx. 1, unlike *C*'s weaker use in xi. 3 f. etc.; the payment of a fifth (vv. 24, 26), but yet with a different significance than xli. 34; חֶזֶק (ver. 20), but yet in a sense other than in xli. 57.

<sup>5</sup> *E.g.* פָּבֵד (ver. 13), לָקַט and הִנְמִצָא (ver. 14), קָצָה (ver. 21), רָק (vv. 22, 26), מִקְנֵה הַבְּהֵמָה, מִקְנֵה הַבָּקָר, מִקְנֵה הַצֹּאן (ver. 25), מִצָּא הֵן בְּעֵינַי (ver. 17 f., xxvi. 14), יָדוּת (ver. 24), גָּם—גַּם (ver. 19), נָהַל (ver. 17, xxxiii. 14), the mention of horses (ver. 17, l. 9).

must therefore, after all, assign the passage to *C*. Ver. 27*a* is a combination from *A* and *C*,<sup>1</sup> and ver. 27*b* is from *A*.<sup>2</sup> So far as *A*'s, it is his continuation of ver. 11, and is not rendered superfluous by Ex. i. 7.

Regarding the historical foundation of the narrative, see the notes on vv. 22 and 26.

Ver. 12. Joseph supports and maintains his relatives by supplies of food. *According to the measure of the young*, the provision was more or less according to the number of children (and wives).

כֶּלֶכֶל, see xlv. 11, in *B*; here with double accusative.<sup>3</sup> לָפִי, cf. Ex. xii. 4; Lev. xxv. 16, 51, and frequently. הַטָּר, also in ver. 24; see note on xlv. 19.

Ver. 13. Introduction to what follows: in all the country there was no bread, and the lands of Egypt and Canaan were exhausted.<sup>4</sup>

כִּי כָבֵד וְנִי, in ver. 4 also; a standing expression of *C*'s. לָהֶם, only here; comp. לָאֵה.

Ver. 14. The people of both countries have no resource but to buy corn from Joseph, and expend their money in this way. Joseph collects the money in the king's house where the royal treasure is.

וַיִּלְקֹט, xxxi. 44. הִנֵּמְצָא, which was (existed; xix. 15).

Ver. 15 f. Their money being at an end, the Egyptians come before Joseph and ask bread. *Why should we die before you*, when you are a witness of our perishing? You will not surely let us die without help?<sup>5</sup> But Joseph demands their cattle in return for further help.

מִקְנֵיהֶם [plural; form allows of being singular].<sup>6</sup> אָפֶם, rare, and only here in the Pentateuch. After לָכֶם the Sept. Samar. and Vulg. have לָהֶם.

Ver. 17. They bring their cattle and receive in return

<sup>1</sup> בארין מצרים alongside of בארין גִּשֶׁן.

<sup>2</sup> פָּרָה וּרְבָה, נֶאֱחָזוּ.

<sup>3</sup> Gesenius,<sup>25</sup> 117. 5*a*.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. ver. 19.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. xli. 55.

<sup>6</sup> Gesenius,<sup>25</sup> 93. 3*A*. 3.

sufficient corn to last them for that year. The statement is not to be taken too strictly, for what could Joseph have done with all the cattle?

*Horses*, see note xii. 16. 'מִקְנֵה צֶאֱנָן וְנֹה', see xxvi. 14.

נָהַל—to *pasture well*;<sup>1</sup> here and here only in sense of provide or maintain, though the Sept. renders Ps. xxiii. 2 by ἐκτρέφειν.

Ver. 18. In the second, *i.e.* the following year, not in the second of the seven,<sup>2</sup> they appear again before Joseph, and declare that they have now only themselves and their land to offer.

*We do not conceal before my lord*, must frankly acknowledge to him; the Sept. מֵאֲרִי does not suit מאֲרִי.

'וְנֹה—כִּי אֵם—is not *because*,<sup>3</sup> for such a causal signification is not proved even by Ezek. xxxv. 6, but *when*: that when<sup>4</sup> the money and cattle are exhausted. We may even translate,<sup>5</sup> *rather* (we have to say), the money is exhausted.

אֶל־אֲדֹנָי—has all come *to my lord*, passed into his possession, been used in paying him.<sup>6</sup> The singular suffix used by one speaking on behalf of several.<sup>7</sup>

אֵם בְּלֵית אֵם—also in Judg. vii. 14; in Gen. xxi. 26, xliii. 3 without אֵם.

Ver. 19. They propose that Joseph should acquire themselves and their land for the king, by providing them with food. They mean to be independent landowners no longer, but to cultivate the ground for the king. They ask seed for the first year, *i.e.* to sow with.<sup>8</sup>

נָמוּת—used by zeugma<sup>9</sup> of the land also (*perish*). It is explained by the author himself by שָׁמֶם, *become waste, desolate*; uncultivated land is like a dead waste. A similar zeugma

<sup>1</sup> See Delitzsch, *Heb. Lang.* p. 5 f.

<sup>2</sup> See xlv. 6.

<sup>3</sup> Gesenius, Knobel.

<sup>4</sup> Sept.

<sup>5</sup> Targ.

<sup>6</sup> Similar pregnant constructions in xiv. 15, xlii. 28, xliii. 33. Knobel.

<sup>7</sup> As Num. xxxii. 25, 27, xxxvi. 2.

<sup>8</sup> Sept., σπέρμα ἵνα σπείρωμεν.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. iv. 20.



is found in the use of עֶבֶר; as applied to the land it expresses the idea of appertinment.<sup>1</sup> See also note on ver. 15.

גם—גם, see xlv. 34. הַיָּם, intrans. Kal (xvi. 4); “elsewhere in the Pent. only in Lev. xxvi. 22, 31 f., 34 f., 43; Num. xxi. 30.”<sup>2</sup>

Ver. 20 f. Joseph accepts their proposal and acquires for the king all the landed property of Egypt, for everyone sells what belongs to him.

חזק—*became strong against them, overpowered them*; different from כָּבַד in ver. 13.

וַהֲעֵבֶר אֹתוֹ לְעֶבְדִּים<sup>3</sup>—*but the people he made to serve<sup>4</sup> him for, or as, thralls, so that they became or were thralls, from one end of the frontier of the kingdom to the other.* The Massoretic text is generally referred to a general transplanting of the population from one place to another, but cannot express this, for הָעֵבֶר does not in itself mean *transplant*, and לְעֵרִים cannot be equivalent to מְעִיר לְעִיר.<sup>5</sup> Besides, those in question are more the country than the town population. It should rather be translated, *but the people he brought into the towns*, לְעִירֵם being then explained as in place of אֶל-הָעִירֵם to secure a distributive sense.<sup>6</sup> The purpose of this would not be that the people might receive his orders,<sup>7</sup> but that they might obtain corn from the granaries.<sup>8</sup> But the language is too condensed for all this, and such a statement would come rather after ver. 26.<sup>9</sup> The position of וְאֶת-הָעָם at the commencement involves, as what should follow, a statement about the acquisition of the population corresponding to that regarding the אֲדָמָה.<sup>10</sup> A simultaneous and permanent removal of the whole population of the country into the towns would be also unmeaning. For מִקְצָה, see xix. 4.

<sup>1</sup> Knobel.

<sup>2</sup> Knobel.

<sup>3</sup> In accordance with ver. 19, and as the Sam. Sept. Vulg. Houbigant, Ilgen, Knobel, Olshausen.

<sup>4</sup> Jer. xvii. 4.

<sup>5</sup> Onkelos, Rosenmüller, Winer, Gesenius, Tuch.

<sup>6</sup> Delitzsch<sup>4</sup>.

<sup>7</sup> Rave, Schumann.

<sup>8</sup> Ch. xli. 35, 48.

<sup>9</sup> Knobel.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. vv. 19 and 23.

Ver. 22. "The lands of the priests were alone excluded from purchase. The priests had a definite provision<sup>1</sup> from the king, and lived on what the king thus gave them. They did not therefore require to sell their lands in this time of distress." We know from other sources<sup>2</sup> that the lands of the priests were exempt from taxation. But Diodorus'<sup>3</sup> statement, that they received definite payments from the king, applies only to the judges chosen from among the priests.<sup>4</sup>

Ver. 23 f. Joseph makes an agreement with the Egyptians to give them seed for sowing the land, which now belongs to the king (*i.e.* when next they sow it). They are afterwards to pay the king one-fifth of their harvest.

הָא, only again in Ezek. xix. 43 (Dan. ii. 43). בְּתִבְוֹתָא, at the *inbringings*, when the harvest is brought home; תִּבְוֹתָא can have its usual meaning *harvest* (yield), only if the preposition ב is struck out<sup>5</sup> or replaced by מִן. יָרַח, as xliii. 34. יָרַח, see xv. 17. וְלֹאכַל לְטֶפִים is wanting in the Septuagint, and is either a gloss or stood originally after וְלֹאכַלְכֶּם.<sup>6</sup>

When we consider how fertile Egypt is, "the payment does not appear excessive for cultivators of the soil who were not proprietors. Compare the Jewish tribute to the Syrian government.<sup>7</sup> The Messenians had to deliver half their produce to the Spartans.<sup>8</sup> Under Turkish rule the proportion is no less,<sup>9</sup> and Arab exactions from the fellahin are similar.<sup>10</sup> In Syria, cases occur where it is two-thirds;<sup>11</sup> and in the neighbourhood of Ispahan the peasants, who receive

<sup>1</sup> חֶק, as Prov. xxx. 8, xxxi. 15; Ezek. xvi. 27; comp. note on Lev. vii. 34.

<sup>2</sup> Diod. i. 73; Herod. ii. 168 (who says that the warriors are also exempt).

<sup>3</sup> i. 75.

<sup>4</sup> But cf. Herod. ii. 37.

<sup>5</sup> Sept.

<sup>6</sup> Olshausen.

<sup>7</sup> 1 Macc. x. 30 [one-third of the seed and one-half of the fruit].

<sup>8</sup> Pausanias, iv. 14. 3.

<sup>9</sup> O. von Richter, *Wallfahrten*, 178; Seetzen, i. 47; Ritter, x. 810, xv. 849.

<sup>10</sup> Burekhardt, *Bedouins*, p. 29.

<sup>11</sup> Seetzen, *Reisen*, i. 96.

land and seed from the government, pay even three-fourths of their harvest." <sup>1</sup>

Ver. 25. "The Egyptians declare themselves satisfied, seeing that Joseph has preserved their lives, and they desire only that he will be a kind master to them." <sup>2</sup>

Ver. 26. The arrangement became a permanent one. He made *it*, *i.e.* what had been said in ver. 24, <sup>3</sup> an ordinance regarding the soil of Egypt *for Pharaoh*, to his advantage, *regarding the fifth*. But the expression is involved. The ancient versions either render לפרעה החמש as a separate clause explanatory of אהה, <sup>4</sup> or point לפרעה לחמש, *to give Pharaoh the fifth*. <sup>5</sup>

When this narrative was written it was still the custom to pay the king a fifth of the produce of the land, the possessions of the priests being alone excepted. The writer attributes the commencement of the arrangement to Joseph, and connects the change from peasant proprietorship to a system of hereditary leases with the events of the seven years' famine. This is the only permanent Egyptian institution due to Joseph of which the Hebrew legend has preserved a trace. The details, such as the connection made with the years of famine, the want of money to continue the purchase of corn, the sale of the cattle, etc., are obviously due to the naïveté of the legend. But the change in the condition of the peasantry itself and the institution of fifths must have an actual basis in history. No native Egyptian record of the events, however, is yet known. Classical writers of a much later date do not mention the payment of fifths, though Diodorus <sup>6</sup> says that in Egypt the soil was the possession of the king and of the priestly and warrior castes; the warrior caste is also named by Herodotus <sup>7</sup> as a landowning class. The narrative here does not mention the warrior caste, but it appears to follow

<sup>1</sup> Morier, *Second Journey*, p. 154.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. xv. 6.

<sup>6</sup> i. 73 f.

<sup>4</sup> Peshitta.

<sup>7</sup> ii. 168.

<sup>2</sup> Knobel.

<sup>5</sup> Sept.

from what Herodotus<sup>1</sup> says that this very class became landowners only at a comparatively recent date.<sup>2</sup> We are not entitled to connect Joseph's arrangement with the division of Egypt into thirty-six nomes, each under a separate head, which is ascribed to Sesostris,<sup>3</sup> and with the division of the country into squares of equal size put in the hands of cultivators in return for a yearly payment.<sup>4</sup> The text says nothing of a division and apportionment of the land, not even if we keep the Massoretic reading in ver. 21; on the contrary, xli. 35, 38 presuppose the existence of the provinces and their chief towns.

Ver. 27, from *C* and *A*,<sup>5</sup> brings us back to Israel. With Joseph to favour it, Israel makes itself a permanent home in Egypt, and increases greatly. יִשְׂרָאֵל is here used of the whole tribe; see note on xxxv. 10. For וַיֵּאָדָהוּ, see xxxiv. 10.

#### 4. JACOB'S LAST INSTRUCTIONS AND ARRANGEMENTS, AND HIS DEATH, CHS. XLVII. 28–XLIX. 33.

(a) Ch. xlvii. 28–31. *R* commences (ver. 28) with a statement from *A*<sup>6</sup> of the age which Jacob lived to be, and puts after it, from *C*, Jacob's instruction to Joseph regarding his burial in Canaan; *A*'s corresponding notice he sets later, in xlix. 29 ff. *C*'s authorship is clear from the use of יִשְׂרָאֵל (vv. 29, 31) and a number of other expressions. Other information which *C* contained regarding Israel's parting from Joseph is delayed till ch. xlviii., where it is combined with *B*'s account. The situation presupposed here, in ver. 31, even requires xlviii. 1 f. (cf. xlix. 33) in explanation and supplement. The original connection of *C*'s

<sup>1</sup> ii. 141.

<sup>2</sup> Knobel.

<sup>3</sup> Diod. i. 54; Sesostris, *i.e.* Seti I., and Rameses II.

<sup>4</sup> Herod. ii. 109. As is apparently done by Artapanus in Eusebius, *Prepar. Evang.* ix. 23.

<sup>5</sup> See preliminary remarks.

<sup>6</sup> As ver. 27 had been.



narrative has been dissolved by *R* to allow of his making a compilation from all the sources.

Ver. 28. Jacob lives seventeen years after his migration, and reaches (xlvii. 9) the age of one hundred and forty-seven years. For יָדֵי, see i. 14; Samar. has יָדָיו.

Ver. 29 ff. On the approach of his death Israel sends for Joseph and requires him to swear that he will bury him in Canaan, in the family burying-place. Ch. l. 5 contains a slight variation. In xlix. 29, from *A*, Jacob directs this wish to all his sons, and requires no oath.

יִשְׂרָאֵל, see note on xxxv. 10. וַיִּקְרְבוּ נָ, see xxvii. 41 (Deut. xxxi. 14), from *C*. אֲמַנָּה נָ, in xviii. 3 and frequently (from *C*). *Pray, lay your hand under my thigh*, xxiv. 2, from *C*. חֹסֶד וְאֵמֶת, xxiv. 49, xxxii. 11, from *C*. וַיִּשְׁכַּבְתִּי עַם-אֲבֹתִי, as in Deut. xxxi. 16, from *C*; regarding the meaning, see note on xxv. 7. קִבְּרָה, see note on xxxv. 20; see note on xlviii. 7 regarding the conjecture בְּקִבְרָתָהּ, where the suffix is referred to Rachel.<sup>1</sup>

*Israel bowed himself towards the head of his bed, i.e. sat up on his couch while speaking to Joseph;*<sup>2</sup> but when their conversation was over prostrated himself towards its upper end and thanked God for listening to his last wish. David acted similarly in his old age in a similar situation.<sup>3</sup> The versions<sup>4</sup> render מִטָּה, not מִטָּה, as if Jacob bowed on the head of his staff. The staff may be understood as being Joseph's, carried as an emblem of dignity, and the reverence paid to it in accordance with xxxvii. 7; or we may think of Jacob's own shepherd staff (xxxii. 11) on which he had wandered through life. In either case no reasonable explanation of the reverence paid to the staff or to God over the staff is apparent, nor why its ראשׁ should be specially mentioned. Besides, a suffix (מִטָּהוּ) would be necessary, whereas "the bed"<sup>5</sup> has a sufficiently obvious meaning from

<sup>1</sup> Bruston.

<sup>2</sup> 1 Kings i. 47. Knobel.

<sup>4</sup> Sept. (Heb. xi. 21), Ital., Pesh.

<sup>2</sup> Chs. xlviii. 2, xxvii. 19.

<sup>5</sup> Ch. xlviii. 2.

the context, it is the bed on which the dying man lay, and so can do without a pronominal suffix.

(b) Ch. xlviii. The adoption and blessing of Joseph's sons, Manasseh and Ephraim, by Jacob. A compilation by *B* from *A*, *B*, and *C*.

Joseph is informed of Jacob's illness, and visits him with his two sons (ver. 1 f.). Jacob formally adopts the sons as his own, so that they should be no longer sons of Joseph, but sons of Jacob (vv. 3-7). Then in his joy at seeing them he bids Joseph set them before him, and imparts his solemn blessing to them. In doing so he gives Ephraim, the younger, the first place (vv. 8-20). His concluding words are to Joseph, to whom he gives Shechem as a future possession (ver. 21 f.).

In this passage vv. 3-6<sup>1</sup> and ver. 7<sup>2</sup> belong to *A*. The name אֱלֹשֶׁי (ver. 3), the reference of ver. 3 f. to xxxv. 6, 9, 11, the expressions זרעך אחריו, אהוזת עולם (ver. 4), and הוליד (ver. 6), and *A*'s liking for questions of a legal character, leave us in no doubt. What remains (vv. 8-22) along with ver. 1b is generally<sup>3</sup> assigned to *B*. There is decisive evidence for him in the divine name אלהים (vv. 9, 11, 15, 20 f.), in יִקְרָא בָהֶם שְׁמִי, המלאך (ver. 11), in רִאֵה (ver. 11), יקרא בהם שְׁמִי, המלאך (ver. 16) (words so rare as פָּלַל (ver. 11), and דָּנָה (ver. 16)), in the distinction given to Joseph by the special blessing of his sons (vv. 15, 21), and in the peculiar statement about Shechem (ver. 22). But the frequent designation of the patriarch by the name Israel<sup>4</sup> is alone sufficient to make it improbable that the whole passage is from *B*, for the assumption<sup>5</sup> "that from ch. xlviii. onwards the redactor has no longer preserved the distinction between Jacob and Israel," is untenable in view of xlix. 1, 33, l. 2. Since, besides, the double presentation

<sup>1</sup> Ilgen, Ewald, Knobel, Hupfeld, Schrader, Nöldeke, Wellhausen.

<sup>2</sup> See note below.

<sup>3</sup> Knobel, Hupfeld, Ewald, Schrader, Wellhausen.

<sup>4</sup> A characteristic of *C* and *B* (vv. 2, 8, 10 f., 13 f., 21; comp. Jacob in ver. 2 f.).

<sup>5</sup> Wellhausen.

of the sons of Joseph (to be blessed)<sup>1</sup> points to there being two accounts of the same event, we cannot doubt that the text of vv. 8–22 is a compilation by *R* from *B* and *C*, as was ch. xxvii., for example. In *B*, Jacob embraces and kisses Joseph's sons, and expresses his joy at seeing them again; but it is after all *Joseph* whom he blesses in his sons, and to him that he grants Shechem in anticipation (vv. 8,\* 9*a*, 10*b*, 11 f., 15 f., 20*b*, 21 f.). In *C* the central feature is Jacob's preference of Ephraim to Manasseh, and the blessing is made essentially of the *sons of Joseph*. Jacob's blindness also plays a part in the scene, and Joseph's objection to the changed places of his sons gives it greater life (vv. 9*b*, 10*a*, 13 f., 17–19, 20*c*). The word אֱלֹהִים is a sure guide in the analysis, but יִשְׂרָאֵל is not, for it has been introduced everywhere in vv. 8–22, and proves that the compiler made *C* the fundamental narrative, and only made insertions from *B*. It is true that something of *C*'s is wanting before vv. 9*b* and 10*a*. We cannot assign the whole of ver. 8 f. to *C*<sup>2</sup> because of וַיֵּרָא (ver. 8; contrast 10*a*) and אֱלֹהִים (ver. 9), so that *C*'s introduction has been omitted in favour of *B*'s. But the whole of ver. 10<sup>3</sup> cannot be from *B*. On the other hand, there is no occasion to deny vv. 13 f., 17–19 to *C*, and regard them as a free interpolation by a later hand.<sup>4</sup> On the contrary, vv. 9*b* and 10*a*, and still earlier ver. 2*b*, prepare the way for them; נָצַר (ver. 14) reveals *C*'s hand (as does יָמָא in ver. 19); the passing remark of ver. 20*c* could not readily, in spite of xli. 51 f., be regarded as explaining Ephraim's being afterwards set before Manasseh in *B* and *C*,<sup>5</sup> even were it certain that ver. 20*c* belongs to *B*,<sup>6</sup> and not rather to the author of vv. 13 f., 17–19. Regarding redactional changes which may be conjectured in vv. 5 and 20, see below.

Ver. 1 f. is also a compilation from *B* (vv. 1, 2*a*) and *C* (ver. 2*b*). *R* intends it as his preface to all the instructions

<sup>1</sup> Vv. 9 f., 13.

<sup>2</sup> Budde, *op. cit.* p. 59.

<sup>3</sup> See note on ver. 5.

<sup>4</sup> Budde in *ZATW.* iii. 58 f.

<sup>5</sup> Kuenen, *Onderzoek*,<sup>2</sup> 144.

<sup>6</sup> Kuenen.

and arrangements which follow as far as xlix. 32.<sup>1</sup> They are represented by him as coming from Jacob on his sick-bed—during the time just preceding his death.<sup>2</sup> Vv. 1, 2a cannot be from *C*,<sup>3</sup> because in *C*<sup>4</sup> Joseph is summoned by Jacob before his death; but וישב על-המטה (ver. 2b), as the presupposition of ver. 13 f., is proof for *C*,<sup>5</sup> and so also is the use of ישראל.

Kautzsch-Socin and Kittel have adopted this analysis in its essentials.

Ver. 1 f. Joseph's visit to Jacob; the introduction to all that follows.

Ver. 1, from *B*. Joseph visits his sick father, and takes with him both his sons.<sup>6</sup> In ver. 8 ff., but not necessarily in vv. 3–7, they are presupposed as present in person.

'ויהי אחרי נ', see note on xv. 1. ויאמר, with indefinite subject;<sup>7</sup> so in ver. 2. The passive has been rejected by the Massoretes, though not in xxii. 20 (ויגד) and Josh. ii. 2 (ויאמר).

Ver. 2. When Israel is informed of Joseph's arrival he summons up his strength and sits up on his couch to receive his son. Ver. 2a is from *B* (יעקב), ver. 2b from *C* (ישראל).<sup>8</sup>

Vv. 3–7. Jacob admits the two sons of Joseph to the status of sons of Jacob. From *A* and, in all probability, originally part of the context of xlix. 29 ff., where the words were addressed to Joseph in the presence of the other sons. Transposed here by *R* in order to have all that concerned Joseph in one place.

Joseph, the chief of the tribes of Israel, along with Judah, and the most populous of all, received a double voice

<sup>1</sup> Chs. xlviii. 3–7, 8–22, xlix. 1–28, 29–32.

<sup>2</sup> See xlix. 33.

<sup>3</sup> Budde.

<sup>4</sup> Ch. xlvii. 29.

<sup>5</sup> Against Kuenen.

<sup>6</sup> Ch. xli. 50 f.

<sup>7</sup> Gesenius,<sup>25</sup> 144. 3a; 3 s. m. somewhat as in xlii. 25 and xliii. 34, and harsher than xi. 9, xvi. 14, and frequently.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. xlvii. 31, xlix. 33.



in the community of the twelve tribes after Levi was withdrawn from it. Its two sections, Ephraim and Manasseh, had the recognised position of two tribes, even from the time of Moses,<sup>1</sup> and therefore received two portions when Canaan was divided,<sup>2</sup> although afterwards they are still not infrequently comprehended in one under the name, tribe or house of Joseph.<sup>3</sup> *A*'s intention here is to explain these facts. He relates that Jacob adopted Ephraim and Manasseh as sons, and so put them on the same footing as the ancestors of the other tribes. The actual effect of this was to elevate Joseph to the rank of firstborn, with a double portion for his inheritance;<sup>4</sup> but such a mode of statement is not adopted here.<sup>5</sup>

Ver. 3 f. Jacob recalls the blessings and promises of God imparted to him in Luz.<sup>6</sup> They had been to the effect that a community of tribes would proceed from him and receive Canaan as its possession.

קָהָל עַמִּים, xxviii. 3, xxxv. 11. אֶחָזָה עוֹלָם, xvii. 8.

Ver. 5. With this future acquisition of territory in view (וַעֲתִידָה), Jacob declares that the two sons already born to Joseph in Egypt shall belong to himself, and be his sons, as Reuben and Simeon, his eldest, are. This elevates them to be ancestors of distinct tribes, like the sons of Jacob, and to the possession of equal rights with these. The mention of Ephraim before Manasseh seems to be due to a silent change by *R*,<sup>7</sup> for in *A* Manasseh always stands first;<sup>8</sup> the same correction has been made in Num. i. 10.

Ver. 6. But those born later are to count as sons of Joseph only; *upon (by) the name of their brothers they shall be called in their inheritance, i.e.* "their descendants shall dwell

<sup>1</sup> According to Num. i. ff.

<sup>2</sup> Josh. xiv. 4, xvii. 14 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Besides xlix. 22 ff. and Deut. xxxiii. 13 ff., cf. *e.g.* Josh. xvii. 14, 17, xviii. 5; Judg. i. 22 f.

<sup>4</sup> Deut. xxi. 17.

<sup>5</sup> But see 1 Chron. v. 1 f.

<sup>6</sup> Chs. xxxv. 11 f., xxxv. 6, 15.

<sup>7</sup> In accordance with ver. 19.

<sup>8</sup> Num. xxvi. 28 ff., xxxiv. 23 f.; Josh. xiv. 4, xvi. 4, xvii. 1.

with Ephraim and Manasseh, and be counted as of them." There is no mention elsewhere of sons of Joseph born after Ephraim and Manasseh. The meaning will therefore only be that all the later house of Joseph belonged either to Ephraim or Manasseh.

Ver. 7. Jacob recalls Rachel's death in Canaan in the neighbourhood of Ephrath, and her burial there, during his journey back from Paddan. עָלַי is not *beside me*,<sup>1</sup> but, *to my sorrow*, properly, to my burden. Paddan stands for Paddan Aram<sup>2</sup> only here; the Samar. has מִפְּדָן אֲרָם.

The verse used generally to be regarded as advancing a reason for the arrangement of ver. 5 f. In honour of his loved Rachel, who had died so soon, Jacob gives her grandsons the position of sons, for the esteem in which a woman and an ancestress was held depended on the number of her children.<sup>3</sup> But the prefixed absolute pronoun, וְאֲנִי, does not express a causal relation, nor is there any connection<sup>4</sup> between Rachel's burial and the adoption of her grandchildren. On the contrary, the order in the original text of A was xlix. 1aa (וַיִּקְרָא—בְּנָיו), ver. 28bβ (וַיְבָרֶךְ וְנִ), ver. 29aa (וַיֵּצֵא אֹתָם), xlviii. 3–7, xlix. 29, and accordingly the continuation of this verse is contained in the words וְאֲנִי נֹאסֵף וְנִ (וְעֵתָהּ) of xlix. 29, which were intended to form a transition to the command to bury Jacob in the family burying-place at Makhpelah.<sup>5</sup> R's choice of a position for ver. 7 here rather than after xlix. 29 has been occasioned by the special connection between Rachel and Joseph, who is here addressed. The abrupt conclusion, which points to a continuation, receives in this context the explanation that Jacob's words are suddenly interrupted on his catching sight of Joseph's sons (ver. 8).

The absence of any apparent motive prevents our regard-

<sup>1</sup> Knobel, Keil.

<sup>2</sup> See xxv. 20.

<sup>3</sup> Knobel.

<sup>4</sup> The insertion of אֲמַר after רָחֵל (Sept. Sam. Pesh.) does not help to make any.

<sup>5</sup> Nöldeke; so now also Delitzsch<sup>5</sup>.

ing the verse as a mere gloss<sup>1</sup> taken from xxxv. 16, 20. But the words **הוא בית להם** are out of place in Jacob's mouth, and are a late addition, as in xxxv. 19. Others have also denied the verse to *A*. According to Budde,<sup>2</sup> it was originally an interpolation by *R*<sup>1</sup> placed after xlix. 32. Its removal later was due to *R*, who, at the same time, struck out **ואת־רחל** from the conclusion of *A*'s text of xlix. 31, and was influenced by his desire to harmonise *A* with xxxv. 16-19 (*B*, *C*). How superfluous when the alleged contradiction had already been removed by the omission of **ואת־רחל**! And what an injustice to emend *A*'s text into contradiction with the other sources, so as to have the pleasure of letting *R* put matters right again. According to Bruston<sup>3</sup> and Kautzsch-Socin, the verse is a fragment of *C* (with **פָּרֵן** for **הָרֵן**), which stood between xlvii. 29 and 30, where Jacob's request was originally that he should be buried in Rachel's grave (**בְּקִבְרָתָהּ**, in spite of **עִם אֲבֹתִי**). *R*'s change in xlvii. 29, 30, and his transposition of xlviii. 7, were made on *A*'s account. But why should the transposition have been made to this passage, and **מֵחֵן** changed to **מִפֶּן**? Seeing, also, that Jacob is certainly a more prominent figure in the legend than Rachel, the grave in question would certainly have been called grave of Jacob, and not grave of Rachel.

Vv. 8-22. The blessing of the sons of Joseph; from *B* and *C*.

"Ephraim and Manasseh were among the most populous of the tribes, occupied a beautiful and extensive tract of country, possessed great power and importance, and so were specially blessed,<sup>4</sup> most of all Ephraim," whose ancestor was regarded as the younger of Joseph's sons. Ephraim gained in position particularly from the fact that Joshua was an Ephraimite, and because Shechem and Shiloh lay in its

<sup>1</sup> Hupfeld, *Quellen*, p. 36. Schrader.

<sup>2</sup> *ZATW*. iii. 62 ff. (Kuenen, *Onderzoek*,<sup>2</sup> 69, 317).

<sup>3</sup> *ZATW*. vii. 207.

<sup>4</sup> Ch. xlix. 22 ff.; Deut. xxxiii. 13 ff.

territory. In the time of the Judges<sup>1</sup> and in the time of the divided monarchy it was the real centre of Israel. The pre-eminence of the two tribes, and the priority of the younger Ephraim, are here both explained by their ancestor's blessing, in accordance with the assumption<sup>2</sup> that words of blessing from men of God possess power and efficacy.

Ver. 8. Israel remarks the presence of Joseph's sons, and breaks off what he is saying to ask who they are. His not knowing them is not caused merely by his weak eyesight, ver. 11 shows he had not seen them before. *A's* chronology,<sup>3</sup> according to which Jacob had been in Egypt for seventeen years, and the sons were already out of their boyhood, is not that here presupposed.

To אלה מי the Samar. and Sept. add לך; cf xxxv. 5.

Ver. 9 f. On Joseph's reply that these are his *sons given* him *here*<sup>4</sup> by *Elohim*,<sup>5</sup> Israel (from *C*) asks him to bring them to him that he may bless them; ver. 18*a* explains the need for Joseph's doing so by the dimmed sight of the old man. Ver. 10*b* should be assigned to *B* (cf. ver. 12); the proper sequel to the request of ver. 9*b* (from *C*) is not given until ver. 13.

קָהָם-נָא—[toneless suffix].<sup>6</sup>

וּאִבְרַכֶּם, this Massoretic pausal pronunciation adopted by Baer and similar to מְצַחֵק in xxi. 9, and the frequent לְעוֹלָם וָעֶד, is peculiar, and has not everywhere prevailed.<sup>7</sup> *Were heavy* from *age*, i.e. dull.<sup>8</sup>

Ver. 11 f. He expresses his joy at the unhopd for sight. פָּלַל, *judge*, i.e. *think, suppose*; only here in this sense. רָאָה, xxxi. 28.

In spite of the introductory וַיֹּאמֶר יִשְׂרָאֵל what follows 'רָאָה וְג' is from *B*, who says nothing of Jacob's dulness of sight. So also ver. 12 (observe אָתָם instead of a suffix).

<sup>1</sup> Judg. viii. 1 ff., xii. 1 ff.

<sup>2</sup> See xxvii. 33.

<sup>3</sup> Ch. xlvii. 9, 28; cf. xli. 50.

<sup>4</sup> As xxxviii. 21 f.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. xxxiii. 5.

<sup>6</sup> Ewald, § 253*a*.

<sup>7</sup> (König, *Lehrgebäude*, p. 232); Gesenius,<sup>25</sup> 58. 3*A*. 1.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. xxvii. 1, 21 f.



In *B* the sons are brought to Jacob that he may embrace and kiss them. After he does so Joseph takes them away again from his father's knees (this implies the same situation as in vv. 2*b* and 13 f.), for the blessing proper is given to Joseph himself (vv. 15 f., 21). In *R*'s context, Joseph, of course, takes them out only that he may place them suitably for receiving the solemn blessing (ver. 13 f.). But why did he not do that immediately on hearing the request of ver. 9*b*?

אָפִי—*in* Num. xxii. 31 also (from *C*);<sup>1</sup> elsewhere simply אָפִים, xix 1 (*C*), xlii. 6 (*B*). In spite of 1 Sam. xxv. 23 we cannot make אָפִי=לָפְנָי,<sup>2</sup> so the alternative reading וַיִּשְׁתַּחֲוֶהוּ<sup>3</sup> for וַיִּשְׁתַּחֲוֶהוּ is to be rejected. Originally, in *B*, Joseph's prostration may have been preparatory to his receiving a blessing (ver. 15 f.); in the present text it is the expression of reverential thanks for the promise of blessing to his sons (vv. 9*b*, 13 f.).

Ver. 13 f., from *C*. In obedience to the request of ver. 9*b*, Joseph places his sons so that Israel will find the elder (Manasseh) at his right and the younger (Ephraim) at his left, and takes them to him in this position. But Israel lays his right hand on the head of the younger,<sup>4</sup> to whom he gives the preference, and his left hand on the head of the elder. Among the Hebrews also the right hand was preferred.<sup>5</sup>

שָׁבַל אֶת־יָדָיו—explanatory apposition to what precedes. Not *he made*, or *guided his hands understandingly*, *i.e.* placed them so purposely,<sup>6</sup> for even if שָׁבַל could be proved = הִשְׁבִּיל, we should still have to expect בִּירֵי. Translate as شکل, *ligavit plexuit*:<sup>7</sup> *he interlaced his hands, i.e.* changed them, laid them crosswise. "The explanatory sentence which follows, *for*

<sup>1</sup> Cf. 2 Sam. xiv. 33, xviii. 28, xxiv. 20; 1 Kings i. 23.

<sup>2</sup> Delitzsch <sup>5</sup>.

<sup>3</sup> Sept. Sam. Pesh.; Michaelis, Ilgen, Ewald, *Geschichte*,<sup>3</sup> ii. 396 [*History*, ii. 52].

<sup>4</sup> צִעִיר, see note on xxix. 26.

<sup>5</sup> 1 Kings ii. 19; Ps. xlv. 10, cx. 1; see also xxxv. 18.

<sup>6</sup> Onkelos, Saadia, Græc. Venet., Luther [AV., RV. text].

<sup>7</sup> Sept. Pesh. Vulg. Targ. of Jonath. and most moderns [RV. marg.].

*Manassch was the firstborn*, supports this translation. The right was Manasseh's due, but he did not obtain it, for Israel changed his hands."<sup>1</sup>

It is true that the laying on of hands is part of the ceremony of consecration to a calling;<sup>2</sup> but all laying on of hands is not therefore a consecration.<sup>3</sup> Yet it is always the outward sign and means by which a man represents the feelings which move him and are finding external expression as directed towards the one on whom he lays hands, by which also he opens a channel of communication with him.<sup>4</sup> As an example from the Christian era, when the custom was more widely spread, comp. Mk. x. 16 (Matt. xix. 13 f.).

Ver. 15 f., from *B*. He blesses *Joseph*; as the sequel of ver. 13 f. we expect blessed *them*,<sup>5</sup> but the verses were originally from a different source. The prospective giver of the blessing is named three times, which is no mere accident any more than in the similar case in ch. ix. 25 ff.<sup>6</sup>

התהלכתי לפני, see note on xvii. 1. *Who pastured me*, protected and cared for me as a shepherd would;<sup>7</sup> an appropriate metaphor in the mouth of the ideal shepherd Jacob.<sup>8</sup> כְּעֹזֵר עַד־הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה only again in Num. xxii. 30 in the Old Testament. *The angel*, as whom God appeared to him and delivered him from his troubles.<sup>9</sup> The expression here as elsewhere is used interchangeably with God Himself.<sup>10</sup> יִפְרָא בָהֶם שְׁמִי, see xxi. 12. *Shall increase in multitude*, multiply, become tribes of large size; רָגַח, only here in the Old Testament.

Ver. 17 f., from *C*. Joseph thinks the position of the hands is due to error, and tries to change Jacob's right hand from Ephraim's head to Manasseh's, who is the firstborn.<sup>11</sup> וַיִּרְע וַיִּגַּע, xxxviii. 10 (xxi. 11 f.).

<sup>1</sup> Knobel.<sup>2</sup> Num. viii. 10, xxvii. 18, 23; Deut. xxxiv. 9.<sup>3</sup> Schenkel, *Bibellexicon*, ii. 583 f.<sup>4</sup> See Comm. on Lev. i. 4.<sup>5</sup> The Sept. makes the change.<sup>6</sup> Vol. i. p. 308.<sup>7</sup> Ps. xxiii. 1, xxviii. 9; Isa. xl. 11.<sup>8</sup> Cf. xlix. 24.<sup>9</sup> Cf. xxxi. 11, xxxii. 25 ff., xxviii. 11 ff., xxxii. 2 f., all in *B*.<sup>10</sup> See Comm. on Ex. iii. 2.<sup>11</sup> Knobel.

Ver. 19 (*C*). But Jacob puts aside the objection, and declares that he is aware of what he is doing. He goes on now (under the influence of the spirit) to say distinctly that Manasseh will indeed be numerous and powerful, but that his younger brother will excel him in greatness and numbers.

וַיֵּאָמֶר, xxxix. 8 (xxxvii. 35). וַיֹּאמֶר as xxviii. 19.

מְלֵא הַגּוֹיִם—*not* partitive, the fullest (מְלֵא) of the tribes, but *he will become the fulness of the peoples, i.e.* a multitude of peoples,<sup>1</sup> or populousness itself. In xxxv. 11 גּוֹיִם is used of the tribes of Israel,<sup>2</sup> here of still smaller divisions. The condition of things in the Holy Land is here in view, and not Num. xxvi. 34, 37, i. 33, 35.

Ver. 20. A further blessing from *B*'s account. *R* has separated it from its proper context, ver. 15 f., and added the opening words, ver. 20*a*, וַיְבָרֶכְם—לאמר.<sup>3</sup> The suffix ם shows he intended it to be referred to the sons of Joseph, while בְּךָ shows that it was originally addressed to Joseph (as ver. 15 f.). The Septuagint altered בְּךָ to בְּכֶם, which Budde,<sup>4</sup> holds to be original.

Joseph's name will be used in Israel in formulas of blessing,<sup>5</sup> because of the position and greatness of the two Joseph tribes. The formula quoted must once have been actually in use. In it Ephraim is placed before Manasseh; but whether *B* wrote it so or *R* made the change (cf. ver. 5) we cannot say.<sup>6</sup> In the former case, what follows, *and he placed Ephraim before Manasseh*, could also be from *B*; <sup>7</sup> in the latter it would be from *R*, or is *C*'s conclusion placed here by *R*.

Ver. 21 f. A last word of blessing, certainly from *B* (יִשְׂרָאֵל, from *R*). Jacob, trusting in the promises of the future possession of the land<sup>8</sup> and looking forward to the return of his descendants *to the land of the fathers*,<sup>9</sup> grants to

<sup>1</sup> Isa. xxxi. 4.

<sup>2</sup> As עַמִּים in xxviii. 3, xlviii. 4.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. vv. 15, 18.

<sup>4</sup> *Urgeschichte*, 59.

<sup>5</sup> See note on xii. 3.

<sup>6</sup> But see l. 23.

<sup>7</sup> Kuenen.

<sup>8</sup> Last given in xlv. 3 (*B*), and xlviii. 4 (*A*).

<sup>9</sup> Ch. xxxi. 3.

Joseph one shoulder ridge beyond<sup>1</sup> his brothers. אָהֶר for אָהֶר.<sup>2</sup>

אָהֶר<sup>3</sup>—inaccurately translated portion,<sup>3</sup> and wrongly identified with Arabic *shukm* (gift).<sup>4</sup> It can only mean *hill-slope* or *ridge*, like אָהֶר<sup>5</sup> and similar words in Arabic.<sup>6</sup> It is used with a reference to Shechem (Sh<sup>c</sup>khem) in the territory of Ephraim (Sept. Σίκιμα), one of the most important towns in the country, Joseph's place of burial,<sup>7</sup> the place of meeting for national assemblies,<sup>8</sup> and the earliest royal residence in Israel.<sup>9</sup> Jacob gives this Shechem to Joseph as his advantage over the others, so that he towers above them by its height, as if by a shoulder or a ridge. Ridge cannot be transmuted into tribal territory,<sup>10</sup> with the meaning that Joseph is to have a district more than the others, *i.e.* two in all (cf. ver. 5, from *A*). A complete district would not be merely one ridge, and אָהֶר<sup>11</sup> cannot be a district in which אָהֶר<sup>12</sup> lies.

Jacob's choice of Shechem as his gift was owing to his having taken it from the Amorite, *i.e.*, in *B*,<sup>11</sup> the inhabitants of the country, by his sword and bow,<sup>12</sup> *i.e.* by force of arms. The reference is to a form of the legend which differs from that found in *A* and *C* (ch. xxxiv.).<sup>13</sup> It is not, however, inconsistent with xxxiii. 19 and Josh. xxiv. 32, the purchase of land in Shechem, because it is an essentially different legend. The conjecture לא בהרבי וג' for לא בהרבי וג'<sup>14</sup> is therefore as unnecessary as the trans-

<sup>1</sup> על, cf. Ps. xvi. 2; Eccles. i. 16 (2 Sam. xi. 23; Ps. cxxxvii. 6).

<sup>2</sup> Gesenius,<sup>25</sup> 130. 6.

<sup>3</sup> Onkelos, Pesh., Saadia [A.V., R.V. text].

<sup>4</sup> J. D. Michaelis, Böhmmer.

<sup>5</sup> Num. xxxiv. 11; Josh. xv. 8; Isa. xi. 14.

<sup>6</sup> Gesenius, *Thesaurus*, 1407.

<sup>7</sup> Josh. xxiv. 32.

<sup>8</sup> Josh. xxiv. 1, 25; 1 Kings xii. 1.

<sup>9</sup> Judg. ix. 1; 1 Kings xii. 25. See also note on Gen. xii. 6 f.

<sup>10</sup> Tuch, Knobel, Delitzsch,<sup>4</sup> and others.

<sup>11</sup> See Josh. xxiv. 8, and cf. Gen. xiv. 7, xv. 16.

<sup>12</sup> Josh. xxiv. 12.

<sup>13</sup> See notes on xxxiv. 27-29.

<sup>14</sup> Kuenen, *Th.T.*, 1880, p. 27 f.



mutation of sword and bow into prayer,<sup>1</sup> or righteousness or money<sup>2</sup> is inadmissible. Nor can לָקַחְתִּי any more than יָרַחְתִּי<sup>3</sup> be prophetic perfect.<sup>4</sup> If the reference were to a conquest still in the future, when Canaan was taken possession of, there would be no indication of why Shechem should be chosen as his gift, and there could not be conceivably a more unsuitable expression than לָקַחְתִּי for תָּקַח or תִּקְחֵהוּ (it is not even לִקְחֶהֶם). Later Haggadic writers have an entirely original account to give of this war of Jacob's against the Amorites.<sup>5</sup> See further, p. 287.

(c) Ch. xlix. 1–28. The utterances of Jacob regarding the future of his twelve sons or of the twelve tribes (ver. 28). In ver. 1 they are characterised as predictions. They are frequently<sup>6</sup> in the form of commands or wishes spoken with paternal authority, and so are better entitled *the testament of Jacob*. The title, Jacob's blessing, is not so good, for "the words contain also much that is of ill omen for the tribes; the first three (Reuben, Simeon, Levi) have nothing but evil" given them in prospect, and only Judah and Joseph are fully and exclusively blessed. In this respect the passage differs from the blessing of Moses in Deut. xxxiii.<sup>7</sup> The title has been given because of ver. 28b,<sup>8</sup> which originally belonged to what follows (ver. 29 ff.). Jacob's twelve sons are here all before him (ver. 1), and he speaks regarding the future of each in turn, but with varying degrees of brevity or length. "When Reuben, Judah, and Joseph are addressed, the foremost of his sons, the father's heart is roused and the language becomes more vigorous."<sup>9</sup> The names come in order of age; but as in xxxv. 23 ff., all the Leah tribes are put together, and

<sup>1</sup> Onkelos, Rashi, etc.

<sup>2</sup> Jerome, *Quæstiones*.

<sup>3</sup> See note on i. 29.

<sup>4</sup> Rosenmüller, Tuch, Knobel, Delitzsch, Keil, and others.

<sup>5</sup> *Book of Jubilees*, xxxiv.; *Test. Judæ*, iii.–vii.; Yalkuṭ Simeoni, i. 132; Jellinek, *Beth ha-Midrash*, iii. 1 ff. (also Targ. of Jonath.).

<sup>6</sup> Vv. 4, 6 ff., 17, 25 f.

<sup>7</sup> Knobel.

<sup>8</sup> See notes.

<sup>9</sup> Knobel.

between them and the Rachel tribes come those of subordinate origin. Zebulun, however, comes before Issachar,<sup>1</sup> perhaps because what was to be said of him was more honourable. The four secondary tribes also are not arranged in order of birth, but geographically from south to north.<sup>2</sup>

Jacob speaks throughout in the higher style of speech. But in elevation, power, and richness of imagery his words surpass other similar poetic utterances,<sup>3</sup> and evidence their greater age by their special ideas and figures of speech, and by the numerous rare expressions, some of which afterwards passed almost entirely out of use.<sup>4</sup> "In earlier times it was not doubted that Jacob actually spoke the words here attributed to him. Many modern expositors continued to maintain this view,<sup>5</sup> and it has found defenders up to the present."<sup>6</sup> "It was assumed that Joseph wrote his father's words and handed them down to his posterity,<sup>7</sup> or that each son preserved the utterance which affected himself, and that one afterwards wrote them down together.<sup>8</sup> But such a prophecy as this, with its word plays and metaphors, its boldness and strength, its beautiful parallelisms and extremely poetical character, has rightly been pronounced unaccountable in the mouth of an aged, weak, and dying man; still more, the all-pervading knowledge of the localities and circumstances of the Israelite tribes, as they were only long after the time of Jacob. It has also been remarked how improbable it is that such predictions should come from a simple nomad, and that once he had commenced to prophesy,

<sup>1</sup> Unlike xxx. 17 ff., xxxv. 23, xlv. 13 f., but Deut. xxxiii. 18 follows this.

<sup>2</sup> Ewald, *Geschichte*,<sup>3</sup> ii. 435 [*History*, ii. 80].

<sup>3</sup> Chs. ix, 25 ff., xiv. 19 ff., xxiv. 60, xxv. 23, xxvii. 27 ff., 39 f.

<sup>4</sup> פָּהוּ and הוֹתִיר (ver. 4), מִכָּרָה (ver. 5), מִחָקֶק (ver. 10), סוֹת (ver. 11), חֲכָלִיל (ver. 12), מִשְׁפָּחִים (ver. 14), שְׁפִיפֶן (ver. 17), שְׁלֹחַ (ver. 21), and others in vv. 22-26.

<sup>5</sup> Venema, Teller, J. D. Michaelis, Herder, Knapp, Hensler, and others.

<sup>6</sup> Rosenmüller, Baumgarten, Delitzsch, Hengstenberg, Sack, Keil, Lange, and others; most recently M. S. Terry.

<sup>7</sup> Mössler.

<sup>8</sup> Vogel on Grotius, J. E. Ch. Schmidt.

it is astonishing that he should conclude with the Davidic period and say nothing of what was to occur after that date.

“The force of these considerations<sup>1</sup> led to an intermediate view, according to which, while Jacob actually blessed his sons, his utterances received their present poetical form only at a later time.<sup>2</sup> Most critics, however, entirely denied Jacob’s authorship of the prophecy,<sup>3</sup> and assigned it to some later period, *e.g.* to the Mosaic, with Moses even as its author,<sup>4</sup> to the latter part of the time of the Judges,<sup>5</sup> to that of Samuel<sup>6</sup> or of David.<sup>7</sup> The prophet Nathan even was recognised<sup>8</sup> as its author.”<sup>9</sup> Reuss<sup>10</sup> conjectures the time of David or Solomon. The decisive feature of the case is, that all the utterances have in view the geographical and historical conditions of the period of the Judges, that they entirely pass over the period between that date and the time of Jacob, and advance no later than the very beginning of the period of the monarchy. This limitation of the speaker’s horizon to a definite portion of Israelite history, which leaves what goes before and what comes after a complete and unnoticed blank, is the plainest proof that the utterances are no real prophecy. Only one who regards the prophets as mere soothsayers, will fail to find difficulty in the supposition that Jacob describes one sharply defined portion of Israelite history with the utmost exactitude, yet knows nothing of the intervening history which lies nearer to his own time. Prophecy, under the influence of the Spirit, takes the present for its point of departure, and while it gives surprising revelations regarding the immediate and the near future, regarding the distant and remotest future,

<sup>1</sup> First definitely advanced by Heinrichs.

<sup>2</sup> Plütschke.

<sup>3</sup> Eichhorn, Justi, Vater, de Wette, Schumann, Bleek, etc.

<sup>4</sup> Hasse, Scherer.

<sup>5</sup> Ewald, G. Baur.

<sup>6</sup> Tuch, E. Meier.

<sup>7</sup> Heinrichs, Werliin, Knobel.

<sup>8</sup> Friedrich, Bohlen.

<sup>9</sup> Knobel.

<sup>10</sup> *Geschichte des Alt. Test.*<sup>1</sup> 200 f.

it proclaims only such certainties as follow from the eternal principles of the divine government of the world, and not particulars of a geographical or historical nature. But this connection with the present is here strikingly absent. Except in the case of Reuben, Simeon, and Levi, the speaker does not take the special situation or actions of his sons as his point of departure, and in several cases<sup>1</sup> merely an interpretation of their names. The horizon of the utterances, therefore, shows that they have been composed and collected at a date remote from that of Jacob, but yet before the dissolution of the tribal organisation under the monarchy. The Song of Deborah is used as a source,<sup>2</sup> but there is no allusion to the kingdom of Saul (ver. 27), and what is said of Issachar and Dan (vv. 14–18) describes their circumstances in the pre-monarchial period. There is ground, therefore, for maintaining the date of composition to belong to the close of the period of the Judges.<sup>3</sup> But vv. 8–12 receive their most natural explanation only from the great gain in position which Judah made under David. We have therefore rather to decide for this Davidic period, or at latest that of Solomon. The period of the divided monarchy is excluded by ver. 8 (10). “The passage reveals no trace of the jealousy between Judah and Joseph which became so prominent after Solomon’s death; on the contrary, both tribes are lauded with equal enthusiasm.”<sup>4</sup> In this respect Deut. xxxiii. (especially ver. 7) is a complete contrast. Joseph’s designation as prince (נָזִיר, ver. 26) among his brethren, is due to his long-standing position, and need not be regarded as a reference to the kingdom of the ten tribes. There is no foundation for referring ver. 23<sup>5</sup> to the wars of Syria and Israel in the ninth century, and so none for assigning the poem to that period<sup>6</sup> or to Ahab’s reign.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Vv. 8, 13, 16, 19.

<sup>2</sup> Ver. 13 f.; cf. Judg. v. 16 f.

<sup>3</sup> Comm. 5th edition.

<sup>4</sup> Knobel.

<sup>5</sup> See notes.

<sup>6</sup> Wellhausen, *Geschichte*, 1878, i. 375; Kuenen, *Onderzoek*,<sup>2</sup> p. 234.

<sup>7</sup> Stade, *Geschichte*,<sup>1</sup> 150.



At such a time when Reuben and Simeon had practically disappeared, and when tribal distinctions in both kingdoms had more and more lost their importance, the composition of such a poem is no longer comprehensible.

It was different when, from the time of Samuel, after centuries of division and separation into isolated tribes and tribal groups, the feeling of national unity once more asserted itself, and the powerful tribe of Judah, hitherto apart from the rest of Israel, entered into its rightful relationship with the whole. Then was the right and proper time for a man, qualified by his position, his ideals, and his genius, to assemble the hitherto divergent tribes, by writing or speech, round the person of their common ancestor, and let them hear from his mouth what he had to say to them, as he looked back on their past. Their achievements and present circumstances are the theme. Religion is not referred to. Indeed, it is remarkable in the extreme that there is no expression of view regarding religious affairs (in contrast to Deut. xxxiii.). The tribal characteristics of the people are portrayed, and of these Jacob was regarded as the originator, just as Abraham had been of their more spiritual religion. There were some who had acted nobly; there were others who, in much, had come short of their dignity as sons of Jacob. The early greatness of some had faded away; others had advanced to honour. There were those who had been fortunate, and there were the more unfortunate. There were the active and the indolent. All have a word spoken to them, according as they deserve it, in praise or blame, in blessing or curse. Even where little is said, or only something apparently indifferent, it receives a peculiar sting from comparison with what is said of others. The song in Judg. v. 13 ff. had already enumerated the tribes and accorded them praise and blame in a similar manner. In this light the poem had a meaning and value for the time of its composition, and the introduction of Jacob as the speaker was uniquely suitable for a people amongst whom the feeling of union

between an ancestor and his descendants was still unbroken,<sup>1</sup> and who believed in the actual efficacy of his blessing and curse.<sup>2</sup> The peculiar variation in the character of the speech, where declarations, commands, and desires, blessings and curses, alternate with one another, finds a suitable explanation in this view of the origin of the whole. We must reject the conjecture that it is a mere collection of utterances, which at first circulated independently.<sup>3</sup> There is no reference except to the closing period of the Judges and to the beginnings of the monarchy; there is an inner connection between the utterances regarding Reuben, Judah, and Joseph; and some of the utterances when they are separated from the others sink to absolute insignificance. We are thus prevented from doubting that one author has composed the whole, and has given it definite and artistic shape, though he may at the same time have made partial use of older materials.

The author was certainly a Judean, as we may infer from his warm eulogy of Judah. The glorification of Judah is not, indeed, more than was due. But we know the feeling of the northern tribes to have been such that it is more difficult to realise their making a worthy acknowledgment of Judah's position than to suppose that Joseph's rank was ungrudgingly acknowledged by Judah. Such an acknowledgment was a most necessary one during David's reign in particular. The conclusion is also supported by the geographical arrangement of the four secondary tribes. What has been said up to this point implies that whether the poem once circulated independently or has been taken from another context, it is at least older than either *A*, *B*, or *C*, no one of whom, besides, was a poet. The only remaining question is whether one of these writers inserted it in his own work, or whether *B* added it from some other source. *A*<sup>4</sup> is the least

<sup>1</sup> Ewald, *Geschichte*,<sup>3</sup> i. 588 [*History*, i. 411].

<sup>2</sup> See above, pp. i. 304; ii. 217.      <sup>3</sup> Land, Kuenen, 233.

<sup>4</sup> Tuch, Ewald, *Geschichte*,<sup>3</sup> i. 591 [Eng. tr. i. 413].

likely to have adopted it, "since the curse of ver. 7 and the name יִרְמֵה in ver. 18 are evidence against him, and the insertion of poetic pieces was foreign to his purpose";<sup>1</sup> he is also excluded by ver. 28b. In view of xlviii. 22<sup>2</sup> and xxxvii. 21f., 29 f., xlii. 22, 37,<sup>3</sup> and also because of vv. 8–12, we cannot think of *B*. Ch. xxxiv. 30 f. (xxxv. 22) makes it additionally probable that *C*, a Judean, borrowed, though he did not compose,<sup>4</sup> the piece. And this is the generally accepted view. *R* then included it in his work; and to him ver. 1b is doubtless due. Ver. 1a<sup>5</sup> goes along with 28b, and will be from *A*. Ver. 1b pronounces the passage to be a *prophecy*, and this is in accordance with the prevalent belief of antiquity in the prophetic power possessed by dying persons.<sup>6</sup>

LITERATURE.—Venema, *Dissert. sel.* 1750, i. 2; Teller, *Segen Jacobs u. Mosis*, 1766; *notæ crit. et exeget. in Gen.* xlix. 1766; Knapp, *Disput. ad vatic. Jacobi*, 1774; Aurivillius, *Diss. ad sacr. litt.*, ed. Michaelis, pp. 178–267 (only vv. 1–10); Herder in *Werke zur Rel. u. Theol.* 1829, xiii. 61–79; *Geist der hbr. Poes.*, edit. by Justi, ii. 175–196; Horrer, *Nationalgesänge der Isr.* 1780; Hasse, *Magazin für die bibl. orient., Lit.* i. 1., p. 5 ff.; J. E. Chr. Schmidt, *eins der ältesten u. schönsten Idyllen*, 1793; Scherer, *Gesch. der Isr.* i. 167–183; Plüschke, *oratio Jacobi mor.* 1805; Mössler, *vatic. Jacobi*, 1808, 2 partt. (only as far as ver. 12); Friedrich, *Segen Jacobs*, 1811; K. I. Fischer, *diss. de benedictione Gen.* xlix. 1814; Justi, *Nationalgesänge der Hebr.* ii. 1–94; Stähelin, *animadv. in Jacobi vatic.* 1827; Diestel, *Segen Jacobs*, 1853; Land, *disp. de carmine Jacobi*, 1858; E. Meier, *Gesch. der poet. Nationalliter.* 1856, p. 109 ff.; C. Kohler, *Seg. Jac. mit Berücks. des Midrasch*, Berl. 1867; A. N. Obbard, *The Prophecy of Jacob*, Cambridge, 1877.

<sup>1</sup> Knobel.<sup>2</sup> Against chs. xxxiv. and xlix. 6.<sup>3</sup> Regarding Reuben.<sup>4</sup> Hupfeld, Böhmer.<sup>5</sup> See notes.<sup>6</sup> *Iliad*, xvi. 849 ff., xxii. 358 ff.; Plato, *Apologia*, p. 39, ed. Steph.; Xenoph. *Cyrop.* viii. 7. 21; Diod. xviii. 1; Cicero, *De divin.* i. 23, 30. Knobel.

For other writings, see Justi and Tuch. Add M. S. Terry in *Methodist Review*, V. ii. (1886) p. 847 ff.; J. P. Peters in *J.B.L.* vi. 1 (1886), p. 99 ff.; Zimmern in *ZA.* vii. 161 ff. (who attempts to trace references to the twelve signs of the zodiac).—Regarding the date of the prophecy: Heinrichs, *De auctore atque ætate cap. Gen. xlix.* 1790. Compare also Kurtz, *Geschichte des Alten Bundes*,<sup>2</sup> i. 314 ff.; G. Baur, *Geschichte des Atl. Weiss*, 1861, i. 216 ff.; Ewald, *Geschichte*,<sup>3</sup> i. 104 ff., 585–589, ii. 412, 463, 493 [Eng. tr. i. 69, 409–412, ii. 63 f., 99 f., 121]; *J.B.* ii. 49 ff., xii. 189 ff.; *GGA.* 1873, p. 421 ff.; Stade, *Geschichte*,<sup>1</sup> i. 150 ff.; Wellhausen, *Compos.* 320 ff.

Ver. 1. Jacob, on his couch,<sup>1</sup> summons to him his other sons also, that he may tell them their future. Until now there has been nothing said of their being present.

וִיקְרָא אֵל—*he called for, summoned*; frequently in *A*,<sup>2</sup> also in *D* and *R*<sup>d</sup>. *B* and *C*, on the other hand, generally have קרא ל.

*What will befall you*—*i.e.* in the persons of your descendants; comp. ver. 28, according to which the real reference is to the tribes. The words בְּאַחֲרֵית הַיָּמִים are therefore essential, and not an interpolation.<sup>3</sup> For קרא, *befall*, see xlii. 4.

בְּאַחֲרֵית הַיָּמִים—*in the sequel of the days*, in time to come, “in the future.”<sup>4</sup> אַחֲרֵית has an absolute or relative meaning, according to the context. The translation “last days” is out of place here,<sup>5</sup> but in Messianic eschatological prophecies<sup>6</sup> the word denotes the last period in history, or at least the remotest point within the prophet’s range of vision. As a

<sup>1</sup> Ch. xlviii. 2.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Gen. xxviii. 1; Ex. xxxvi. 2; Lev. x. 4, etc.

<sup>3</sup> Against Stärk in *ZATW.* xi. 291.

<sup>4</sup> Luther.

<sup>5</sup> And in Num. xxiv. 14; Deut. iv. 30, xxxi. 29; Jer. xxiii. 30 (xxx. 24).

<sup>6</sup> *E.g.* Hos. iii. 5; Mich. iv. 1; Ezek. xxxviii. 16.



formula in use during the prophetic period, though not from Ezekiel's time only, it marks the verse as the addition of a narrator of that date.

Ver. 2. The poem begins with an emphatic call to attention.<sup>1</sup> They are to listen *all together*, for Jacob's words concern the relation of each to all.

Ver. 3 f. REUBEN. In all the genealogies he appears as firstborn.<sup>2</sup> This must have an historical reason; but not, of course, that assigned by Stade,<sup>3</sup> who says that Reuben was given the place of honour because of his absolute insignificance. On the contrary, Reuben must at one time have exercised a sort of hegemony among the allied tribes, or have been the first among them to attain power and importance. In *B's* history of Joseph<sup>4</sup> he appears as mindful of this position of his, and in the Mosaic period lays claim to certain rights as firstborn.<sup>5</sup> Reuben and Gad were the first to settle in the southern part of the land east of Jordan, but from that time onwards Reuben never distinguished itself either by populousness and power or by any service rendered to the whole people. The only accomplishment recorded of it is spoken of in 1 Chron. v. 10, 18 ff. Even so early as under the Judges it showed itself indifferent to the national struggles,<sup>6</sup> and it continued to isolate itself more and more until in the period of the early monarchy it had practically disappeared as part of Israel.<sup>7</sup> Judah (ver. 8 ff.) and Joseph (ver. 26) shared the succession to his previous position.<sup>8</sup> The early decadence of the tribe is here attributed to the paternal curse induced by his wanton arrogance, which impelled him to dishonour his father's marriage bed. The particulars of what he did are unknown; ch. xxxv. 22 uses

<sup>1</sup> Ch. iv. 23.

<sup>2</sup> Chs. xxix. 32, xxxv. 23, xli. 8; Ex. vi. 14; Num. i. 20, xxvi. 5; 1 Chron. v. 3.

<sup>3</sup> *Geschichte*,<sup>1</sup> 151.

<sup>4</sup> Chs. xxxvii. 21 ff., xlii. 22.

<sup>5</sup> Num. xvi. 22, xxix. 6 f. [?]; Deut. xi. 6.

<sup>6</sup> Judg. v. 15 f.

<sup>7</sup> Deut. xxxiii. 6; Isa. xv. f.

<sup>8</sup> Heir of the birthright, 1 Chron. v. 1 f.

the same expression. The final meaning of the statement is not merely that Reuben abused his power as head of the tribes,<sup>1</sup> but doubtless also that in this tribe sexual unions were customary which were un-Israelite, and immoral as judged by Israelite standards,<sup>2</sup> and that these gradually alienated Reuben from the rest of Israel.

In ver. 3 Reuben receives the praise due to his position, in ver. 4 he is degraded from it.

*You are my firstborn, my strength*, the product of my strength,<sup>3</sup> of full and unimpaired virility, *and the first-fruit of my power*, procreative power.<sup>4</sup> As firstborn and in consequence you are *pre-eminence in rank*<sup>5</sup> and *pre-eminence in strength*, pre-eminent over all the brethren in position and power, superior to them. *Excess* or *pre-eminence* is used poetically for pre-eminent; comp. פָּחוּ in ver. 4. עַי is pausal, for עַי as in ver. 27; see xliii. 14.

No good sense is secured by taking פָּחוּ כַּמִּים with ver. 3.<sup>6</sup> *Overflow as water, you shall have no pre-eminence.* פָּחוּ<sup>7</sup> is the abstract for the concrete; as, because you are, an overflow, because you pour over like boiling water, you shall have no excess, preference, or pre-eminence. The reading פָּחוֹת<sup>8</sup> has come from a desire to make the text easier. The expression הוֹתֵר is chosen with reference to the יֹתֵר of ver. 3; it is found in this sense only here.<sup>9</sup> "As water in a pot, set in motion by heat, boils up and bubbles over; so Reuben, excited by the flame of passion, transgressed the bounds of morality and

<sup>1</sup> Knobel, Ewald, *Geschichte*,<sup>3</sup> i. 535 f. [Eng. tr. i. 374].

<sup>2</sup> See above, pp. 113, 309.

<sup>3</sup> Ch. iv. 12.

<sup>4</sup> Deut. xxi. 17; Ps. lxxviii. 51, cv. 36.

<sup>5</sup> Ps. lxii. 5; Job xiii. 11, xxxi. 23; Hab. i. 7.

<sup>6</sup> Clericus, Venema, Herder, Ilgen, Justi, Plüschke, Vater.

<sup>7</sup> See Gesenius, *Thesaurus*; it does not mean *exhilation* (Ilgen, de Wette, Schumann).

<sup>8</sup> Samar. Sept. (ἐξέβρισας), and other versions.

<sup>9</sup> Properly understood by Onkelos, Aq. Syn. Græc. Ven.; wrongly by the Sept. ἐξέσης (see Geiger, *Urschrift*, 373), ζήσης (see Scholion in Lagarde's *Genesis græce*, p. 202); the Pesh. has rendered הוֹתֵר.

acted wantonly and arrogantly.”<sup>1</sup> Regarding the privilege attaching to the firstborn, see note on xxv. 31; the Targums make it consist in *hæreditas, regnum, sacerdotium*.

כִּי עָלִית—a statement of wherein the overflow consisted, and the cause of Reuben’s rejection; comp. xxxv. 22. “Phoenix was similarly cursed by his father Amyntor because he lay with his father’s concubine.”<sup>2</sup>

מִשְׁכְּבִי—plural, because a double bed is intended. The Massoretes were doubtless right in avoiding a construct punctuation ’— (cf. 1 Chron. v. 1).

אָז—according to usage not *thereupon*, but *then you profaned*, did an act of profanation, defiled what was sacred. This was his crime.

*He ascended my bed*—Jacob has turned away from Reuben and so uses the 3rd person;<sup>3</sup> the feeling of wonder at the incredibility of the misdeed still fills him. The text is somewhat surprising, but עָלִית<sup>4</sup> is less vigorous, עָלָה and עָלָה are unpoetical and contrary to syntax, בָּלָהָה<sup>5</sup> would be utterly prosaic, the transposition of עָלָה to a place before עָלִית<sup>6</sup> too violent, and the translation “my couch of elevation,”<sup>7</sup> insufficiently supported by the use of עָלָה for *step*; even to read עָלָה (= עֲוָלָה), and translate adverbially, *wickedly*, is no advantage. It may be a question, however, if חָלַלְתָּ would not be a better punctuation: *were dishonoured*, made unfit to hold the position of firstborn.

יָצַע—elsewhere always punctuated a plur. by the Mass.

Vv. 5–7. SIMEON and LEVI, Jacob’s second and third sons. The poet is induced to group them together because they shared the same fate, and because legend preserved the story of an action in which they jointly shared. Perhaps a curse against them was also handed down with the story of the deed and<sup>8</sup> is expanded here. In their relations with the

<sup>1</sup> Knobel.

<sup>2</sup> Tuch, Knobel.

<sup>3</sup> Geiger, *Urschrift* 374.

<sup>4</sup> Ewald, *Geschichte*,<sup>3</sup> i. 535 [Eng. tr. i. 373, note 4].

<sup>5</sup> Ch. xxxiv. 25 ff.

<sup>6</sup> *Iliad*, ix. 447 ff. Knobel.

<sup>7</sup> Sept. Pesh. Targg.

<sup>8</sup> Olshausen.

Shechemites they had both marked themselves out by their cruelty, and earned their father's rebuke (xxxiv. 30) or his anger and curse (the tradition here followed).

Ver. 5. אָחִים would be trivial<sup>1</sup> only if it were predicate;<sup>2</sup> it stands, however, in apposition to the subject, the predicate does not follow till vv. 5b, 6. אָחִים cannot in itself signify *true, real brothers*; it is in ver. 5b that we are told that the brothers by descent were brothers in character and life also.

Their מַכּוֹת are *weapons of violence*, cruel weapons. מַכּוֹת is a *hapax eiremenon*. The interpretation *sword*<sup>3</sup> suits the context, but cannot, of course, be proved by the resemblance to μάχαιρα. Nor is it possible to suppose seriously that it is a semitised form of μάχαιρα,<sup>4</sup> although the Mass. vocalisation may have been influenced by acquaintance with the Greek word. Derivations from מַכּוֹ, which are grammatically possible,<sup>5</sup> e.g. *wily plots, artifices*,<sup>6</sup> and *marriage contracts*,<sup>7</sup> do not suit the use of מַכּוֹת, which never means agencies.<sup>8</sup> מַכּוֹת might come from כּוֹר, *to be round*,<sup>9</sup> but could not signify *sinuosity, devious course of action*,<sup>10</sup> but only a round bent instrument, and so *curved knife or sickle*.<sup>11</sup> *Shepherd's staff* is not possible, but perhaps *crook* may be.<sup>12</sup> The meaning *gladius* can be obtained from a root, כּוֹר=כָּרַח, only if we assume that

<sup>1</sup> Lagarde, *Agath.* 157.

<sup>2</sup> Knobel, Delitzsch.

<sup>3</sup> Rashi, Luther, Herder, Teller, Plüschke, Ilgen, Friedrich, Delitzsch, Bunsen.

<sup>4</sup> Hasse, Rosenmüller; still Lagarde, *Rel. jur. eccles.* p. xxxvii.

<sup>5</sup> Ewald, § 260a.

<sup>6</sup> To which there are Ethiopic and Arabic, but not Hebrew parallels in the use of מַכּוֹ; L. de Dieu, Schultens, Knapp, Maurer, Halévy, and others.

<sup>7</sup> Clericus, J. D. Michaelis, Aurivillius, Dalhe, Knobel, Luzzatto, Böttcher, § 791; Merx in *Bibelles.* ii. 5, from מַכּוֹ, *desponsavit*, but Heb. מַכּוֹ=sell.

<sup>8</sup> Not even in Isa. xxxii. 7.

<sup>9</sup> Olshausen, *Lehrbuch*, § 199d

<sup>10</sup> Tuch.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. מַכּוֹ, מַכּוֹ, adopted in Arabic in the form *minjal*.

<sup>12</sup> Ewald, *Geschichte*,<sup>3</sup> ii. 493 [Eng. tr. ii. 121].



the root signified *confodere*,<sup>1</sup> or *cœdere*,<sup>2</sup> and then the word would rather have the pronunciation מְכַרָּה.<sup>3</sup>

The renderings of the Sept. Pesh. and Onk. are of no assistance, even if we adopt the reading פְּלִי for פְּלִי.<sup>5</sup>

Ver. 6. Jacob disclaims their deed, and all participation in it, with horror.

*Let my soul not enter into their council*, where they planned their treachery, *let my honour or nobility not unite itself to their assembly*. כְּבוֹדִי, corresponding in the verse parallelism to נַפְשִׁי, and equivalent to *spirit*; comp. Ps. xvi. 9, lvii. 9. But the feminine תַּהֲרָה<sup>6</sup> is surprising. The Sept. has *μη ἐρίσῃ τα ἡπατά μου*,<sup>7</sup> and as in Assyrian also *kabidtu* (כְּבִיד) interchanges with *napištu* (נַפִּישׁ), the original writer may be supposed to have intended כְּבִידִי, *my liver*, i.e. *my disposition (heart)*.<sup>8</sup>

*For in their anger they slew man*,<sup>9</sup> and in their desire they lamed<sup>10</sup> the ox. בְּרַצְנָם, at their pleasure,<sup>11</sup> here, in accordance with the parallel אָף, equivalent to self-will;<sup>12</sup> Lagarde<sup>13</sup> proposes בְּתַרְנָם. The act was one prompted by a vindictive love of destruction. "But according to the later legend (xxxiv. 28 f.), Jacob's sons stole the cattle and carried them off."<sup>14</sup> It was, no doubt, only to avoid this discrepancy that the versions<sup>15</sup> preferred the pronunciation שׁוֹר, *wall*, and interpreted עָקַר, *destroy*, in accordance with Aramaic usage;

<sup>1</sup> Gesenius, *Thesaurus*, 672.

<sup>2</sup> Delitzsch, *Proleg.* 121, from the Assyrian.

<sup>3</sup> But see מְכַרָּה, Ezek. xvi. 3, xxi. 35 f., xxix. 14.

<sup>4</sup> Sept. Samar. Onk.

<sup>5</sup> See also Geiger, *Urschrift*, 374 f., 442, and *ZDMG.* xx. 160 ff.

<sup>6</sup> Samar., יַהֲרָה.

<sup>7</sup> From חָרָה, *be sharp, zealous*; others take from חָרָה, see Geiger, *Urschrift*, 319.

<sup>8</sup> Delitzsch, *Assyr. Gram.* § 68, end.

<sup>9</sup> Generic singular.

<sup>10</sup> By severing the sinew of the thigh, Josh. xi. 6, 9; 2 Sam. viii. 4

<sup>11</sup> Dan. viii. 4, xi. 3, 16; Neh. ix. 24, 37.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. Esth. ix. 5.

<sup>13</sup> *Agath.* 157.

<sup>14</sup> Knobel.

<sup>15</sup> Aq. Sym. Pesh. Targ. Jerome, Vulg.

while more recent interpreters<sup>1</sup> strangely make *נָשׁוּר*, *hero*, *prince*,<sup>2</sup> and refer it, *e.g.*, to Shechem or Hamor (xxxiv. 2).

Ver. 7.<sup>3</sup> Such cruel rage brings on itself Jacob's curse. A much milder judgment is passed on it in ch. xxxiv., where a partial excuse is found for it in their zeal for the honour of their house. The Samaritan by reading *אָרִיר* for *אָרִיר*, and *הַבְּרָתָם* for *עֲבָרָתָם*, and the Targ. of Jonath., have made the curse a eulogy. Others have found the text so offensive<sup>4</sup> that they have endeavoured to mend it by taking *אָרִיר* with *נָשׁוּר* in ver. 6.

עַי—pausal for the perf. עַי.<sup>5</sup>

Simeon and Levi are condemned to dispersion, and, therefore, to powerlessness. "Their descendants are not to possess any one district in the country, but are to live divided up amongst the other tribes, and scattered through the country."<sup>6</sup> *Simeon* was much weakened even at the close of the desert wanderings.<sup>7</sup> In the contests with the Canaanites it united with Judah,<sup>8</sup> and received a number of cities in the Negeb,<sup>9</sup> which, however, are elsewhere counted possessions of Judah.<sup>10</sup> Simeonites seem also to have been scattered among other tribes; <sup>11</sup> Robertson Smith <sup>12</sup> thinks this may be inferred from the presence of names like Shim'i,<sup>13</sup> Shaûl, and Yamin in other tribes also. Of the families enumerated in Gen. xli. 10 as those of the tribe, only that of Shaûl seems to have been later of importance,<sup>14</sup> and it was probably composed in part of Ishmaelites.<sup>15</sup> At the time when the kingdom split in two,<sup>16</sup> Simeon was hardly counted a tribe; in Deut. xxxiii. it is

<sup>1</sup> Pluschke, Mössler, Schumann, Bohlen, etc.

<sup>2</sup> Ps. lxxviii. 31; Deut. xxxiii. 17.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. language of Song viii. 6.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Judith ix. 2.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Ex. xxxii. 20; Gen. xxv. 7.

<sup>6</sup> Knobel.

<sup>7</sup> Num. xxvi. 14; cf. Num. i. 23.

<sup>8</sup> Judg. i. 3, 17.

<sup>9</sup> Josh. xix. 1-9; 1 Chron. iv. 28-33.

<sup>10</sup> Josh. xv. 26-32, 42; in 1 Sam. xxvii. 6, xxx. 30; 1 Kings xix. 3 also towns like Sîklag, Beersheba', and Hormah are Judean.

<sup>11</sup> 2 Chron. xv. 9, xxxiv. 6.

<sup>12</sup> *Journal of Philol.* ix. 96.

<sup>13</sup> *Nom. gent.* from שִׁמְעוֹן.

<sup>14</sup> 1 Chron. iv. 25 ff.

<sup>15</sup> See Gen. xxv. 13 f.

<sup>16</sup> 1 Kings xii.

entirely absent. Towards the close of the monarchy fragments of the tribe made some small conquests beyond the boundaries of Canaan.<sup>1</sup> It is well known that *Levi* had no tribal territory. In *A*<sup>2</sup> provision is made for his dwelling in forty-eight cities given up to him by all the tribes. It is surprising that here the dispersion of *Levi* is not connected with its exercise of priestly functions, but is regarded even as a curse. The attempt to discover in this a proof of the "authenticity of Jacob's blessing"<sup>3</sup> is unavailing. There could be no dispersion before Israel settled in Canaan, so that if the curse had been transformed to a blessing by Moses' time it would never have taken effect, and need never have been spoken. The explanation is found in the fact that in the post-Mosaic period the Levitical priesthood was restricted to certain families only, while the greater part of the tribe lived without possessions, power, or means of subsistence,<sup>4</sup> and in part in most wretched circumstances. Deut. xxxiii. 8 ff. speaks quite differently regarding *Levi*. It has been conjectured that *Simeon* and *Levi*, during the war of conquest which followed the Mosaic period, were so weakened in their attacks on *Shechem* as to be unable to maintain themselves as distinct tribes.<sup>5</sup>

Vv. 8–12. *JUDAH*, the fourth of the *Leah* tribes, is the first on whom the father can fully pour out his praise and blessing. Only the pressure of actual fact<sup>6</sup> prevents the author from giving him *Reuben's* old position as head of the tribes.<sup>7</sup> In *C* he is leader of the others, even in the patri-

<sup>1</sup> 1 Chron. iv. 34 ff. See Bertheau on Chronicles; Graf, *Der Stamm Simeon*, 1886; Ewald, *Geschichte*,<sup>3</sup> ii. 405 ff. [Eng. tr. ii. 59 ff.]; Riehm, *Handwörterbuch*, 1480 f.

<sup>2</sup> Num. xxxv.; Josh. xxi.

<sup>3</sup> Keil, Bredenkamp, *Ges. u. Prof.* p. 173.

<sup>4</sup> Judg. xvii. f.

<sup>5</sup> Wellhausen, *Compos.* 353 ff.; Kittel, *Geschichte*, ii. 63 [Eng. tr. ii. 70]. Regarding *Levi* in the period of the Judges, see also Baudissin, *Allst. Priest.* 69 ff.

<sup>6</sup> Joseph in reality maintained the balance against him.

<sup>7</sup> 1 Chron. v. 1 f.

archal period.<sup>1</sup> According to *A*, he was the strongest tribe individually in the Mosaic period,<sup>2</sup> Manasseh and Ephraim being reckoned apart; and when camping, or on the march, he stood, with Issachar and Zebulun, at the head of all.<sup>3</sup> During the conquest of Canaan he took the foremost part in the contests with the heathen,<sup>4</sup> and along with Joseph was the first to settle in his extensive territory in the south of Canaan.<sup>5</sup> He is afterwards more than once again mentioned as leading the nation,<sup>6</sup> and maintains his independence,<sup>7</sup> though separated by intervening heathen territory from the rest of Israel, until, with the Davidic monarchy, he comes to be head of Israel. It is the power and success of the tribe and the choiceness of its land which form the theme of vv. 8–12. The Messianic character of the contents have led to many special interpretations of the passage.<sup>8</sup>

Ver. 8. In the absence of a special tradition regarding his earliest history, the utterance makes Judah's name its starting-point.<sup>9</sup> He is praised as the mighty conqueror who is acknowledged and praised by the kindred tribes also. *Judah* (praiseworthy)—*thee*<sup>10</sup> *will*, or must, *thy brothers praise*, for *thy hand is on the neck*<sup>11</sup> *of thine enemies*, seizes them by the neck as they flee; *to thee sons of thy father will pay*

<sup>1</sup> Chs. xxxvii. 26 f., xliii. 8 ff., xlv. 14 ff., xlv. 28.

<sup>2</sup> Num. i. 27, xxvi. 22.

<sup>3</sup> Num. ii. 3, x. 14.

<sup>4</sup> Judg. i.

<sup>5</sup> Josh. xiv. ff.; cf. with xviii. 1 ff.

<sup>6</sup> Judg. iii. 9 ff., xx. 19 ff.

<sup>7</sup> Unless during the Philistine oppression, Judg. xv. 11 ff.

<sup>8</sup> E.g. Zirkel, *Super bened. Juda*, Wirceb. 1786; Werliin, *de laud. Jude*, Havn. 1838; Hufnagel in Eichh. *Repert.* xiv. 235 ff.; Muhlert in Keil u. Tzschirner, *Anal.* ii. 3. 46 ff.; Petterson, *Comm. Crit. Phil. in Gen.* xlix. 10, Lond. Goth. 1821; many others in Tuch, *Gen.*<sup>2</sup> 485 f. and G. Baur, *Gesch. der Alttest. Weiss.* 227 f.; Hgst. *Christ.*<sup>2</sup> i. 54–104; Hofmann, *Weiss. u. Erf.* i. 112 ff.; Reinke, *Weiss. Jacobs über Juda*, 1849; Keil in Rudelbein u. Guericke's *Luth. Zeitschr.* 1861, p. 30 ff.; Cheyne, *Proph. of Isaiah*, 1881, ii. 189 ff.; Driver in *Journ. of Philol.* xiv.; also in the text-books on Dogmatics (Oehler, Schultz, Hitzig, etc.), and in writings on Messianic prophecy (Delitzsch, Orelli, Ch. Briggs, etc.).

<sup>9</sup> See xxix. 35.

<sup>10</sup> Gesenius,<sup>25</sup> 135. 2a [practically emphatic accus.].

<sup>11</sup> Job xvi. 12.



*homage*; not the sons of Leah only, but all the tribes of Jacob. They bow before him, acknowledging his primacy and leadership. The utterance was fully realised in the reign of David. It was no longer applicable to the period after Solomon.

Ver. 9. Judah is pictured in triumphant security as a lion which has returned to its lair from the hunt, and devours its prey aloft in security and ease. The metaphor of the lion frequently occurs,<sup>1</sup> and does not need to be explained by the assumption that Judah thus early had a lion as the emblem on its flag.<sup>2</sup> A reference to the constellation of the lion and to the star Regulus<sup>3</sup> is merely read into the verses.

*Judah is a lion's whelp.* Jacob considers first his beginnings. The words also suggest that עֲלִית should be interpreted of *growth*.<sup>4</sup> This is perhaps linguistically possible,<sup>5</sup> though in general עֲלִית is used only of plants, horns, etc. But it would be dubious praise to say he grew great by plunder, was a robber tribe; and, "if the poet were speaking of a growing lion, he would not afterwards call it a lion and lioness."<sup>6</sup> Translate, therefore: *from the prey, my son, hast thou gone up.* As the lion to his hills,<sup>7</sup> so Judah to his mountain land after his fights are over.<sup>8</sup> *He has couched*<sup>9</sup> *and lain down*,<sup>10</sup> occupied his land, *like a lion and a lioness*; <sup>11</sup> when he has done so, *who will rouse him up?* "He dwells in the proud ease and confidence of one who is strong,

<sup>1</sup> Deut. xxxiii. 20, 22; Num. xxiii. 24, xxiv. 9; Mich. v. 7.

<sup>2</sup> Targ. of Jonath. on Num. ii.; Ewald, *Geschichte*,<sup>3</sup> iii. 341 [Eng. tr. iii. 250].

<sup>3</sup> Zimmern.

<sup>4</sup> Sept., which interpreted טָרַף as in Ezek. xvii. 9; Grotius, Auri-villius, Teller, J. D. Michaelis, Hensler, Justi, Gesenius, Ewald.

<sup>5</sup> Ezek. xix. 3. (Deut. xxviii. 43, Prov. xxxi. 29, are less cogent).

<sup>6</sup> Knobel.

<sup>7</sup> Song. iv. 8; Bochart, *Hierozyicon*, ii. 36 f.

<sup>8</sup> Judg. i. 19.

<sup>9</sup> Num. xxiv. 9.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. iv. 7.

<sup>11</sup> Which is yet more terrible in attack, Herod. iii. 108; Aelian, *Var. hist.* xii. 39.

feared by his enemies, and safe from their attacks."<sup>1</sup> The character of the tribe as it was from the beginning is thus portrayed for us.

Ver. 10 gives, without the use of metaphor, a description of his historical greatness. Ver. 11f. follows in close connection with ver. 10, as the participial construction shows.

*The staff of rule will not depart from Judah, nor the staff of command from between his feet*, he continues to hold and carry it. מַשְׁבֵּט is not peculiar to a king;<sup>2</sup> it might belong to a prince, or the chief of a tribe, or of its larger subdivisions;<sup>3</sup> and, like מַחֲקֶק,<sup>4</sup> is to be thought of as a long staff of lance-like shape, or also, it might be, curved at the top, and perhaps with emblems attached. It was planted in the ground like a standard beside the prince, or between his feet as he sat.<sup>5</sup> It is obvious that מַחֲקֶק, which is parallel to נֹשֵׁבֵט, cannot mean lawgiver or leader, and that מִבֵּין רַגְלָיו cannot be *from his thighs*, i.e. from his seed, descendants.<sup>6</sup> The proposal מִבֵּין דִּגְלָיו, *from his banners*,<sup>7</sup> also is irreconcilable with the proper meaning of מַחֲקֶק; and the rendering *from the midst of his footmen*<sup>8</sup> is tasteless, and grammatically inadmissible; for the contraction רַגְלָיִם is allowable without רַגְלָיו, for רַגְלָיו, being so.<sup>10</sup>

The staff and dignity of leadership are not to depart from Judah *until he comes to Shiloh having the obedience of peoples*. וְלֹא נִגַּח is a circumstantial clause. יָקַח, with dagesh forte dirimens,<sup>11</sup> signifies *obedience*,<sup>12</sup> but not *expectation*, *hope*,<sup>13</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Knobel.

<sup>2</sup> Knobel.

<sup>3</sup> Judg. v. 14.

<sup>4</sup> Num. xxi. 18; Ps. lx. 9. A word later disused.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. also Wellsted, [*Arabia*, i. 178] Germ. tr. i. 126; Pausanias, ix. 40. 6; C. F. Hermann, *De sceptri regii antiquitate*, 1851; and the representations on ancient Persian and Assyrian monuments.

<sup>6</sup> But so Sept. Vulg. Targg. and most older commentators, till Herder; even Gesenius (*Thesaurus*, 220) keeps to this translation of מִבֵּין רַגְלָיו.

<sup>7</sup> Samar., Houbigant, Clericus, Teller.

<sup>8</sup> Veiel, Huth, Tuch.

<sup>9</sup> Jer. xii. 5.

<sup>10</sup> Böttcher, § 827.

<sup>11</sup> Gesenius,<sup>25</sup> 20. 2b; as Prov. xxx. 17.

<sup>12</sup> Targg.

<sup>13</sup> תִּקְוָה, Sept. Vulg. Pesh., with reference to Isa. xlii. 4.

or *assembly, meeting*.<sup>1</sup> עַמִּים is certainly heathen peoples, not Israelite tribes,<sup>2</sup> which in this context would be expressed by אֲזָחִי.<sup>3</sup> The argument against this, that יָקָהָה expresses willing and not forced obedience, cannot be substantiated. The meaning of the circumstantial clause is "after subjugation of the peoples against whom he has contended." It could not be better expressed, for Judah stands as one opposed to many. The clause following עַד כִּי<sup>4</sup> defines a point of time up to which he will not lay aside his staff of leadership. The meaning, *as long as*,<sup>5</sup> for עַד כִּי, finds its only support in the עַד שֶׁ of Cant. i. 12, is nowhere else what it signifies, and makes the utterance one contrary to fact. Some Jewish interpreters have separated עַד from כִּי, *for ever, for*, but against usage.<sup>6</sup>

שִׁילָה (שֵׁלָה)<sup>7</sup>—everywhere in the Old Testament name of the town *Shiloh*,<sup>8</sup> in the tribe of Ephraim. It became the seat of the intertribal sanctuary after the conquest of the territory round it, and remained so during the period of the Judges down to Eli's time.<sup>9</sup> If the reading שִׁילָה is adhered to, this is the meaning here also.<sup>10</sup> It is, then, an accusative of place,<sup>11</sup> and the subject to יבֹא is not indefinite, but is *Judah*, to whom the following וְלוֹ refers. The date thus fixed

<sup>1</sup> מִקּוּהָ, Aquila, Arab., Rashi.

<sup>2</sup> See note on xxviii. 3; Gesenius, Winer, Meier, Baur.

<sup>3</sup> See viii. 26.

<sup>4</sup> Chs. xxvi. 13, xli. 49; 2 Sam. xxiii. 10; comp. עַד אֲשֶׁר, xxviii. 15.

<sup>5</sup> Tuch, Maurer, Meier, Baur.

<sup>6</sup> See Baur, *Gesch. der Alttest. Weiss.* p. 239.

<sup>7</sup> שִׁילָה in the Samar. Heb. MSS. and ancient versions (see De Rossi, *Varie lectiones*, iv. 217 ff.).

<sup>8</sup> Generally written שֵׁלָה or שֵׁלוֹ, more rarely שִׁילָה and שִׁילָה (Gesenius, *Thesaurus*, 1424); a contraction from שִׁילָה, as is shown by the *nom. gent.* שִׁילָנִי.

<sup>9</sup> Josh. xviii. 1 ff.; Judg. xviii. 31, xxi. 19; 1 Sam. i.-iv.; cf. Jer. vii. 12 ff.; Ps. lxxviii. 60.

<sup>10</sup> So many since Teller: Zirkler, Eichhorn, Herder, Bleek, *Observ.* 1836, p. 18 f.; Hitzig, Tuch, Diestel, Baumgarten, Ewald, Bunsen, Röd., Baur, Delitzsch.

<sup>11</sup> 1 Sam. iv. 12.

is the time when the sanctuary, common to all the tribes, was transferred from Gilgal to Shiloh,<sup>1</sup> after Judah and Joseph had securely established themselves, and the struggle with the Canaanites had in a manner terminated. In the absence of a second verb it is impossible to find in 'ולו ג' a further period extending indefinitely beyond the time spoken of in Josh. xviii.<sup>2</sup> Nor (see above) may we alter the meaning to *as long as men come* (or *he comes*) to Shiloh, *i.e.* as long as people worship God in Shiloh, *i.e.* for ever, as the author would suppose.<sup>3</sup> The meaning conveyed as the text stands is that Judah's staff of leadership, which belongs to him as a tribe,<sup>4</sup> will continue in undiminished warlike activity till the conquest of his territory, unlike that of other tribes who gave up the contest or fought in vain. This takes us back to the time of the conquest, but does not pass over in silence the period of occupation which is the setting given to the pictures of all the other tribes,<sup>5</sup> for ver. 11 f. represents that as the fruit of Judah's victories.

But apart from the question whether Judah really came to Shiloh, regarding which we have no information, it is surprising to find an actual geographical name inserted where all the utterances are otherwise of a perfectly general character. We expect the statement to be something like, *until he comes to rest*. The reading שילה does not allow of this, but neither does שֵׁלָה. שֵׁלָה or שֵׁלָה, *rest*, or שֵׁלָה, *rest* or *pacifier*, from the root שָׁלַח, are nowhere found, and the last named is grammatically impossible, seeing it ought to be שֵׁלָי or שֵׁלָי.<sup>6</sup> Renderings, therefore, such as *until rest comes*,<sup>7</sup> or *until he comes to rest*,<sup>8</sup> or *until a bringer of peace comes*, *i.e.*

<sup>1</sup> Josh. xviii. 9, 1.

<sup>2</sup> Baumgarten, Delitzsch.

<sup>3</sup> Hitzig, Tuch, Baur.

<sup>4</sup> Num. xxi. 18.

<sup>5</sup> H. Schultz, *Alttest. Theol.*<sup>4</sup> 713 [Eng. tr. ii. 338].

<sup>6</sup> See Tuch.

<sup>7</sup> Plüschke, Justi, Vat., Gesenius, Schumann, De Wette, Knobel; cf. Prov. vi. 15; Job iii. 26.

<sup>8</sup> Oehler, *Alttest. Theol.*<sup>1</sup> ii. 255 [Eng. tr. ii. 408].



Solomon<sup>1</sup> or the Messiah,<sup>2</sup> are inadmissible. The expression becomes a very colourless one, again, if we translate *until he enters* into what belongs to him, *into his possessions*.<sup>3</sup> The conjecture שלם is preferable, but not in the form שָׁלֵם,<sup>4</sup> *until he (David) enters Jerusalem*,<sup>5</sup> which makes it again a proper name, but as שָׁלֵם,<sup>6</sup> *until he enters peace*.<sup>7</sup> Another expedient would be to read עַד יָבֹא שָׁלֵם.<sup>8</sup>

But on the assumption that the meaning is, "he will not cease the contest," we are met by the further difficulty that instead of 'לֹא יִסֹּר וְג' we rather expect something to the effect, "he will not lay aside his staff." The expression 'לֹא יִסֹּר וְג' requires us to understand שֵׁבֶט and מַחֲקֶה of the staff of a ruler rather than of that of a commander, and to translate, "this," *i.e.* the dignity of ruler, "will not depart from him." In this case 'עַד כִּי יָבֹא' is not to be interpreted *until he (Rehoboam) come to Shiloh (Shechem)*,<sup>9</sup> *i.e.* until the division of the kingdom, nor *until a mighty one* (reading שָׁלֵם for שָׁלָה),<sup>10</sup> *i.e.* the sovereign ruler of Upper Asia, *comes*. We must admit a Messianic interpretation, such as used to be universally acknowledged, and take, for the purpose, the reading שָׁלָה. The renderings, ἕως ἂν ἔλθῃ τὰ ἀποκείμενα αὐτῷ, *what is laid up for him*,<sup>11</sup> or ᾧ ἀπόκειται, *for whom it (the sceptre) is reserved*,<sup>12</sup> or *to whom is the lordship*,<sup>13</sup> cannot, however, be obtained from שָׁלָה; *quod ei*, without a verb, still more *cui*, without an antecedent, leaves us without a sentence

<sup>1</sup> Friedrich, Werliin.

<sup>2</sup> Mössler, Knapp, Muhler, Rosenmüller, Winer, Hengstenberg, Keil, Köhler, *Geschichte*, i. 162.

<sup>3</sup> Orelli, *Alttest. Weiss.* 137 f.; Briggs, with וְג' and לָהּ for שָׁלָה.

<sup>4</sup> Ch. xiv. 18.

<sup>5</sup> Neubauer in *Athenæum*, 1885, i. 695.

<sup>6</sup> Isa. lvii. 2.

<sup>7</sup> Halévy, *Revue Critique*, 1883, p. 290.

<sup>8</sup> 2 Sam. iii. 22.

<sup>9</sup> Rashbam, Heilprin, *Hist. Poetry*, i. 39 ff.; Peters, *JBL*. vi. 1 (1886), 105 f.

<sup>10</sup> Olshausen.

<sup>11</sup> Sept. Driver.

<sup>12</sup> Sept., *var. lect.*; H. Schultz.

<sup>13</sup> Onk., Jerus. Targ., Saadia; doubtless, also, Pesh. cf. with Aphraates, see Driver, *op. cit.* p. 5.

or any sense.<sup>1</sup> The only possible translation is *his one*, the one who belongs to him, which would be a veiled designation of the mighty ruler who is to spring from Judah. But  $\text{וְיִשָּׁאֵל}$  in a Judean text would be surprising in the highest degree,<sup>2</sup> and  $\text{לֵה}$  for  $\text{לוֹ}$  unique. Nothing is gained by such corrections as  $\text{שָׁאֵל}$  or  $\text{שָׁאֵלָה}$ , *qui mittendus est*,<sup>3</sup>  $\text{שְׂאִילָה}$  is *quem Juda expetit*,<sup>4</sup>  $\text{וְיִשָּׁאֵלָה}$ , for whom it (the dominion) is appointed.<sup>5</sup> It has been proposed to delete  $\text{וְיִשָּׁאֵל}$  as gloss to  $\text{שָׁאֵל}$ ,<sup>6</sup> or  $\text{שָׁאֵלָה}$  as gloss to  $\text{וְיִשָּׁאֵל}$ ,<sup>7</sup> and translate *until he comes to whom the obedience of the peoples is* (rightly due), but what explanation is there of how the gloss came to be inserted?

The Messianic interpretation accordingly does not result in any more satisfactory explanation of  $\text{שָׁאֵלָה}$ . When, therefore, it is further considered that ver. 11 f. stands in no connection with this glance into the far future, we have to conclude that ver. 10 is an interpolation,<sup>8</sup> not, however, from post-exilic times,<sup>9</sup> when the  $\text{שִׁבְט}$  had actually passed from Judah, but doubtless from a period when the Messianic hope had already been proclaimed by the prophets of Judah. Probably it is not an independent insertion, but a modification of some older text. The Massoretic reading  $\text{שִׁילָה}$ , for the older  $\text{שָׁלָה}$ , seems to rest on the Rabbinical explanation, *his little son* ( $\text{שִׁילָה}$ ).<sup>10</sup>

Ver. 11 f. portrays how Judah, after the subjugation of his enemies, enjoys in his settled home (cf. ver. 9) rich blessings from the vineyards and pasture lands. There is no connection with ver. 10 if the subject there was the great king of the future.

For  $\text{וְיִשָּׁאֵל}$  of the construct in  $\text{בְּנֵי אֶסְרִי הַכְּלִילִי}$ , see xxxi. 39 ;

<sup>1</sup> Ezek. xxi. 32 is no parallel, for  $\text{הַמִּשְׁפָּט}$  is part of the context.

<sup>2</sup> See also vi. 3.

<sup>3</sup> Vulg.

<sup>4</sup> Hiller, *Onom.*, 931 ; Lagarde, *Onom.*<sup>1</sup> ii. 96.

<sup>5</sup> Cheyne, following Rönisch in *ZWTh.* 1872, p. 291 ; Driver ?

<sup>6</sup> Wellhausen, *Geschichte*, i. 375 ; Stade, *Geschichte*,<sup>1</sup> i. 160.

<sup>7</sup> Wellhausen, *Composition*, 321.

<sup>8</sup> Wellhausen.

<sup>9</sup> Stade.

<sup>10</sup> See Baur, *op. cit.* 247 f. ; Driver, *op. cit.* 7, 18 f.

for the construct before a preposition, Gesenius;<sup>1</sup> for עִירָה from עִירָה, Ewald;<sup>2</sup> for הֵ for י, ch. ix. 21; for the perf. כָּבַם, as continuing the particip. construction and for its pronunciation with —, Gesenius.<sup>3</sup>

The author's picture is an idyllic one. Judah, the warrior and conqueror, is now riding on his ass, the usual riding animal in pre-Davidic times,<sup>4</sup> and especially used by princes.<sup>5</sup> His land is so full of vines that he little requires to give heed to them or treat them as of value. So when he dismounts he fastens his ass to a vine branch, the branch of a choice vine.<sup>6</sup> His land produces wine, red wine,<sup>7</sup> so plentifully that he can use it to wash his garments;<sup>8</sup> a hyperbole as in Job xxix. 6. Judah was a grape country,<sup>9</sup> and the vineyards of Hebron and Ængedi specially famous.<sup>10</sup>

*His eyes are dull from wine, his teeth white from milk*—“he has wine and milk in over abundance for his use; his teeth are dripping with milk so that they appear of dazzling whiteness, his glance is dulled by the wine.<sup>11</sup> The last clause conveys no reproach.<sup>12</sup> Judah also possessed famous pasture lands.<sup>13</sup> For the hyperboles, comp. Jon. iv. 18; Am. ix. 13.”<sup>14</sup>

Ver. 13. ZEBULUN, the 6th son of Leah,<sup>15</sup> never held a prominent position, though he played a praiseworthy part in the national contests of the time of the Judges.<sup>16</sup> Our author boasts for him only the favourable situation of his territory; the signification of his name,<sup>17</sup> *dweller, borderer*, is

<sup>1</sup> *Grammatik*,<sup>25</sup> 90. 3a.

<sup>2</sup> § 255b (Isa. x. 17; Deut. xxv. 4).

<sup>3</sup> 116. 5 A. 7 and 52. 2 A. 1.

<sup>4</sup> Winer,<sup>3</sup> i. 347.

<sup>5</sup> Judg. x. 4, xii. 14; cf. Zech. ix. 9.

<sup>6</sup> Isa. v. 2; Jer. ii. 21.

<sup>7</sup> Deut. xxxii. 14; Isa. lxiii. 2; Sirach xxxix. 26, l. 15.

<sup>8</sup> כָּבַם for כָּבַת; cf. כָּסוּהָ Ex. xxxiv. 33 ff.; Samar. כִּסְוָה.

<sup>9</sup> Jo. i. 7 ff., iv. 18; 2 Chron. xxvi. 10.

<sup>10</sup> Num. xiii. 23 f.; Song i. 14.

<sup>11</sup> Prov. xxiii. 29 f.

<sup>12</sup> Ch. xliii. 24.

<sup>13</sup> E.g. 1 Sam. xxv. 2; Am. i. 1; 2 Chron. xxvi. 10.

<sup>14</sup> Knobel.

<sup>15</sup> See prelim. remarks.

<sup>16</sup> Judg. iv. 6, 10, v. 14, 18, vi. 35; cf. also xxii. 11.

<sup>17</sup> Ch. xxx. 20.

doubtless hinted at. *Zebulun*—towards the strand of the sea <sup>1</sup> he settles, he himself <sup>2</sup> towards the strand of the ships, and his rear to or opposite *Ṣidon*. He is compared to a man or animal stretched on the ground with his face to the shore, at which ships can lie, and his back to *Ṣidon* (Phœnicia in all likelihood). According to Josh. xix. 10–16, Zebulun was separated from Lake Tiberias by Naphtali; west of him, in the direction of the Mediterranean, lay Asher. But the boundary between Zebulun and Asher is not exactly given in Josh. xix. 14 f., which does not therefore exclude the possibility that a strip of the territory of Zebulun bordered on the Mediterranean.<sup>3</sup> What is alone certain is that Asher יָשַׁב לְחוּף יָמִים (Judg. v. 17), and that Issachar and Zebulun “sucked the treasures of the sea” (Deut. xxxiii. 19). The lines of demarcation between the tribes and those which separated them from the heathen were never sharply drawn and varied as time went on. There is no difficulty, then, in believing that in our author’s time Zebulun extended as far as the sea. Otherwise, we must understand the words to the effect that Zebulun bordered on the *coast*, i.e. the coast-lands and not the sea itself; such proximity would in itself be advantageous and a source of gain to the tribe.<sup>4</sup>

Ver. 14 f. ISSACHAR, the 5th son of Leah,<sup>5</sup> dwelt along the Jordan to Lake Tiberias, and in the fertile plain of Jezreel. The great caravan road from the Mediterranean to Bethsheân passed through his land, and in it a number of Canaanite towns maintained themselves independent and powerful.<sup>6</sup> Though he took part in the struggle for independence under Deborah, he is here sharply rebuked<sup>7</sup> because in his contentment with his luxurious land he has

<sup>1</sup> Ch. i. 10.

<sup>2</sup> Ewald, § 314b.

<sup>3</sup> Josephus, *Antiq.* v. 1. 22; *Bell. jud.* iii. 3. 1.

<sup>4</sup> See also Ewald, *Geschichte*,<sup>3</sup> ii. 413 f. [Eng. tr. ii. 64]; Schenkel, *Bibell.* v. 267; Stade, *Geschichte*,<sup>1</sup> i. 171.

<sup>5</sup> See prelim. remarks.

<sup>6</sup> Ewald, *Geschichte*,<sup>3</sup> ii. 468 [Eng. tr. ii. 103].

<sup>7</sup> As Reuben in Judg. v. 15 f.



submitted to subjection with sluggish ease, to serve the rich and powerful strangers as their hired servant and slave.<sup>1</sup> In agreement with this, he alone is absent from the enumeration in Judg. iv. 27, as if heathen supremacy were not the exception but the rule in his territory. In the background the play on the name **יִשָּׂשכָר** here also,<sup>2</sup> perhaps, is present in the form **יִשָּׂא שָׂכָר**.<sup>3</sup>

*Issachar is a bony, strong-built ass which stretches itself down between the folds,*<sup>4</sup> in quiet and comfort in its own country. The metaphor is in itself a reference to the burdens to which it submits itself; contrast **פָּרָא** in xvi. 12. The reading **הַמִּזְרֵי נִרִים**, *the strangers' beast of burden*,<sup>5</sup> impairs the metaphor, and **נִרִים**, *foreign land*, is an unsuitable expression.<sup>6</sup> *Thus he saw rest that*<sup>7</sup> *it was a good,*<sup>8</sup> *and the land that it was delightful,*<sup>9</sup> *and that he might remain in quiet enjoyment of it and profit by it, he bowed his back to carry burdens, and became subject to the forced service of a slave, became one giving service by compulsion.* The expression **כִּם**<sup>10</sup> always expresses the forced labour of vassals, conquered peoples, and captives. Von Bohlen and Knobel, following the Sept., are wrong in finding in this a description of the base (!) and toilsome occupation of cultivator of the soil to which they say the tribe devoted itself. The Septuagint and Onkelos have exerted their expository abilities in the attempt to get rid of the rebuke allotted to this tribe.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>1</sup> According to Kuenen, *ThT.* v. 292 f., it was from this only that he received his name!

<sup>2</sup> Ch. xxx. 16, 18.

<sup>3</sup> Delitzsch.

<sup>4</sup> Judg. v. 16; Ps. lxxviii. 14. For other interpretations of **כִּשְׁפָתִים**, see Gesenius, *Thesaurus*, 1471 f.; Böttcher, *Neue Aehrenlese*, i. 25; Bachmann, *Richter*, 400 ff.

<sup>5</sup> Samar.; Geiger, *Urschrift*, 360; Olshausen, Kuenen, *op. cit.* v. 292.

<sup>6</sup> Delitzsch.

<sup>7</sup> See i. 14.

<sup>8</sup> Samar., **מוֹכָה**, adjective.

<sup>9</sup> Regarding the fertility of Lower Galilee, see Josephus, *Bell. jud.* iii. 3. 2.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. Deut. xx. 11; Josh. xvi. 10, xvii. 13; Judg. i. 28, 30, 33; 1 Kings ix. 21; Isa. xxxi. 8.

<sup>11</sup> See Geiger, *Urschrift*, 360.

Vv. 16-18. DAN, the first son of Bilhah, lay between Ephraim, Benjamin, Judah, and the Philistines, and extended west towards the sea.<sup>1</sup> It was pressed on by the Amorites, however, and had much difficulty in maintaining its ground. Part<sup>2</sup> of its people moved away northwards, conquered the Sidonian colony of Laish or Leshem on Lebanon, and settled there under the name of Dan.<sup>3</sup> Samson, who contended so long and bravely with the Philistines,<sup>4</sup> belonged to that part which remained in its original territory.

The name is the starting-point of this utterance also. *Dan*, though unimportant in point of power and extent of territory, *will judge his people like (any) one*<sup>5</sup> *of the tribes of Israel*, inferior to none in this respect. עַמּוֹ is understood by many of the tribesmen of Dan, and the meaning taken to be that this small tribe will have its own government and laws,<sup>6</sup> or rather will maintain its independence as a tribe,<sup>7</sup> a thing which might be doubted in the case of one so hard pressed. But it suits ver. 18 better, as well as the use of דָן, which does not mean *govern*, but<sup>8</sup> *secure justice and aid*, to understand עַמּוֹ as Israel.<sup>9</sup> The meaning, then, is, not that Dan will give a judge to Israel no less than any other tribe,—for דָן could not be so used, and the Book of Judges was unknown to our author,—but that he will play his part in the contests against the heathen for the national cause, as much as the others. He did so in the fights of Samson with the Philistines, and as warden of the northern frontier. His manner of fighting, also, as extolled in ver. 17,

<sup>1</sup> Josh. xix. 40 ff.; Judg. v. 17.

<sup>2</sup> Judg. xviii. 11.

<sup>3</sup> Judg. i. 34, xviii. 7, 27 ff.; Josh. xix. 47; also 2 Sam. xx. 18 (Sept.); Ewald, *Geschichte*,<sup>3</sup> iii. 264 [Eng. tr. iii. 194].

<sup>4</sup> Judg. xiii.-xvi.

<sup>5</sup> Judg. xvi. 7; 2 Sam. ix. 11; 1 Kings xix. 2.

<sup>6</sup> Mercerus, Herder, Hasse, Hensler, Rosenmüller, Vater, Von Bohlen.

<sup>7</sup> Tuch, Wellhausen (*Geschichte*, i. 375), Stade (*Geschichte*,<sup>1</sup> 168).

<sup>8</sup> Ch. xxx. 6; Deut. xxxii. 36; etc.

<sup>9</sup> Deut. xxxiii. 7; Ephraim, Targg., Rashi, Kimchi, Clericus, Friedrich Schumann, Ewald, Knobel, Delitzsch.

suits only his warfare against foreigners, not a struggle for independence amongst the tribes.

Ver. 17 wishes him <sup>1</sup> success in this contest. *May he be* <sup>2</sup> a serpent, a horned viper on the road, which bites the horse's heels so that its rider falls backward. It is not, as in the case of Judah, an open contest, decided by superior power, which is portrayed, but the sly efforts of the weaker against the stronger, which have, however, their results also. Such was the attack of the 600 Danites who overpowered the city of Laish,<sup>3</sup> and the warfare of Samson, who inflicted serious loss on his enemies by his many stratagems. Jacob does not disapprove of this;<sup>4</sup> it is his wish.

עקבי, with *daghesh forte dirimens*; see ver. 10. שָׂפִיפֹן; there is no certain tradition regarding the species; most probably it is the *cerastes*<sup>5</sup> (*horned viper*), which is the colour of the desert sand in which it conceals itself by day.<sup>6</sup> "It lies in holes and ruts, and falls unexpectedly on the passer-by;<sup>7</sup> it is the colour of the earth, and people may readily trample on it to their injury."<sup>8</sup>

Ver. 18 is not a later interpolation,<sup>9</sup> nor the sigh of an exhausted dying man seeking to gather fresh strength.<sup>10</sup> "The ancestor utters here a prayer in the name of his descendants, who will have to wait patiently for Jahve's help in their wars with the nations, *e.g.* the Philistines. Its position is due to the fact that Dan in particular was not a match for his enemies, but needed to rely on higher aid."<sup>11</sup> It may be that Philistine wars were harassing the country just in our author's time.<sup>12</sup> Only God can give final victory.

<sup>1</sup> Samar. יהיה is not so good.

<sup>2</sup> Not *is*; Kautzsch-Socin.

<sup>3</sup> Judg. xviii. 27.

<sup>4</sup> Knobel.

<sup>5</sup> Gesenius, *Thesaurus*.

<sup>6</sup> Riehm, *HWB.* 223.

<sup>7</sup> Oken, *NG*, vi. 544.

<sup>8</sup> Diod. iii. 50. Knobel.

<sup>9</sup> Plüschke, Ilgen, Vater, Maurer, Böhlen, Gramberg, Olshausen. Böhmer finds in it a protest of *R*'s against Dan's tendency to idol-worship. Fripp, *ZATW.* xi. 263.

<sup>10</sup> Teller, Hensler, Tuch.

<sup>11</sup> Knobel.

<sup>12</sup> Ewald.

Ver. 19. GAD, the first son of Zilpah, dwelt in Gilead, and was exposed to the attacks of the desert peoples and of the Ammonites, who claimed part of his land.<sup>1</sup> He defended himself bravely, especially against the Ammonites;<sup>2</sup> fought successfully against the Arabs even in Saul's time,<sup>3</sup> and provided David with many of his best heroes.<sup>4</sup>

The name is here<sup>5</sup> connected with גָּדַד, *press in on one, oppress him*, and גִּדְדוֹ, *band of fighters and robbers*. It is viewed as meaning *one who presses*. Gad—a press of men presses on him,<sup>6</sup> but he presses on their heel; “though hostile bands press in on him he puts them to flight, and boldly follows close at their heels in attack as they retreat.”<sup>7</sup> עָקַב yields sufficient sense, but it has been brilliantly conjectured<sup>8</sup> that we should read עֲקָבָם, taking the כּ away from the beginning of ver. 20.

Ver. 20. ASHER, Zilpah's second son, “inhabited the land from Karmel to Phœnicia,<sup>9</sup> and so occupied the sea-coast of Galilee,<sup>10</sup> a very fertile district,”<sup>11</sup> rich in wheat, wine, and oil. Politically, it was not of importance.

If the כּ of מֵאֵיֶיר belongs to ver. 19,<sup>12</sup> and the true reading is אֵיֶיר,<sup>13</sup> the translation will be: *Asher—his bread is fat, abundant, and excellent*. As the text is, it may be rendered: *from Asher is fat as his* (own special) *bread*,<sup>14</sup> an abundance of products of excellent quality which form his food supply. מֵאֵיֶיר, for מֵאֶרֶץ אֵיֶיר, is not altogether suitable, and another

<sup>1</sup> Josh. xiii. 25; Judg. xi. 15.

<sup>2</sup> Judg. x. f.

<sup>3</sup> 1 Chron. v. 18 ff.

<sup>4</sup> 1 Chron. xii. 8 ff.; cf. Deut. xxxiii. 20.

<sup>5</sup> Otherwise than in xxx. 11.

<sup>6</sup> Hab. iii. 16.

<sup>7</sup> Knobel.

<sup>8</sup> E. Scheid, Teller, Plüschke, Bleek (*emend. loci* Gen. xlix. 9 f., Bonn, 1831), Schumann, Knobel, Olshausen.

<sup>9</sup> Josh. xix. 24 ff.

<sup>10</sup> Judg. v. 17.

<sup>11</sup> Deut. xxxiii. 24. Knobel.

<sup>12</sup> See above.

<sup>13</sup> Sept. Vulg. Pesh. Onk. All the other utterances except ver. 22 commence with the simple name without prefix. But the Samar. has מֵאֵיֶיר.

<sup>14</sup> Tuch, Baumgarten, Knobel, Delitzsch.



rendering is: *for Asher his bread is too fat*.<sup>1</sup> אֶשֶׁר is feminine [only] here, but the Samar. has אֶשְׁכָּן.<sup>2</sup> "The meaning of the word אֶשֶׁר<sup>3</sup> seems to be present to the author's mind in what he says."

"And he<sup>4</sup> gives royal dainties—gives to others also of his superabundance of these products; so good are they that they are served at royal tables. The reference is to export trade. The Phœnicians, for example, obtained from the Hebrews all sorts of country produce,<sup>5</sup> and the geographical position of Asher leads us to expect that he would participate largely in this trade. It is unnecessary to suppose that מֶלֶךְ (without the article) is an Israelite king."<sup>6</sup>

Ver. 21. NAPHTALI, Bilhah's second son, inhabited a long drawn-out tract of country along Lake Tiberias, the Jordan, and Lake Hule—into Lebanon even. This fact itself,<sup>7</sup> without any reference to maps,<sup>8</sup> leads one naturally to read, with the Sept., אֶלֶף and אֶמְרִי,<sup>9</sup> *Naphtali is a stretched-out*,<sup>10</sup> i.e. *slender terebinth, the one who gives sends out beautiful tops*.<sup>11</sup> It is Naphtali, not the terebinth, which sends out the tops, which are, then, an expression suggested by the metaphor for the heroes and national leaders sprung from this tribe.<sup>12</sup> The metaphor is no longer taken from the world of animals, but from that of plants; ver. 22 is, then, a parallel. Onkelos and Jerome<sup>13</sup> seem still to have had the reading אֶלֶף.<sup>14</sup>

The Massoretic reading<sup>15</sup> was explained by the older

<sup>1</sup> Ewald.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Böttcher, *Lehrbuch*, § 657.

<sup>3</sup> Ch. xxx. 13.

<sup>4</sup> Emphatic.

<sup>5</sup> Ezek. xxvii. 17; Acts xii. 20; Josh. *Antiq.* xiv. 10. 6 (cf. also 1 Kings v. 23, 25).

<sup>6</sup> Knobel.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. ver. 13.

<sup>8</sup> Peters.

<sup>9</sup> Isa. xvii. 6, 9.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. Jer. xvii. 8; Ezek. xvii. 6; Ps. lxxx. 12; also אֶלֶף.

<sup>11</sup> Bochart, Lowth, Herder, J. D. Michaelis, Hensler, Hasse, Justi, Ilgen, Vater, Von Bohlen, Ewald, Olshausen, and others.

<sup>12</sup> Judg. iv. 6, v. 18, vi. 35, vii. 23.

<sup>13</sup> *Quæstiones*.

<sup>14</sup> See note on xii. 6.

<sup>15</sup> Not presupposed at all in Hab. iii. 19 (Delitzsch<sup>4</sup>), but witnessed to by Aquila, *Test. Napht.* ch. ii., Targ. ii. and iii.; Pesh. Vulg. (cf. Jerome, *Quæst.*).

interpreters sometimes of Naphtali's service as messenger, sometimes of the Sopherim of Tiberias, or of the Galilean apostles. It involves two separate and unconnected utterances. *Naphtali is a released, i.e. unfastened, swift*<sup>1</sup> *hind*. שְׁלַחָה is not stretched out, *i.e. slender*,<sup>2</sup> nor chased out.<sup>3</sup> The swiftness of its heroes and men must be taken as the point of the metaphor,<sup>4</sup> not its freedom from servitude,<sup>5</sup> for which other metaphors were in use. The second sentence, *he who gives beautiful words*, is now generally referred to the eloquence, the poetical or oratorical gifts of the tribe.<sup>6</sup> But there are no proofs of this<sup>7</sup> other than the share in the song of Deborah, which Judg. v. 1 ascribes to Barak.

אֵיל occurs nowhere else. The constellation of the אֵיל, *ram*, and the punctuation אֵמֹרֵי שִׁפְרָה, *horned lambs*,<sup>8</sup> give no satisfactory meaning to the verse.

Vv. 22–26. JOSEPH, Jacob's favourite son, the great and powerful double tribe,<sup>9</sup> next to Judah is most, or even<sup>10</sup> still more blessed. We can scarcely fail to recognise that the language here is even more cumbrous and antique than in the other utterances, with perhaps the exception of ver. 3 f. It is natural to infer that the poet made use of some older version.<sup>11</sup> The ancient divine names in ver. 24 confirm this view.

Ver. 22 commences with a glance at the fertility, the populousness, of the tribe. As it is even more difficult to take a feminine adjective with a masculine substantive than to speak of the בָּנִי or בָּתֵּי of plants,<sup>12</sup> בָּנִי is to be read for the

<sup>1</sup> Job xxxix. 5; Clericus, Gesenius, Tuch, Delitzsch.

<sup>2</sup> Gesenius, Tuch, Stähelin.

<sup>3</sup> Isa. xvi. 2. Knobel.

<sup>4</sup> Ps. xviii. 34; Hab. iii. 19; Isa. xxxv. 6; cf. 2 Sam. ii. 18; Cant. ii. 9.

<sup>5</sup> Delitzsch.

<sup>6</sup> Rosenmüller, Stähelin, Schumann, Tuch, Knobel, Delitzsch, etc.

<sup>7</sup> Certainly not Deut. xxxiii. 23.

<sup>8</sup> Zimmern.

<sup>9</sup> Ch. xlviii.

<sup>10</sup> Ver. 26.

<sup>11</sup> Ewald, *Geschichte*,<sup>3</sup> i. 586 f. [Eng. tr. i. 409 f.].

<sup>12</sup> Ps. lxxx. 16; cf. יִנְקָה, Job xiv. 7; Isa. liii. 2.

Massoretic, בִּן פֶּרֶת, an old form of פֶּרֶת or פְּרִיָה,<sup>1</sup> is neither בִּן־אֵג, *agna, ovicula*,<sup>2</sup> as a play on רֶחֶל, nor instead of פֶּרֶת, *juvencæ*,<sup>3</sup> nor to be read פֶּרֶת,<sup>4</sup> but a fruit tree,<sup>5</sup> more definitely,<sup>6</sup> in view of ver. 6, a fruitful vine.<sup>7</sup>

*Son of a fruitful vine, i.e. a young fruitful vine, is Joseph.* There is a play on the word אֶפְרַיִם, the principal branch of the tribe.<sup>8</sup> The use of בִּן is similar to that of נִיר in ver. 9. *A young and fruitful vine by a fountain*, which has sufficient moisture for its growth.<sup>9</sup> Its daughters, *i.e. shoots, tendrils, mount upon the wall*.<sup>10</sup> Watered beneath and protected by the wall, it spreads luxuriantly as it climbs on the wall. בְּנוֹתַי would be more distinct, but is not absolutely necessary. It is no advantage to read בְּנוֹת צִעְרָה, and בְּנוֹת would have no predicate if צִעְרָה were taken as a relational construction. The third sing. fem. readily follows a feminine plural denoting things;<sup>11</sup> J. Peters<sup>12</sup> assumes and tries to prove an old third plur. fem. perf. in הָיָה. The readings of the Sept. and Samar. are no help. Tuch<sup>13</sup> disposes of *the wild beasts on the watch (for prey)*, or *on the wall*. שׂוֹר<sup>14</sup> is an unsuitable reading here; עֲלֵי, *young (שׂוֹר עֲלֵי שׂוֹר, young of a bull)*,<sup>15</sup> is a pure invention, and the translation, "daughters have marched in procession to a bull,"<sup>16</sup> meaningless.

Ver. 23 f. A picture of the troubles brought on the prosperous tribe by its enemies, but victoriously overcome in the power of the God of Jacob. The transition from metaphor to simple speech is not too sudden if we take with us the main idea of the metaphor. The consecutive imperfect may be intended to express that it was the prosperity

<sup>1</sup> Ewald, § 173d.

<sup>2</sup> Ilgen, Vater, Justi.

<sup>3</sup> Schumann.

<sup>4</sup> Peters, Zimmern.

<sup>5</sup> Isa. xvii. 6; Saadia, Herder, Rosenmüller, Gesenius, Knobel.

<sup>6</sup> Isa. xxxii. 12; Ezek. xix. 10; Ps. cxxviii. 3.

<sup>7</sup> Onkelos, Tuch, Ewald, Delitzsch.

<sup>8</sup> Ch. xli. 52; Hos. xiii. 15.

<sup>9</sup> Ps. i. 3; Jer. xvii. 8.

<sup>10</sup> Ps. xviii. 30.

<sup>11</sup> Gesenius,<sup>25</sup> 145. 4.

<sup>12</sup> *Hebraica*, iii. 111 and v. 190.

<sup>13</sup> *Genesis*,<sup>2</sup> 499.

<sup>14</sup> From Deut. xxxiii. 17.

<sup>15</sup> Zimmern.

<sup>16</sup> Peters.

of the tribe which was the direct cause of the hostility to it.

*Then, bow-possessors, bowmen, became bitter against him,* properly treated him bitterly, with enmity, rather than "made him bitter," and shot and showed enmity<sup>1</sup> to him. רבו, from רבב, intransitive pronunciation;<sup>2</sup> its meaning as in Ps. xviii. 15; רבה<sup>3</sup> and רמה are related words.<sup>4</sup> בעלי הצים is against the reading ויריבה from ריב.<sup>5</sup> The Arab tribes<sup>6</sup> were famous bowmen, so it is now generally supposed<sup>7</sup> that we have here a reference to attacks on Ephraim and Manasseh, east and west of the Jordan, by Arab neighbours and incomers,<sup>8</sup> as well as by Canaanites,<sup>9</sup> both in the period of the Judges. Wars with other Israelite tribes<sup>10</sup> are not so appropriate; they were occasioned by Ephraimite arrogance.<sup>11</sup> The language is against any reference to the enmity of Joseph's brethren, as related in ch. xxxvii. ff.<sup>12</sup> It is far from probable that the author was acquainted with a less altered form of the traditions regarding the ancient historical inter-tribal feuds which originally drove Joseph to Egypt.<sup>13</sup> The wars with the Syrians under Benhadad and Hazael<sup>14</sup> are a possible reference only if the blessing be viewed as a prophecy.<sup>15</sup> They are too remote from the circle of events to which the other utterances confine themselves.

*But his bow, his weapon with which he drove them back,*<sup>16</sup> also, metaphorically, his power,<sup>17</sup> remained in perpetuity, i.e. durable and steadfast.<sup>18</sup> ׀, copulative, may be used in Semitic

<sup>1</sup> Ch. xxvii. 41.

<sup>2</sup> Gesenius,<sup>25</sup> 67 A. 1.

<sup>3</sup> Ch. xxi. 20.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. רב, Job xvi. 13; Jer. l. 29.

<sup>5</sup> Samar., Sept.

<sup>6</sup> See xxi. 20.

<sup>7</sup> E.g. Knobel, Delitzsch.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>8</sup> Judg. vi. ff.; 1 Chron. v. 18 ff.

<sup>9</sup> Josh. xvii. 16.

<sup>10</sup> Knobel.

<sup>11</sup> Judg. viii. 1 f., xii. 1 ff.

<sup>12</sup> Sept. Targg. Rashi, Kimchi, Mercerus, Clericus, J. D. Michaelis, Teller, Rosenmüller, and others.

<sup>13</sup> Ewald, *Geschichte*,<sup>3</sup> i. 587 f. [Eng. tr. i. 410 f.].

<sup>14</sup> Wellhausen, *Geschichte*, i. 375; Stade, *Geschichte*, 165.

<sup>15</sup> Luth., Delitzsch.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>16</sup> Cf. xlvi. 22; Hos. i. 5.

<sup>17</sup> Job. xxix. 20.

<sup>18</sup> Ewald, § 299b.



idiom, where we apply a category of antithesis, and so expresses our *but*, even after a negative.<sup>1</sup> So also *waw* consecutive,<sup>2</sup> as here. **חַיָּב** is only conceivable as predicate to *bow* if, in the older language, the original sense *fixum, stabilem esse* (Arabic *thabba thabbata*) was still felt to lie behind the usual meaning, *set oneself down*. **וַיִּשָּׁר** or **וַיִּתָּשֶׁר**<sup>3</sup> is unsuitable, because **יָשַׁר**, unused as a verb, expresses inelastic, not elastic, steadfastness, and because we do not expect such a complete verbal idea alongside of **בְּאִיתוֹ**. Everything (ו, י, ׀, פּוּז, **בְּאִיתוֹ**) is against the Septuagint **וַיִּתְּשֶׁר**.

The combination **וְרַעֲי יָדַיִם**, “*hand-arms*,” i.e. arms whose muscular power makes possible the use of the hands in drawing the bow, is unusual, but not, after all, too bold for a poet. **פּוּז**, *be mobile, active*.<sup>4</sup>

**כִּי־י**—need not be replaced by **כִּי־יִשְׁדֶּי**<sup>5</sup> for a comparative construction would be without meaning, and so is at once excluded; and the real meaning is made clear immediately by **כִּי־שָׁם**. The poet, in this *στίχος*, points out the cause of Joseph’s undiminished power of resistance: *from the hands of the strong one of Jacob*, which support and strengthen,<sup>6</sup> *from there*, etc.

**אֱבִיר יַעֲקֹב**—a divine name, which belongs to the earliest period,<sup>7</sup> and is merely a survival from that period in Isa. i. 24, xlix. 26; Ps. cxxxii. 2, 5. It is impossible to see why it should originally have signified *Bull of Jacob*,<sup>8</sup> even if the punctuation **אֱבִיר יַעֲקֹב** for **אֱבִיר יַעֲקֹב** may be conjectured to have been intended to guard against such an interpretation.<sup>9</sup> It is no other than the God of Jacob Himself who continues to bless Jacob in the person of Joseph.

**מִשָּׁם רָעָה אֲבִן יִשְׂרָאֵל**—**מִשָּׁם** gives better sense, and is more

<sup>1</sup> Chs. xvii. 5, xlii. 10.

<sup>2</sup> Chs. xix. 9, xxxii. 31.

<sup>3</sup> Knobel.

<sup>4</sup> See Gesenius, *Thesaurus*, 1097.

<sup>5</sup> Lagarde, *Onomas.* i. 97; Olshausen.

<sup>6</sup> Ex. xvii. 12. Ewald.

<sup>7</sup> Chs. xvii. 1, xxi. 33, xxxi. 13, 42.

<sup>8</sup> Wellhausen, *Geschichte*, i. 298; Stade, and others.

<sup>9</sup> *ZA TIV.* iii. 124.

forceible than *כִּשֵׁם*; <sup>1</sup> it refers to the heavens, and is explained by *רֹעָה*, (from) *the shepherd*. Even better is the rendering *inde ubi est pastor*, like *כִּיָּצוֹ*, or *quo tempore*, xxxix. 5.<sup>2</sup> The Massoretes regard *אבן יִשְׂרָאֵל* as in apposition to *רֹעָה*. There are, then, two divine names: *Shepherd* <sup>3</sup> and *Stone of Israel*, elsewhere *צֹר*.<sup>4</sup> But *רֹעָה* is incomprehensible without the article or a following *יִשְׂרָאֵל*; and God is nowhere else named *אבן*. It is better, therefore, to read *רֹעָה וְנִי*, *Shepherd of the Stone of Israel*,<sup>5</sup> in which the reference is to xxviii. 18 f., 22, and xxxv. 14, and the meaning practically *God of Bethel*,<sup>6</sup> except that the God of the shepherd hero is now, still more appropriately, Himself named Shepherd, in the sense of xlviii. 15. It is thus a divine name used by the house of Jacob in the earliest times. Böttcher's correction, *כִּשְׁמֵר רֹעָה*, makes an unnecessary addition, and *כִּשְׁמֵר עֲדַת בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל* <sup>7</sup> contains ideas from a later stage of the religious development. *רֹעָה אֲבִיךָ יִשְׂרָאֵל* <sup>8</sup> anticipates ver. 25a.

Everything from *כִּי־י* onwards is rightly connected in the *textus receptus* with ver. 24a. A reference to the source of Joseph's undiminished power is here appropriate. In ver. 25 ff. it is carried on for a moment still, and then passes quickly into invocations of blessing. May the same God who has helped him hitherto give him also the blessings which follow.

Ver. 25. *From the God of your father* <sup>9</sup>—*may He help you then*,<sup>10</sup> *and with* <sup>11</sup> *the help of the Almighty—may He bless you then*. For *נִשְׂרִי* without *אֵל*, see Num. xxiv. 4, 16. The reading *וְנִי* is uncertain; the alternative *וְנֵאֵל* <sup>12</sup> is preferred by many,<sup>13</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Pesh., Onk., Teller, Mich., Dathe, Ilgen, Oettli.

<sup>2</sup> Ewald, § 332d; Tuch. <sup>3</sup> Ch. xlviii. 15; Ps. lxxx. 2, xxiii. 1.

<sup>4</sup> Ps. xviii. 32; 1 Sam. ii. 2; Deut. xxxii. 4; Isa. xxx. 29.

<sup>5</sup> Herder, Ewald.

<sup>6</sup> Ch. xxxi. 13.

<sup>7</sup> Lagarde, Olshausen.

<sup>8</sup> Oettli in *Schweizer Theol. Zeitsch.* 1885, p. 147f.

<sup>9</sup> Chs. xxxi. 5, 42, xlviii. 15; Ex. xv. 2, xviii. 4.

<sup>10</sup> Ewald, § 347a.

<sup>11</sup> Ch. iv. 1.

<sup>12</sup> Sept. Samar. Pesh. (Vulg.), Saadia, and even some Heb. codd.

<sup>13</sup> Plüschke, Vater, Justi, Bleek, Gesenius, Hitzig, Tuch, Ewald, Kautzsch-Socin.

because **את** is here somewhat surprising. There is no evidence for **מֵאֵת**.<sup>1</sup> **מִן** might continue to be the governing preposition before **אֵל**; <sup>2</sup> there is no analogy for its doing so before **אֵת** (= **מֵאֵת**).

'**וְנִ**—accusative of specification after **וַיְבָרֶךְ**:<sup>3</sup> *with blessings of the sky above*,<sup>4</sup> dew, rain, sunshine,<sup>5</sup> *with blessings of the deep which lies beneath*,<sup>6</sup> springs and fountains, brooks and rivers, which issue from the underground **תְּהוֹם**; in short, with fertility of the soil.<sup>7</sup> *With blessings of the breasts and of the womb*, with fertility among living beings,<sup>8</sup> both men and animals; not to be limited<sup>9</sup> to milk and the increase of herds.

Ver. 26. But he is loaded with yet greater blessings than the mere fertility of land and people. According to the Massoretic text,<sup>10</sup> the statement is, that Jacob's blessing on Joseph is greater and more efficacious than that with which his parents blessed him or were blessed.<sup>11</sup> The clause *αβ* allows of very various interpretations, according to the meaning assigned to **הָאוֹר** and to the view taken of **עַר**, as preposition or conjunction. But **הוֹרִים** is used nowhere in the Old Testament of parents; nor could it, for in **הוֹרָה**, *mother*,<sup>12</sup> the idea of *conceiving* was still quite in the foreground. "The parallelism with **נִבְעַת עוֹלָם**, the analogy of Deut. xxxiii. 15 and Hab. iii. 6, and the Sept. *ὁρῶν μου μύμων* lead us to adopt the reading **הוֹרִי עַר**,<sup>13</sup> or, seeing **הוֹר** is elsewhere only a proper name, **הַרְרִי עַר**; <sup>14</sup> **הַרְרִי עַר**<sup>15</sup> is less likely,"<sup>16</sup> and **הוֹרִי עַר** or **הַרְרִי עַר** is out of the question, for a construct in '— cannot be demonstrated.

<sup>1</sup> Knobel.

<sup>2</sup> Deut. xii. 7, xv. 14

<sup>3</sup> Ch. xxvii. 28, 39.

<sup>4</sup> See Deut. xxxiii. 13 ff.

<sup>5</sup> The contrary in Hos. ix. 14. Tuch.

<sup>6</sup> Found even in the Peshitta and Onkelos.

<sup>7</sup> See, further, Geiger, *Urschrift*, 250.

<sup>8</sup> Cant. iii. 4; Hos. ii. 7.

<sup>9</sup> Gesenius, Winer, Schumann, Bohlen, Maurer, Ewald.

<sup>10</sup> Friedrich, Plüschke, Tuch.

<sup>11</sup> J. D. Michaelis, Ilgen, Dathe.

<sup>12</sup> Ewald, § 351a.

<sup>13</sup> Ch. xxvii. 39.

<sup>14</sup> Chs. i. 9, vii. 11.

<sup>15</sup> Knobel.

<sup>16</sup> Knobel.

The **בִּרְכַּת אָבִיךָ**<sup>1</sup> are accordingly not the blessings which the father is now bestowing,—the perfect **נִבְרוּ** being in itself evidence against this view,—but those which the father received from his ancestors. Translate: *the blessings of your father were strong against*<sup>2</sup> *surpassed the blessings of the primal mountains, the desire*<sup>3</sup> *the seductive products of the eternal hills; may they be the portion of, etc.* The meaning is that they comprised things higher than merely the admirable products of the lovely mountain country (Ephraim, Gilead, Bashan), *i.e.*, doubtless power, respect, honour, and political consequence;<sup>4</sup> and, above all, the promises. In bestowing these on Joseph, Jacob makes him his father's successor,<sup>5</sup> and names him **נָזִיר** among his brethren—one separated and consecrated,<sup>6</sup> not in a Levitical and ethical sense, Nazarene,<sup>7</sup> but *prince*.<sup>8</sup> But there is no reference to a royal house in the tribe of Joseph; for the kingdom of North Israel was not a mere appendage of the tribe of Joseph, although that was always its most important part.<sup>9</sup>

**תְּאֵיָה**—in the Massoretic text best understood as *boundary* from **תְּאֵיָה**.<sup>10</sup> This does not suit the emended reading, unless we give **בִּרְכָה** the unprovable meaning *summit*. It is unnecessary to emend into the prose **תְּבֹנָאֵה**.<sup>12</sup>

**לְרֹאשׁ**—Prov. x. 6, xi. 26; also in Job. xix. 9, Isa. xxxv. 10, which lead us to regard a blessing as an adornment to the head.

Fripp<sup>13</sup> maintains that vv. 24b–26 are an interpolation from Deut. xxxiii. 13–16, for the reason that praise is given

<sup>1</sup> Sept. and Samar. add **וְאֶפְיָךְ**.

<sup>2</sup> Ch. xlviii. 22.

<sup>3</sup> Ch. iii. 6.

<sup>4</sup> Knobel, Ewald.

<sup>5</sup> Ch. xlviii. 15 ff.

<sup>6</sup> Onkelos.

<sup>7</sup> Vulg. Saadia.

<sup>8</sup> Sept. Targ. of Jonath., modern scholars since Herder; most even take **נָזִיר**, as did the Pesh., to be the one crowned with the **נֶזֶר**, *diadem*; comp. Lam. iv. 7 and **לְרֹאשׁ**.

<sup>9</sup> See, further, Deut. xxxiii. 16.

<sup>10</sup> Rosenmüller, *De Pent. pers.* p. 43; Ewald, § 186b; Delitzsch.

<sup>11</sup> Ewald, *Geschichte*,<sup>3</sup> i. 586 [Eng. tr. i. 409, note 4].

<sup>12</sup> Olshausen.

<sup>13</sup> *ZATW.* xi. 262 ff.



to the monarchy of Joseph in opposition to the praise bestowed on the Davidic kingdom in vv. 8 and 10. The true inference is, that נִיר contains no reference to the monarchy,<sup>1</sup> of which not a syllable is said otherwise. The narrative clauses of vv. 23, 24*a* form no conclusion to the utterance. The historical importance of Ephraim-Manasseh is not done justice to by vv. 22–24*a* alone. Deut. xxxiii. 13–16*a* turns out to be an adapted modification of Gen. xlix. 24*b*–26*a*, and not conversely. The prominence of the religious element in vv. 24*b*, 25 is quite in place; for the father's heart beats higher when he comes to mention his dearest and most prominent son.<sup>2</sup> The divine names also (including שְׁדֵי) are those of the earliest date instead of being late.

Ver. 27. BENJAMIN, one of the most warlike of the tribes,<sup>3</sup> and famed for its bowmen and slingers.<sup>4</sup> It produced not a few soldier-chiefs, such as Ehud,<sup>5</sup> and, later, Saul and Jonathan. But it also showed a contentious quarrelsomeness in its war with the rest of Israel in an unjust cause.<sup>6</sup> It is compared to a wolf which rendeth; in the morning it devours prey,<sup>7</sup> and towards evening it divides spoil; it is at all times<sup>8</sup> eager for fighting and the pursuit of its prey, which it devours in triumph. יִטְרֶה, pausal for יִטְרֶה.<sup>9</sup> "Elsewhere in the Old Testament the comparison with a wolf is employed in an unfavourable sense;<sup>10</sup> unstinted praise, therefore, is not expressed by it here, although it makes acknowledgment of Benjamin's warlike capacity."<sup>11</sup> At the same time, we have to consider that the nobler comparison with a lion has already been used (ver. 9), and that it is appropriate to compare a tribe, which was one of the smallest, when our

<sup>1</sup> See above.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. xlvi. 15 f.

<sup>3</sup> Judg. v. 14, xx. 19 ff.; 2 Sam. ii. 15.

<sup>4</sup> Judg. xx. 16; 1 Chron. viii. 40, xii. 2; 2 Chron. xiv. 7, xvii. 17.

<sup>5</sup> Judg. iii. 15 f.

<sup>6</sup> Judg. xix. ff.

<sup>7</sup> Isa. xxxiii. 23.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Eccles. xi. 6; Ps. lv. 18, xcii. 3.

<sup>9</sup> See note on ver. 3.

<sup>10</sup> Zeph. iii. 3; Hab. i. 8; Jer. v. 6; Ezek. xxii. 27.

<sup>11</sup> Knobel.

author wrote,<sup>1</sup> to one of the smaller beasts of prey. Besides, among the non-Semitic peoples of antiquity it was an honour to be designated a wolf.

There is cause for surprise at the absence here of any reference to the reign of Saul.

Ver. 28. *All these are Israelite tribes, twelve, and this is what their father said to them.* A footnote which suggests that in reality the tribes are addressed in the utterances.<sup>2</sup> But the Septuagint has υἱοὶ Ἰακώβ instead of שְׁבָטֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל. *And he blessed them, with that which was as his blessing he blessed them,* "he invoked on each the blessing which suited his character and was to be his, the blessing specially appropriate for him. בֵּרַךְ followed by a double accusative; see ver. 25." But אִשֶּׁר is wanting in the Sept., Samar., and Peshitta, and may be a copyist's error for אֵשֶׁר.<sup>3</sup>

"The statement that all the sons of Jacob were blessed does not harmonise with the contents of vv. 1–27, where certainly every one does not receive a בְּרָכָה."<sup>4</sup> The phraseology is suggestive of i. 27 and v. 1 f.,<sup>5</sup> and is therefore<sup>6</sup> to be assigned to A's narrative, which is continued in ver. 29 ff.

(d) Vv. 29–33. Jacob's injunction to his sons to bury him in the cave of Makhpelah, followed by his death. The passage is A's, and is his continuation of xlviii. 3–7.<sup>7</sup> The indications of authorship are "the distinct reference to the earlier part of A's narrative, the expanded style, the vocabulary,<sup>8</sup> the connection with his later statement in l. 12 f. and the variation from xlvii. 29–31, where, in C, Joseph alone receives injunctions regarding Jacob's burial."<sup>9</sup>

Ver. 29 f.<sup>10</sup> וַיֵּצֵא אוֹתָם is wanting in the Sept., but see

<sup>1</sup> 1 Sam. ix. 21; Judg. xxi. 6.

<sup>2</sup> שְׁבָטֵי previously in ver. 16.

<sup>3</sup> Delitzsch; cf. 2 Sam. xxiii. 21.

<sup>4</sup> Knobel.

<sup>5</sup> Yet see also xli. 11 f. [B].

<sup>6</sup> Knobel, Schrader, Kautzsch-Socin.

<sup>7</sup> See note on xlviii. 7.

<sup>8</sup> אֶרֶץ כְּנָעַן, נֶאֱמָר אֶל-עַמּוּי, אַחֲזָה, גִּת.

<sup>9</sup> Knobel.

<sup>10</sup> See notes on xxv. 8 and ch. xxiii.

ver. 33. Ver. *b* is maintained by some to be a gloss;<sup>1</sup> certainly either it or ver. 32 is superfluous.

אֶל-עַמִּי—the analogy of other passages would lead us to expect אֶל-עַמִּי,<sup>2</sup> but there is no doubt that עַם, also, might express *clan, kinsfolk*.<sup>3</sup>

אִשְׁרָ קְנָה—the *אִשְׁרָ*—in l. 13 also; it is unnecessary to regard אִשְׁרָ as meaning *where*,<sup>4</sup> or to translate אֶת-הָאִשְׁרָ, *along with the field*.<sup>5</sup>

Ver. 31. With the statement regarding Sarah and Abraham, compare chs. xxiii. 19 and xxv. 9. In xxxv. 29 Isaac's place of burial is not named. The burials of Rebecca and Leah are not recorded in Genesis. Regarding Rachel, see the note on xlviii. 7.

Ver. 32. The words, *the piece of ground purchased from the Hittites along with the cave in it*, hardly connect themselves naturally with נָשְׂמָה,<sup>6</sup> and are clumsy in themselves. They are, perhaps, a gloss which passes back over ver. 31 to attach itself to ver. 30*b*.

Ver. 33. וַיֵּאבֶקֶה—the *הַמָּוֶה*, a reference to xlviii. 2 (xlvii. 31), and so from *C*. The rest of the verse is from *A*. The view that וַיֵּבֶל-בְּנָיו also belongs to *C*, with לְבָרָךְ, however, instead of לְצִוָּת,<sup>7</sup> is untenable, if only because xlix. 2-27 is not a בְּרָכָה, and the בְּרָכָה in ver. 28*b* is from *A*, not *C*. The fact is that וַיֵּבֶל לְצִוָּת has its complete justification in *A*, because in xlviii. 3-6 and xlix. 29-32 Jacob's last wishes are expressed, and for this the technical expression was no other than צִוָּה.

Jacob spoke all that has been just recorded while seated on his bed. Now he draws his feet back on to the bed and dies. *A* has already given his age in xlvii. 28.

<sup>1</sup> Olshausen, Delitzsch,<sup>4</sup> Budde.

<sup>2</sup> ZATW. viii. 281.

<sup>3</sup> See xvii. 14.

<sup>4</sup> Num. xx. 13; Böttcher, Olshausen, Delitzsch<sup>4</sup>.

<sup>5</sup> Delitzsch<sup>5</sup>; see, on the contrary, the note on xiii. 16, and Gesenius,<sup>25</sup> 148. 1, footnote 1.

<sup>6</sup> Kautzsch-Socin.

<sup>7</sup> Budde, ZATW. iii. 72 ff.

5. JACOB'S BURIAL AND JOSEPH'S DEATH, CH. L.; FROM  
*A, B, AND C.*

Joseph has Jacob's body embalmed in Egyptian fashion, and his brothers and many Egyptians accompany him to the interment in the ancestral burying-place at Hebron. The brothers are afraid of Joseph's vengeance after their father's death, but he allays their fears and continues to provide for their needs with a brother's kindness. He dies at the age of 110, after living to see his descendants of the third generation. His body also is embalmed, and is preserved in a coffin.<sup>1</sup>

*A*'s share in this narrative is no more than ver. 12 f., which records the sequel of xlix. 29 ff. The chronological statement of vv. 22 and 26 is, doubtless, not from him, seeing he would have written *מֵאֵת יָסֶה וְעֶשֶׂר שָׁנִים*. Vv. 4-11 and 14 belong with equal certainty to *C*, for they relate the sequel to the command of xlvii. 29 ff. expressly referred to in ver. 5. The vocabulary<sup>2</sup> is also evidence for *C*. The introduction in vv. 1-4aa may be due to *B*, and, if so, has been somewhat remodelled by *R* (*יִשְׂרָאֵל* in ver. 2). It may, however, have been composed by *C* on the basis of *B*, who was best acquainted with Egyptian affairs (cf. ver. 26 with ver. 2 f.). Vv. 15-26, in the next place, are from *B*. This is his conclusion to the history of Joseph, which he has narrated with such warm interest. The key to this interest of his is given in ver. 20 (cf. xlv. 7). The special proofs of his authorship are found in the divergent chronology, which may be detected in ver. 21; in the connection of vv. 24-26 with Ex. xiii. 19, Josh. xxiv. 32, and Gen. xxxiii. 19; in the use of *אלהים* (vv. 19 f., 24 f.), and of the expressions *כָּלֶכֶל* (ver. 21), *עֵשָׂה* (ver. 20), *הִתַּחַת אֱלֹהִים אֲנִי* (ver. 19), *עַל-בְּרַכִּי* (ver. 23). But a few phrases have been added by *R*,

<sup>1</sup> Knobel.

<sup>2</sup> *רָכַב* (ver. 8), *דָּבַר בְּאָזְנִי פ'* and *אִם נָא מִצַּאתִי הֵן בְּעֵינִי* (ver. 4), *עַל-כֵּן קָרָא* (vv. 9-11), *כָּבֹד* (ver. 9), *פְּרִשִׁים* and



from a parallel text of *C*'s, in particular in vv. 18, 21, וידבר, על-לבם, and in ver. 24, 'אשר נשבע וג'.

Ver. 1. When Jacob expires Joseph throws himself on his face, and laments and kisses him. ויפל וג' corresponds to *C*'s נפל על-צואריו.<sup>1</sup> Comp. further, xlv. 4.

Ver. 2. He then orders his subordinate physicians to embalm the body.

"Homer<sup>2</sup> even was acquainted with the medical fame of Egypt. Its physicians were a numerous class,<sup>3</sup> who formed part of the priesthood,<sup>4</sup> and had their special books.<sup>5</sup> Joseph had some in his service owing to his position as first minister of the crown,<sup>6</sup> and a leading member of the priestly caste.<sup>7</sup> Embalming (ταριχεύειν, ταριχευσις) was an Egyptian custom," associated with the belief in an unbroken connection of soul and body. "It was the professional and paid occupation of a special class (ταριχευταί). Various methods were practised.<sup>8</sup> The bodies of both Jacob and Joseph (ver. 26) were made mummies. This is not said to have been the case with any other Hebrew. Embalmmment among the later Jews<sup>9</sup> was somewhat different."

Ver. 3. "Forty days are spent on the embalming. This is in harmony with Diodorus'<sup>10</sup> statement, that there was required for the process, ἐφ' ἡμέρας πλείους τῶν τριάκοντα (var. τετταράκοντα)."<sup>11</sup> But Herodotus<sup>12</sup> makes it more than seventy days. Confusion with the period of mourning<sup>13</sup> can hardly be the explanation of this difference. The time may have varied for individuals and localities.<sup>14</sup> For the use of מליץ, see xxv. 24, xxix. 21.

<sup>1</sup> Chs. xxxiii. 4, xlv. 14, xlv. 29.

<sup>2</sup> *Od.* iv. 231f.

<sup>3</sup> Herod. ii. 84, iii. 1, 129.

<sup>4</sup> Diog. Laer. iii. 1. 8.

<sup>5</sup> Diod. i. 82; Clem. of Alex. *Strom.* vi. p. 634.

<sup>6</sup> Ch. xli. 40.

<sup>7</sup> Ch. xli. 45.

<sup>8</sup> "Her. ii. 86 ff.; Diod. i. 91. See Friedrich, *Zur Bibel*, ii. 199 f.; Winer,<sup>3</sup> i. 307 f.;" Ebers in Riehm, *HWB.* 352 f.

<sup>9</sup> John xix. 39 f.

<sup>10</sup> i. 91.

<sup>11</sup> Knobel.

<sup>12</sup> ii. 86, 88.

<sup>13</sup> Tuch; Hengstenberg, *Mose u. Aegypten*, p. 70. Knobel.

<sup>14</sup> See Winer.

The seventy days of mourning for Jacob certainly include the forty days spent on embalming. Aaron and Moses were lamented by Israel for thirty days.<sup>1</sup> But the Egyptians are the mourners here. Their period of mourning for a king was seventy-two days.<sup>2</sup> Their mourning for Jacob at all, and for so long a time, was out of respect for Joseph (according to the author's idea).<sup>3</sup>

Ver. 4 f. After the period of mourning is over, Joseph arranges that the king should be asked to permit him to escort his father's body to Canaan, and to bury him in the grave he has prepared; for he had sworn to his father to do this.<sup>4</sup> The reason of his availing himself of the intermediation of the courtiers, instead of making the request himself, is not that he was no longer minister,<sup>5</sup> nor even that he was himself mourning beyond the Egyptian period and could not suitably appear before the king in mourning dress.<sup>6</sup> More probably it was not usual to take steps in a matter which personally concerned the minister, without the intermediation of other exalted personages.

פְּכִית,<sup>7</sup> in xxxv. 8. פְּכִית 'אם נא ונ', see note on xviii. 3. 'באזני פ', xlv. 18; הנה אנכי מת, xlviii. 21; omitted in the Sept.

כְּרִית—most probably *dug*,<sup>8</sup> seeing a grave is in question; <sup>9</sup> *bought*<sup>10</sup> is less natural. In either case surprising when compared with xlvii. 30. It naturally suggests itself that another grave than that of Makhpelah is here intended, and that xlvii. 30 is a correction by *R* in favour of *A*.<sup>11</sup> A

<sup>1</sup> Num. xx. 29; Deut. xxxiv. 8; cf. Deut. xxi. 23.

<sup>2</sup> Diod. i. 72.

<sup>3</sup> Regarding the mourning customs of the Egyptians, see Herod. ii. 85; Diod. i. 91; Wilkinson [1878, iii. 423 f., 439 ff.], series 1, i. 256.

<sup>4</sup> Ch. xlvii. 31.

<sup>5</sup> Bunsen; see to the contrary, ver 21.

<sup>6</sup> Ch. xli. 14; Esth. iv. 2; Schumann, Hengstenberg, Knobel, Delitzsch, Keil. The words 'ויעברו ונ' are against this view.

<sup>7</sup> Ewald, § 186b.

<sup>8</sup> Ch. xxvi. 25.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. 2 Chron. xvi. 14; Sept. Vulg. Targ. of Jonath., Saadia, Græc. Ven.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. Deut. ii. 6; Onkelos, Pesh., Von Bohlen, Knobel.

<sup>11</sup> Wellhausen.

grave in the piece of ground purchased beside Shechem (xxxiii. 19) has been thought of.<sup>1</sup> But xxxiii. 19 is from *B*, not *C*,<sup>2</sup> and l. 4-11 from *C*, not *B*;<sup>3</sup> and a grave of Jacob in Shechem would not find a place among *C*'s Judean traditions. Besides, it would be remarkably inconsequent on *R*'s part to alter *C*'s text in xlvii. 30 for the sake of *A*'s, and yet leave l. 5 in unaltered contradiction with *A*. We must rather assume that the expression under discussion is chosen in accordance with Egyptian ideas. Besides, as a matter of fact, the קָבֵר of each individual required to be specially prepared in the family vault.

Vv. 6-9. The king gives his consent, and the company sets out. "The officials<sup>4</sup> of the court and country join in Joseph's escort of the body. Jacob's whole family, excepting women and children, go too; and there are chariots and horsemen (as escort and protection). The whole makes an imposing cortège, and thus the patriarch is honoured when he dies."<sup>5</sup>

After ויאמר פרעה the Sept. adds τῶ 'Ιωσήφ. טף, see xlv. 19. פרשים, regarding the historical difficulty here, see commentary on Ex. xiv. 9.<sup>6</sup>

Ver. 10 f. "When they reach the place called *Thornfloor*<sup>7</sup> they commence, in Jacob's honour, a lament, that was *great and heavy*. It lasted seven days, the ordinary period of mourning,<sup>8</sup> and was seen and heard by the native inhabitants, who give the place the name אֵבֶל מִצְרַיִם (*luctus Ægyptiorum*). The punctuators have not given the author's pronunciation<sup>9</sup> of this new name, but read אֵבֶל מִצְרַיִם (*pratium Ægyptiorum*, the *Egyptian meadow*)."<sup>10</sup> The place is otherwise unknown.

<sup>1</sup> Kayser, *Urgeschichte*, p. 35; Bruston in *ZATW*. vii. 202 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Kayser.

<sup>3</sup> Bruston.

<sup>4</sup> זָקֵן, of dignity, as in xxiv. 2.

<sup>5</sup> Knobel.

<sup>6</sup> [Also p. 20 above.]

<sup>7</sup> The buckthorn threshing-floor.

<sup>8</sup> 1 Sam. xxxi. 13; Judith xvi. 24; Sirach xxii. 12.

<sup>9</sup> Sept. Vulg.

<sup>10</sup> Knobel.

*Egyptian meadow* no longer requires to be explained by reference to its Egyptian-like fertility.<sup>1</sup> Abundant room is given for an historical explanation of such a name by the long period of Egyptian domination in Palestine during pre-Mosaic times, which is now known to us from the Tell-Amarna letters. The Israelites gave their own explanation of the name by linking it with the history of Joseph. It can only have been because legend had already connected the name and the incident that *C* admitted the incident into his history.

According to the text, the place lay בעבר הירדן. As the author did not write on the east side of the Jordan, this can only mean on the east side of Jordan, perhaps near the river in the 'Arabah. A statement of Jerome's<sup>2</sup> has led, indeed, to its being looked for<sup>3</sup> in other localities,<sup>4</sup> and an inference in favour of them has been drawn from the use of הכנעני.<sup>5</sup> But we do not know the source of Jerome's statement, and it is hazardous to prefer it to our text, still more to assume<sup>6</sup> that הירדן was at one time read הנהל, i.e. נהל מצרים. The text points to a locality east of Jordan; and if it was not too far from the Jordan, we may understand וירא-הכנעני as meaning that spectators on the western bank were able to view what went on on the other side. The alternative is to regard הכנעני as a gloss. Such a view presents less difficulty than that which regards the twice-repeated 'אשר בעבר ה' as an interpolation. The writer gives no explanation of why the way round the Dead Sea should have been preferred to the

<sup>1</sup> Cf. xiii. 10; Hitzig, *Isaiah*, 227; Tuch, Knobel.

<sup>2</sup> Onomasticon, *sub* area Atad : lacus trans Jordanem in quo planxerunt quondam Jacob, tertio ab Hierico lapide, duobus milibus a Jordane qui nunc vocatur Bethagla.

<sup>3</sup> By Knobel, Raum., and others.

<sup>4</sup> In בֵּית הַנָּחַל (Josh. xv. 6, xviii. 19, 21), the modern 'Ain Hajla, about an hour north-west of the mouth of the Jordan, and Kaşr Hajla, 1¼ hour south-east of Jericho (Berggren. *Reisen*, iii. 110 f.; Seetzen, ii. 302 f.; Robinson, *Palestine* <sup>3</sup> [i. 544], Germ. tr. 510 ff.; De Sauley, *Top.* ii. 147 ff.; Gadow in *ZDMG.* ii. 59).

<sup>5</sup> Cf. xii. 6.

<sup>6</sup> Bunsen.



direct road from Egypt by Rhinocolura and Beersheba. Doubtless he gave the matter no consideration. We are certainly not to suppose that any tradition made **נֶן הָאֵמֶר** Jacob's place of burial.<sup>1</sup> It would necessarily have received mention elsewhere in the legends about Jacob if that had been so; and ver. 5, in any case, is not a reference to it.

There seems no necessity for regarding **וַיַּעַן לְאָבִיו וְ** as a doublet to ver. 10a.<sup>2</sup> For **עַל-כֵּן קָרָא** see note on xxxiii. 17.

Ver. 12 f. A quotation from *A* is made to conclude the narrative. It is apparent that *R* thought that the actual interment was the work of the sons of Jacob alone, and not of the Egyptians; as if it were inadmissible that the foreign element in the company should enter the holy land of promise.<sup>3</sup> *A*'s authorship of ver. 12 f., which was originally the sequel of xlix. 33, is proved by **בָּנָיו** in ver. 12, instead of **בְּנֵי יַעֲקֹב**, by the fulness of statement regarding Makhpelah,<sup>4</sup> by the absence of any special prominence assigned to Joseph, the use of **אֶהְיֶה**, and the resemblance of ver. 12 to vi. 22.<sup>5</sup>—See, further, note on xlix. 40.

Ver. 14. After the interment Joseph returns home with the whole company which set out with him (vv. 7-9). Here again Joseph plays the leading part, and the Egyptians rejoin him.

Ver. 15. *B* now takes up the narrative. The brothers are afraid that after their father's death Joseph will no longer feel any restraint in requiting on them their wrongdoing. With ver. *b* comp. 1 Sam. xxiv. 18.

**לֹא יִשְׁמְטֵנוּ** <sup>6</sup> *if he were to display enmity against us*; supply the apodosis, it would go badly with us; similarly, Ps. xxvii. 13.<sup>7</sup> So the Versions, **μὴ ποτε, ῥέλει**. The equally possible reading **לִי**, of *him*,<sup>8</sup> has been avoided by the Massoretes because it would make the brothers' fear a certainty.

<sup>1</sup> Kautzsch-Socin.

<sup>2</sup> Kautzsch-Socin.

<sup>3</sup> Tuch.

<sup>4</sup> See xxiii. 20.

<sup>5</sup> Knobel.

<sup>6</sup> Chs. xxvii. 41, xlix. 23.

<sup>7</sup> Ewald, § 358a.

<sup>8</sup> Ch. xx. 13; Ps. iii. 3, lxxi. 10; Judg. ix. 54.

Ver. 16 f. To make sure of their position, they commissioned<sup>1</sup> (deputies) to him to remind him of their father's express command, and to ask his forgiveness for the past. It remains uncertain whether or not *B* had previously recorded this command of Jacob's; it would be sufficient to mention it here for the first time.

וַיִּצְוּ, Sept. καὶ παραγγερόμενοι, Pesh. וקִרְבוּ, but not in harmony with לֹא־מֵרָחֵק (nor ver. 18). אָנֹכִי, *oh, still*;<sup>2</sup> again in the Pentateuch only in Ex. xxxii. 31 (in *C*). נִשָּׂא, *forgive*;<sup>3</sup> נִשְׁאַל, with the sin as object,<sup>4</sup> is a variation only. *Servants of the God of your father*, they worshipped the same God; and this was a further reason why he should hear them.

Joseph *weeps*, because they think him capable of this and misunderstand him so greatly,<sup>6</sup> or rather out of compassion for his brothers, whose evil consciences make them so afraid of him. בְּרִבְרֵם, subject *the deputies*, by whom we have, doubtless, to understand some of the brothers.

Ver. 18. Then his brothers also, *i.e.* his other brothers, come to him, humble themselves before him, and offer themselves to him as his slaves (as in xliv. 16 in *C*). This act of submission can hardly be made to harmonise quite with the petition for forgiveness, and the verse may be regarded as an insertion from *C*.

וַיֵּלֶכְוּ, unobjectionable (see ver. 16); it ought not to be changed<sup>7</sup> to וַיָּבֹאוּ. נִבְרָחוּ, if translated *his brothers themselves*, would imply that the deputies were strangers.

Ver. 19 f. He speaks encouragingly to them. *Am I in God's place*,<sup>8</sup> he says, have I the power and right to act Providence and inflict retribution? He has no wish to interfere with God's own action. The brothers had planned evil against him, but God had planned it for good, and so had guided it to serve a good purpose, *to do as it now*

<sup>1</sup> Isa. x. 6; Jer. xxvii. 4.

<sup>2</sup> Ewald, § 262a.

<sup>3</sup> Ch. xviii. 24.

<sup>4</sup> As Ex. xxiii. 21; Josh. xxiv. 19 (in *B*).

<sup>5</sup> Ewald, § 282d.

<sup>6</sup> Knobel, Keil.

<sup>7</sup> Vater.

<sup>8</sup> As in xxx. 2; Sept. Pesh. have no הָ, the Samar. no כִּי.

is,<sup>1</sup> to preserve<sup>2</sup> much people. "The brothers' evil intentions have been sufficiently punished by their experiences in ch. xlii. ff. If Joseph were to seek to punish them further he would be interfering with the providence of God, who had willed Joseph's coming to Egypt for the preservation of His chosen. —For עֵשָׂה see xlviii. 11."

Ver. 21. "He will care for their preservation as God had purposed. This statement and the בְּיוֹם הַזֶּה of ver. 20 read as if the famine still continued.<sup>3</sup> According to the chronology of xlvii. 28, it had long ago reached its conclusion."<sup>4</sup> B clearly assigned Jacob's death to an earlier date than A. — על לַבָּם, xxxiv. 3.

Ver. 22. Joseph and the house of Jacob remain in Egypt, Joseph reaches the age of 110, like his descendant Joshua;<sup>5</sup> comp. p. 353 f. According to Egyptian ideas, the duration of a complete human life, and one which was blessed, was 110 years.<sup>6</sup>

וַיְהִי וְ—makes the transition to ver. 23, and need not be an interpolation,<sup>7</sup> nor to be from C,<sup>8</sup> along with ver. 25.

Ver. 23. Joseph "lived to see בְּנֵי שְׁלֹשִׁים, *filios tertiorum*, great-grandsons from Ephraim, and from Manasseh also; לְ as in xlv. 20."<sup>9</sup> שְׁלֹשִׁים,<sup>10</sup> children of the third generation, their common ancestor not being included;<sup>11</sup> בְּנֵי שְׁלֹשִׁים are therefore great-great-grandchildren,<sup>12</sup> elsewhere called רִבְעִים. But the Sept. Vulg. Pesh. and Targ. give great-grandchildren,<sup>13</sup> and may have read בָּנִים, like the Samar., or have regarded

<sup>1</sup> See Comm. on Deut. ii. 30.

<sup>2</sup> Ch. xlv. 7.

<sup>3</sup> "Chs. xlv. 11, xlvii. 12"; Delitzsch<sup>5</sup> contests this without effect.

<sup>4</sup> Knobel.

<sup>5</sup> Josh. xxiv. 29.

<sup>6</sup> As early as in Papyrus Prisse, and later; L. Stern in *BÄgZ.* 1873, p. 75 f.; Krall in *VII. Orient. Congr.*, 1886, Egypto-African section, p. 110.

<sup>7</sup> Kautzsch-Socin.

<sup>8</sup> Kittel.

<sup>9</sup> Knobel.

<sup>10</sup> Ex. xx. 5, xxxiv. 7; Num. xiv. 18; Deut. v. 9.

<sup>11</sup> Ex. xxxiv. 7.

<sup>12</sup> Ewald, *Alterthümer*, 225 [Eng. tr. 169, note 1]; Keil.

<sup>13</sup> Tuch, Knobel, Delitzsch

the construct as in apposition to **שְׁלִישִׁים**.<sup>1</sup> Their interpretation is supported by what is told us of Manasseh.

"Ephraim is put first because in xlvi. 8 ff. he received the principal blessing."<sup>2</sup> The more concrete form of the statement regarding Manasseh is chosen because of the fame of Makhir.

*On Joseph's knees*—they were born. He took the newborn children on to his lap,<sup>3</sup> and so recognised them as his descendants. We cannot suppose that adoption in the sense of xlvi. 5 f., and in contradiction with that passage, is intended.<sup>4</sup> The Samaritan has simply **בְּיָמֵי** for **עַל-בְּרָכִי**, and Kautzsch-Socin prefer this. The special mention of Joseph's acting thus in the case of Makhir's sons arises<sup>5</sup> from the important position which Makhir held in the land east of Jordan.<sup>6</sup>

Ver. 24 f. On the approach of death<sup>7</sup> Joseph exacts an oath from his kinsmen that they will one day take his bones to Canaan. *His brothers*, best taken to mean his fellow-tribesmen (comp. ver. 25), as in xxxi. 23.<sup>8</sup> It is implied that Joseph knew they would one day leave Egypt; see xli. 4 and xlvi. 21.

**וַיִּשָּׁבַע**, see xlvii. 29 f. **פָּקֵד יִפְקֹד**, Ex. xiii. 19, iii. 16 (in *B*); see also Gen. xxi. 1. **אֵל אֶרֶץ אֲשֶׁר וְנ'** is a phrase of *C*'s or *E*'s.<sup>9</sup>

Ver. 26. Joseph is embalmed after death, as Jacob had been (ver. 2), and is laid in a coffin. For **וַיֵּיטֵם** see note on xxiv. 33.

**בְּאֶרֶן**—in *the* coffin used in such a case.<sup>10</sup> "The Egyptians put the embalmed bodies in wooden coffins, and then stored

<sup>1</sup> Ewald, § 287e.

<sup>2</sup> Knobel.

<sup>3</sup> Ch. xxx. 3; in a Greek instance, *Odyssey*, xix. 401.

<sup>4</sup> See Stade, *ZATW.* vi. 145 f.

<sup>5</sup> Riehm, *Handwörterbuch*, 765b.

<sup>6</sup> See Num. xxxii. 39 f.; Deut. iii. 15; Josh. xiii. 31, xvii. 1 ff.

<sup>7</sup> Language as in xlvi. 21 (l. 5).

<sup>8</sup> Knobel.

<sup>9</sup> Ch. xxvi. 3; Ex. xiii. 5, xxxii. 13, xxxiii. 1, and elsewhere.

<sup>10</sup> See Hengstenberg, *Mos. u. Egypt.* 74 f.; Ebers in Riehm, *HWB.*



them with care in a sepulchral chamber.<sup>1</sup> They were regarded as of much value, and it was a disgrace not to redeem them if they had been given as a pledge in an extremity.<sup>2</sup> So Joseph's mummy was preserved by the Israelites down to the time of the Exodus. On that occasion they took his bones with them,<sup>3</sup> and interred them in the piece of ground beside Shechem,<sup>4</sup> which Jacob had once bought.<sup>5</sup> These statements are all from the same author."<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Herod. ii. 86.

<sup>2</sup> Herod. ii. 136 ; Diod. i. 93 ; Lucian, *De Luctu*, ch. xxi.

<sup>3</sup> Ex. xiii. 19.

<sup>4</sup> Josh. xxiv. 32.

<sup>5</sup> Ch. xxxiii. 19.

<sup>6</sup> Knobel.

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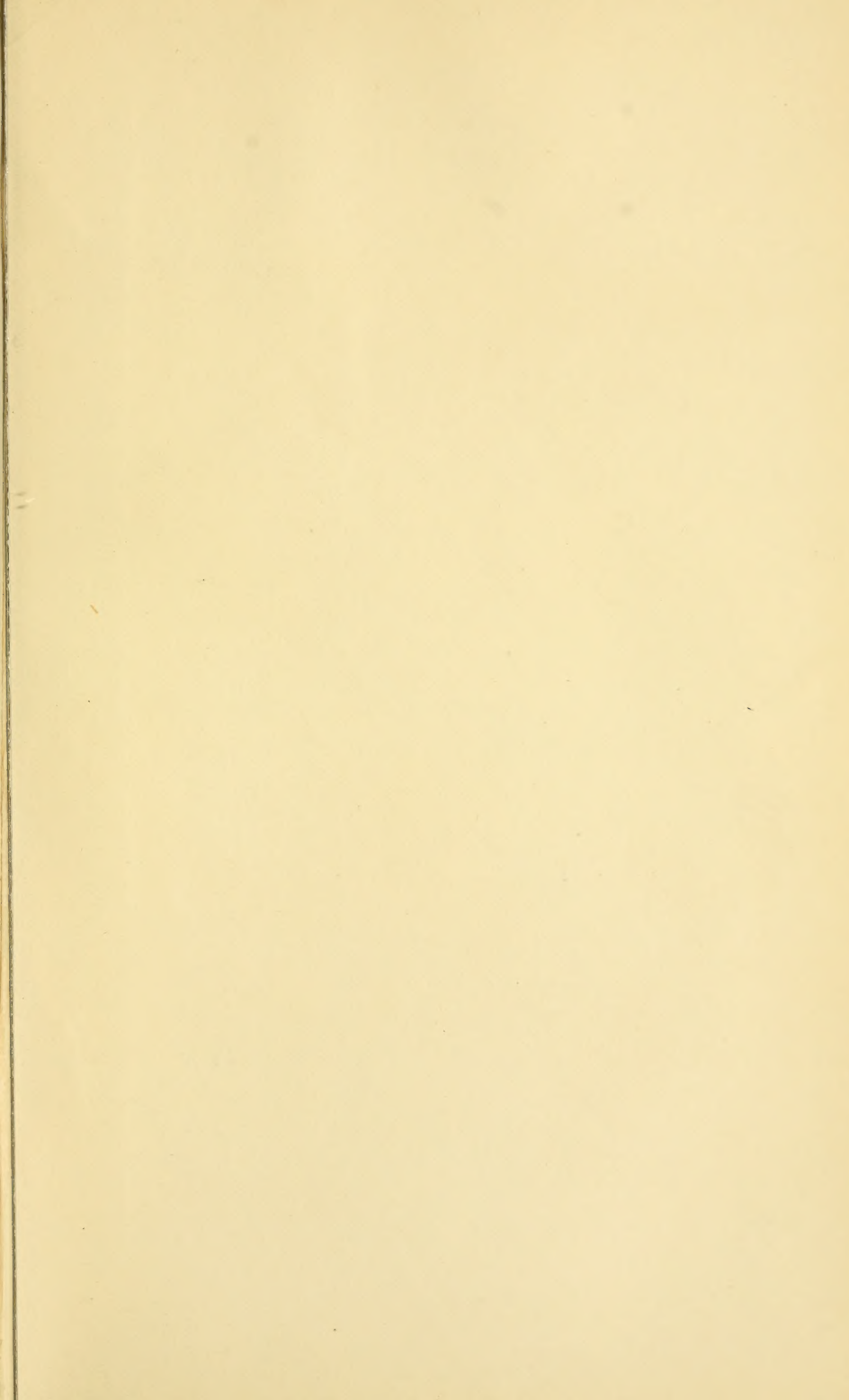
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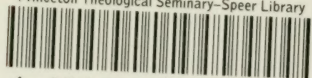
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